

The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by Mohamed Ali.

RARE BOOK

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.



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The Week.

Home Rule Bill.

THE First Clause of the Home Rule Bill was adopted on July 6 by 316 votes to 224, after the closure had been applied. The closure was moved by Mr. Asquith and led to vigorous protests. There was a heated scene between Mr. Whitley, Chairman, and Captain Craig, and it was only on the intervention of Mr. Roger Law that the latter could be induced to resume his seat.

Meeting of Emperors.

REUTER wires from Baltic port.—The Tsar and family have arrived. The Kaiser also arrived at Baltic port.

The meeting of the Emperors and its possible results are the subject of much speculation in Germany.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* dismisses the suggestion that proposals will be made on the German side to end the Turco-Italian War and emphatically rejects the idea that Germany will attempt to thrust a wedge into the Triple Entente.

Germany, it says, only expects the confirmation of confidential relations between Russia and Germany, the foundations of which were laid at the Potsdam meeting.

The Russian Press is lukewarm. It is of opinion that there is no reason to anticipate that Britain and France will be disappointed at the result of the meeting.

Egypt.

THREE Nationalists have been arrested on a charge of conspiracy against the Khedive, Viscount Kitchener, and the Prime Minister.

Reuter wires from Cairo:—Another arrest has been made in connection with the conspiracy against the Khedive, Viscount Kitchener, and the Premier.

The conspiracy is regarded as a most serious one. Numerous documents have been seized. Two of the prisoners are prominent Nationalists.

Universities' Congress.

LORD ROSEBERY opened on the 2nd July the Congress of the Universities of the Empire. He said: "This is, perhaps, the most vitally important and striking of Congresses. To-day the Empire is belted round with Universities." Every great city, he said, regarded a University as a necessary appanage. Each had its own problems. He hoped the Congress would result in a permanent channel for inter-communication to solve these problems.

At the Government luncheon in honour of the delegates, fifty-two Universities were represented. Among those present were Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Harcourt, Lord Curzon, Lord Rosebery, the Earl of Norfolk, Sir Frederick Lugard, Lord Strathcona, and Lord Morley.

Earl Beauchamp presiding officially, welcomed the delegates.

Mr. Harcourt proposed "The Congress" which he welcomed as an "Imperial Conference of the brains of the Empire." He said that Universities in India, the Dominions, and the Colonies were the finest productions of these brains. There could be no nobler aim than the instruction of an Imperial race.

Earl Curzon and Mr. Balfour addressed the Congress of Universities of the Empire on the 2nd July.

Mr. Balfour inaugurated a discussion on the problem of University in the East in relation to moral ideals.

Sir Frederick Lugard read a paper in which he concluded: "Those teaching Orientals should adapt their methods to the requirements of the East instead of attempting to foist the Western system on the East."

Sir Theodore Morison said secular education in India had been a splendid success.

Dr. Ewing (Punjab), Sir Thomas Raleigh, the Hon'ble Mr. Sarvadhikary (Calcutta), and the Rev. Mr. Russell (Madras) also took part in the discussion.

Labour Unrest.

THE House of Commons by 254 votes to 188 has adopted a motion of Mr. O'Grady (Labour): "That it is desirable that the employers should meet the representatives of the men with a view to settlement of the strike in London." Mr. Asquith said that while the intervention of the Government was neither justifiable nor expedient, he considered that such a meeting was desirable, but he would not vote. Mr. Bonar Law thereupon moved a resolution approving the declaration of Mr. Asquith that the constitutional attitude of the Government should be one of complete neutrality. This motion was defeated by 260 votes to 215.

The West Ham Town Council has unanimously agreed that it is impossible to participate in the festivities on the occasion of Their Majesties' visit to the Docks owing to the Dock strike.

Insurance Act.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE on 30th June addressed a demonstration of five thousand people at Woodford, where a dozen male suffragists were violently ejected and were attended by Ambulance men. Mr. Lloyd George denounced the cowardice of those engineering the opposition to the Insurance Bill. They were really starting a new anarchist movement and seemed to think that laws were devised to protect their property, privileges and sport and to keep the workers in order. It was a dangerous moment to teach such doctrines, and the teachers of them were so sowing a crop which they might reap in tears a few years hence. There was a bigger task in front of the Democracy than they had yet undertaken, namely, the freeing of the land from the shackles of feudalism. The Insurance Bill was but the beginning.

Cotton Growing

LORD CREWE on the 1st July received a deputation of English and Indian Members of the International Cotton Committee, who urged that they should receive the support of the Government of India for the extension of cotton-growing in India. Lord Crewe said he fully recognised the supreme importance of the subject. The Indian cultivator had shown striking adaptability to new methods. He said there were undoubtedly fears in some quarters in India with regard to the danger of cotton-growing competing with food crops and the Government of India have to consider those apprehensions though they might not be entirely well founded. With reference to the suggestions of improvement of the Government of India's agricultural statistics, Lord Crewe pointed out the difficulties arising from the conditions in India, but said he proposed to press the Government of India to make larger and more frequent returns. Lord Crewe said it had been suggested that the tenants along the irrigation canals should be required to grow a certain amount of cotton, as some were required to breed animals for Army Transport. The cases were not parallel. Animals were required for defence and tenants were assured of a market therefor. It was impossible to assure the market for cotton at a particular price. He was afraid that when there was a bumper American crop the cotton trade would not look at the Indian crop with the same favour. Lord Crewe said he had been much impressed with the advocacy of an additional European staff. The difficulty was the cost of a European staff and the lack of Indians suitably educated, but until there were enough Indians capable of undertaking the work, a few more Europeans might be appointed. He did not hesitate to say that there was nothing in the Indian character or intellect to prevent Indians doing this work quite as well as Europeans. He was glad that a number of young Indians were now turning their attention to industry, engineering and similar subjects in preference to literature. It was the desire of the Government of India to assign increasing amounts to the encouragement of different processes of agriculture. It was impossible to fix their minds entirely on cotton, but they were fully alive to its special importance. Lord Crewe concluded with the assurance that the points raised by the deputation would be submitted to the Government of India, and said that with regard to one or two of them he might suggest to the Government of India to do what it could to meet the views of the Deputation.

South Africa.

MR. LYTTLETON on the 26th June called attention to the Bill introduced into the Union Parliament by the Premier's Secretary regulating the holding of lands by natives and described it as tantamount to the introduction of forced labour. He understood that the Bill had been dropped, but said that if it represented the policy of the Union Government, then he pressed Mr. Harcourt to use his diplomatic influence to impress on the Union what he believed was the unanimous opinion of the House, and also the consequences, which would be either a native rising with which the British garrison would have to deal, a trek into towns or an exodus from the Union increasing the shortage of labour.

Mr. Harcourt said that if Mr. Lyttelton's fears were correct regarding the consequences of the Union Bill, the land-holding natives might be quite sure that the Union Government would act rightly in the matter uninfluenced by Mr. Harcourt. It was a matter entirely within the competence of the Union Government. Nobody knew better than Mr. Lyttelton the caution it was necessary to exercise in interfering with self-governing dominions.

General Botha delivered an outspoken speech at Riverside on the 29th June. He strongly deprecated certain private members' speeches in reference to South African affairs, especially natives affairs, in the Imperial Parliament, since people in other parts of the world could not realise the effect which such remarks had on the people of South Africa. The Union Parliament was the only place where the grievances of South Africa should be submitted and heard.

Afghanistan.

News received from Khost is to the effect that the Afghan General Abdul Aziz Khan is still interviewing the elders of Mangals, and Jadrans. He has received several jirgahs and made the

Headmen swear on the Koran to be loyal to the Amir. Posts which were destroyed by rebellious tribesmen are being rebuilt and the Fort at Matun is to be strengthened. More Afghan troops are said to be entering the valley to secure the complete submission of all concerned in the recent rising.

The *Englishman's* correspondent wiring on the 26th June says:—The Amir has ordered that the movable and immovable property of Jehandad Khan, who had fled to British territory, be confiscated and that his sons be kept in Kabul till his return to Afghanistan. Naib Salar Syed Shah Khan is at Shanwar ilaka settling the arrears of the Military Regiments accounts. The Amir has ordered Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan to be transferred to Hazarajat country from Asmar and Muhammad Sarwar Khan Logari from Kabul to Asmar in his place. Our Jellalabad correspondent writes that by the order of the Amir a small pamphlet has been published in the Persian and Pushto languages which will be delivered to the Mullahs throughout Afghanistan for them to preach among the people the Ayats of the Koran and show plainly that it is the duty of each and every Muhammadan who believes the Koran to be a sacred and holy book to be loyal to the King of Islam. The pamphlet is named "Nasayd-Namcha." Sardar Nasrullah Khan has sent instructions to Colonel Abdul Aziz Khan at Khost regarding the arrangement of the country, to select from each and every tribe two old men as Jirgah to sit with the Hakim of every town and settle civil and military cases; to send some old Raisis from Mangal and Jadran tribes to Kabul as Jirgah to the Amir; to keep in each and every town in Khost ilaka a box to receive applications addressed to the Amir and each Hakim is instructed to clear the box and send the contents to the Amir at Kabul.

The Amir now has some three thousand troops and tribal levies in Khost, but the position is still far from anything like what can be regarded from his point of view as a satisfactory settlement. It is true that the Mangals are negotiating, but they are demanding practical independence of Afghanistan as the price of consenting to pay what amounts to little more than a nominal tribute to the Amir's Government. The Afghan General may endeavour to patch up an understanding on this basis, but it is not likely to last for long.

The *Pioneer* says that during the recent rebellion in the Khost Valley it is now clearly established that none of the really powerful sections of the Ghilzais showed any desire to join the Mangals. Jahandad Khan had only a small personal following and he fled into British territory after a very short stay with the rebels. The Suleiman Khel and Ghilzais of the south never moved a single man and their abstention from joining in the quarrel probably disheartened the Mangals and Khostwals generally. It is now reported from Kabul that the ex-Governor of Khost, whose misgovernment brought about the rebellion, has been imprisoned by the Amir, pending an enquiry into his administration of the province. The rebels began to disperse as soon as Shahgassi, in obedience to orders from Kabul, had left Khost and their Jirgahs are now engaged in amicable negotiations with the Afghan authorities.

China.

A MESSAGE to the *Times* from Peking denies reports of probable conflict between North and South. The Cantonese in Peking ridicule the idea of a secession. The disbandment of troops continues steadily in many centres. Remittances are being increasingly forwarded to Peking from the Provinces for the expenses of Government.

There has been no fresh news from Kashgaria and it is not known yet what attitude the Peking Government has taken up regarding the future control of Chinese Turkestan as a whole.

Reuter wires from Peking:—Luchenghsiang, the Foreign Minister, has been appointed Premier and the Assembly has endorsed the appointment by 74 votes to 10.

Tibet.

REUTER wires from Chengtu:—The garrison of Lamaya has returned to Litang, which town is menaced by three thousand mounted Tibetans.

Serious dissensions exist among high officials at Litang. The soldiers have retreated to Hokow, loosing heavily. The situation at Batang is reported to be perilous.

A Kalimpong message, dated 29th, June says:—The Dalai Lama arrived in Chumbi yesterday. Now that he has re-entered Tibet another chapter in the life story of this extraordinary personage is closed and a new one begun. Whether this new one will be as stormy and chequered as the previous chapters in his life remains to be seen. There is a strong feeling here that he will have to indulge in another "Hejira" before very long.

There is a rumour current at Kalimpong that the Dalai Lama's favourite minister (who displayed such energy in the recent fighting) has been murdered by jealous Lamas. I hear that the Dalai Lama makes a long halt at Sam Ding ("soaring meditation") monastery, one of the most famous nunneries in Tibet, and the abode of the "pig-headed abbess" Dorje Pagmo ("the thunderbolt sow"). She belongs to the Ningmapa sect, but receives divine honours from Lamas of all sects. An amusing legend relates how one of her

predecessors saved the monastery by transforming herself and seventy nuns into pigs. Being a famous defender of Buddhism, the Dalai Lama probably has engaged her services for special *ponjas* against the Chinese. Sam Ding is only four marches from Lhasa.

The bazar dogs in Lhasa have become so bold and ferocious through feeding on the slain left lying on the streets that they attack people who dare to venture out of doors at night.

The number of high Tibetan officials murdered for their pro-Chinese sympathies is now said to be fifteen. Many of them were tortured. The abbot of Tengeling monastery was crucified and tortured so long as any signs of life remained.

Gulf Gun-Runners.

THE efforts of the Government to control illicit traffic in arms in the Persian Gulf have, according to Reuter's Agency, resulted in an undertaking by the Sultan of Muscat—the headquarters of the trade—that no arms shall in future be issued without a licence. If these regulations are enforced there will be an end to a traffic which has been of the greatest danger to the frontier of India and a cause of great expense to the Indian Government.

The Haj.

THE following *communiqué* has been issued:—Pilgrims for the Hedjaz are advised that in view of the difficulties in provisioning Camaran caused by the Italian operations they should carry with them sufficient supplies of sound provisions such as will keep good at least till they reach the Hedjaz. Provisions unfit for food will as in the past be destroyed by the Lazaret authorities at Camaran.

Behar Executive Council.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR has been pleased to approve of the appointment of the following gentlemen to be members of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa:—Mr. E. A. Gait, Mr. E. V. Levinge and Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameshwara Singh Bahadur of Durbhanga.

Mr. Justice Karamat Hussain.

MR. JUSTICE KARAMAT HUSSAIN sat for the last time as a Judge of the Allahabad High Court on the 29th June. Before leaving, the retiring Judge sat with all the Judges on the Bench, and Mr. Wallach, on behalf of the barristers, and Pundit Sunder Lall, on behalf of the vakils, addressed the Judge and wished him long life and health in his retirement. Presentations of a silver bowl and a silver inkstand were made by the barristers and vakils, respectively.

Women I.M.S.

IN THE House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Johnson-Hicks, it was stated the Government of India has now collected information for which it has been waiting with reference to the scheme for a Women's Indian Medical Service and that it will deal with the matter without avoidable delay.

Aga Khan's Candidature.

REUTER learns that His Highness the Aga Khan has consented to stand as the Bombay Muhammadan representative at the ensuing election to the Viceregal Legislature.

An Indian's Success.

THE Mechanical Sciences Tripos, which was published at Cambridge in mail week, was notable for the success of Inayatullah Khan, who, although only placed in the second class, is believed to be the first man to take honours in four different Triposes. After being bracketed 27th Wrangler in 1909, he obtained a first class in the Oriental Languages Tripos and a third class in the natural Sciences Tripos two years later. He must be placed in the front rank of Indians who have been educated in this country.

R. P. Paranjpye and A. T. Rajan were both bracketed Senior Wranglers, and S. A. Majid, a lineal descendant of Mahomed the Prophet, passed both parts of the Law Tripos and Oriental Languages tripos.

The nine candidates placed in the first class of the Mechanical Sciences Tripos include Mr. E. L. Kidd, this year's Cambridge cricket captain.

New Delhi.

THE town-planning experts submitted their full report last week which, it is understood, has been accepted by the Government of India. The report will be sent home this week for approval by the Secretary of State.

It is understood that arrangements are under consideration with a view to the provision to be made at the new capital for the educational needs of children, European and Indian, of the Government of India staffs. Statistics are in the first instance to be collected of the number of children for whom the necessary measures will have to be undertaken at Delhi, where existing educational institutions are but few, and inadequate for the condition of affairs, which will hereafter arise at the new capital.

TETE À TETE



WE HAVE received by the last mail through the Bank of Bengal a receipt from the Société du Croissant Rouge, Turkish Relief Fund. Ottoman, for £600, which we had remitted as our second instalment of the Turkish Relief

Fund. We have thus been able to send £1,000 up to this time for the relief of the war sufferers, and we hope we will very shortly be in a position to send another remittance of at least £500. We have hitherto been receiving voluntary contributions from all over India to the Fund and we trust the Moslem public will continue to send material help with the same enthusiasm to those who are trying to mitigate the sufferings of their brethren caused by an unrighteous war. Elsewhere we publish an appeal for subscription sent to us by the British Red Crescent Society, London. We also reproduced in our last issue some other appeals which recently appeared in the British press on behalf of the starving Arabs of Tripoli. The tale of misery and wretchedness they disclose is harrowing in the extreme, and we think there is not a single Moslem whose heart will not go out in pity and grief to his brethren in distress. We therefore appeal to the sense of generosity and fellow feeling of the Indian Moslems and earnestly hope that their response to the call of duty, humanity and faith will be ungrudging. The extent of actual want and suffering will be realised by a perusal of the letter which has been sent to us by Mr. F. C. Dixon-Johnson, the Director of the British Red Crescent Mission in Tripoli. He writes: "I have recently returned from Tripoli where the hospital sent out by the British Red Crescent Society is doing good work, not only for the sick and wounded Ottoman soldiers, but also the native population. The thousands of women and children refugees who have fled inland from the coast oases are suffering terribly from hunger and exposure. They have little clothing and no shelter and the nights are often very cold. The Turkish military authorities assist these people so far as they are able: at Azizia every day a little flour and oil is given out to each, but it is very insufficient and soon some of these poor wretches become too weak to attend the daily distribution. Further assistance is most urgently needed and as I am returning again in a very short time I shall be glad to take charge of any funds that are subscribed. All subscriptions should be sent to—Tripoli Famine Fund, British Red Crescent Society, Coutt's Bank, Strand, London. I feel certain that if your readers saw what I have seen not one would neglect to help. The details are too horrible to write about; to appreciate suffering it is necessary to see it. Whether our sympathies are with the Turk or the Italian it is our duty to help these innocent victims. Britain rightly appreciated those splendid men who sacrificed themselves to save the women and children on the *Titanic*; everyone of your readers can do something to save the women and children in Tripoli. There is an Arabian proverb which says 'It is a thousandfold better to give away your own dinner than that a hungry man should stand at the doorway'."

The figures of the Law Examination results recently published by the Allahabad University afford a very instructive reading. No less than 479 candidates appeared in the Previous Examination of Law out of which 316 were successful. And no less than 133 candidates passed the test for the L.L.B.

Degree out of a total of 239. The number of graduates qualifying themselves for the legal profession is enormously on the increase. The increase is in some respects decidedly alarming. The total number of those who have passed B. A. this year is 359. The comparison of the figures for the degree of the Bachelor of Arts and for the Law (Previous) has a grave significance. In plain language it means that only a microscopic minority of the finished products of the University goes out of the profession of Law to seek livelihood in other fields of activity. While we welcome the growth of the lawyer class in Indian society, we confess we cannot conceal our alarm at the fast pace at which it is multiplying. It means the starving of many other more important functions of society. The lawyer as a class is economically not very productive, and, however useful he may be in the adjustment of social relations, his ultimate value in the sum of things depends only on his proportionate representation in the body social. The scope of career for the Indian graduates is no doubt restricted, but new openings can be created if our graduates displayed greater grit of character, initiative and enterprise. Incidentally it also shows that the prospects of service under the Government are none too attractive for educated young Indians, though we recognise that some of the Law graduates never practise and secure a Law Degree to improve their chances of obtaining a post in the administration.

When Russia first divulged to the world the big project of the Trans-Persian Railway, after she had secured an easy consent from the British Foreign Office, the British public was lost in admiration of the audacity of the undertaking, and very few publicists grasped its strategic and political significance. Very soon, however, the glamour of the bold conception melted into space and the scheme began to look as ugly and ominous as the Russian motives behind it. The Liberal Press in England is now uniformly ranged against it, and many eminent journalists of Conservative leanings have also sounded a shrill note of alarm. The Military Correspondent of the *Times* came out rather tardily the other day with grave doubts and apprehensions, though the *Times* itself is as yet too deeply enamoured of the Muscovite blandishments to view the project in its true perspective. Sir Edward Grey had, as usual, committed himself before the House of Commons could have had its say in the matter; and now that the opposition is gaining in strength and volume, he is, as usual, proving himself very resourceful in apologies. Whether the well-founded protests and alarms of the critics of the proposed railway will have any effect is rather doubtful. The formal decision to participate in the project has already been announced by the Imperial Government and it is very unlikely that Muscovite diplomacy will allow Sir Edward Grey to wriggle out of the tight situation. Our wonder, however, is that the process of eye-opening has been so slow. The British stake in the Middle East problem is the heaviest, yet British diplomacy was never so halting, haphazard and short-sighted as it is to-day.

Last year's report on the condition and management of the jails in the United Provinces is just to hand. We cannot say that it is very pleasant reading. Several points are raised by the officiating Inspector-General which call for early consideration by the Government. We note in particular the great inadequacy of the Aid to Discharged Prisoners' Fund. The sum approximately allotted works out to Re. 1 per head. This, even, by the Inspector-General's

admission "is barely sufficient to enable the discharged prisoners to reach their homes"—to say nothing of leaving some balance on the strength of which they might try to turn over a new leaf and start an honourable life. "The difficulties of the destitute prisoners on release," continues Colonel Henderson, "scarcely need to be mentioned, and it cannot be wondered, however good their intentions may be, that they sometimes fall through dire necessity." This is the language of the officer in charge of the Department himself, and it discloses a state of affairs which, to say the least of it, is reprehensible. We believe that not the least important function of the jail department is to exercise a reformatory influence on the character of the inmates. As it is, the distress that a released prisoner would suffer (under the circumstances, would only tend to perpetuate—nay, accentuate—the morbid proclivities of perverse natures. It has been proved beyond doubt that the new convict is by no means an absolutely lost creature and that he may be yet reclaimed to serve his community according to the measure of his capacity and opportunities. What we would particularly warn the Government about is that the jail bird when he sinks into the gutter again after his first sentence is alike a more dangerous and a more intractable creature. It would, therefore, be a dark blot on the system of British justice if the jails only ended in making the culprit a more fearless and practised desperado. We confidently hope that now that the attention of the Government has been drawn towards this outstanding defect of jail administration by the Inspector-General himself, the authorities will take early steps to remedy the evil. There is very little else in the report which calls for particular notice. The number of prisoners is a factor dominated by so many diverse influences that it can scarcely be an index to the morality of the people. The Coronation and the good harvest, for example, would naturally combine to produce a decrease, so that we have no reason for gratification in the 3.7 per cent. fall in the number of prisoners. We are glad to see that the number of deaths has decreased this year and the general health of the patients is very good. The expenditure of guarding and maintaining the prisoners has decreased, and while we do not think this is quite the line along which any great economy should be practised, we are glad that the slight curtailment has partly been the result of increased earnings by the jail factories, and has not been secured at the sacrifice of efficiency in the guarding staff, which—particularly the Indian section—seems to have done excellent work.

We have drawn the attention of the Government time and again to the defects of the system now obtaining of bestowing titles and rewards.

We have never quarrelled with the basic principle of allotting the titles to meritorious gentlemen who have made themselves prominent in the eyes of the bureaucracy by rendering some remarkable Service to the State or by public philanthropy. What is open to question is how far this unimpeachable principle is adhered to in practice. It is a notorious fact that the bestowal of these titles hinges more on the recommendations of the officials than on the position the recipients have attained in the estimation of the public. This system has naturally resulted in a disreputable scrimmage for Khan Bahadurships, and Rai Bahadurships, not by establishing a claim to it by serving the true interests of the public but by adopting means not always above suspicion. True, excuses can be found both for the recipients and the recommending officials. The one succumbs to the great weakness even of the greatest minds—a soul-hunger for fame—the other is after all a man with all the natal imperfections of human nature; and we would be far too exacting if we expected him to be absolutely proof against adulation. But the fact remains that the system now in force has discredited these titles in the public esteem to a degree which cannot by a long way be to the best interests of the recipients or of the State. Far be it from us

to deny that amid the galaxy of titleholders there have always been some people who, to quote the words of the late Moulana Nazir Ahmad, I.L.D., brought more honour to the titles than the titles brought to them. But the conviction has of late been gaining ground with the public—and, we are inclined to believe, not wholly without some justification—that these orders and ribbons are badges not of true worth but of proficiency in the arts of dancing attendance on the officials, of laying conscience comfortably to sleep on all those occasions on which the procedure adopted by the Government runs counter to the interests of the public, of being ultra-cautious in the matter of warning the bureaucracy of the evil effects of any blunders it might be disposed to commit—in short of sinking into subservience whenever there is the least suspicion that by asserting themselves in the advocacy of the cause righteous they would be risking the displeasure of the *Calattar Sahib*, not to mention higher dignitaries. Of late this suspicion in the public mind of the real merits of titleholders has reached such an acute stage that gentlemen of undoubted ability and high standing, who set a proper value on the opinion of the public and are even ready to sacrifice to it the hitherto irresistible charm of official preferment, have been constrained to decline the titles which the Government had conferred on them as a rather tardy recognition of their selfless activities in public life. The most recent of such cases are those of Babu S. C. Sarvadhikary, the editor of the *Hindu Patriot* and of Maulvie Karamat Hossain Sahib of Arrah, in Behar. We submit that the bureaucracy owes it as much to its own prestige as to the dignity of the titles and the interests of the recipients to give an early consideration to this matter. It is an open secret that the promotions that are now available for the Indian servants of Government are anything but an adequate recompense for really deserving service; and not unoften the Government has to fall back upon the auxiliary reward of recompensing life of incessant activity by awarding titles and badges. Thus whatever reduces the value of these titles in the public eye necessarily weakens their incentive to earnest endeavour. We fail to see the logic of the Government systematically forgetting to consult the views of the would-be recipients before finally gazetting the award of the titles. Such prior consultation is quite as indispensable for saving the face of the Government as for protecting deserving Indians in the Government Service from the odium in which many non-Official Khan Bahadurs and Rai Bahadurs have involved these titles.

None can deny that although titles and rewards are not a very infallible criterion of true worth, still on many occasions—and we sincerely hope these will be more frequent—a sympathetic

A Quiet Worker.

and able official recognises the worth of a quiet and earnest worker by recommending him for the due reward of his merit. Thus, we believe, is more often the case with the lately instituted Imperial Service Order and Medals, than with the antiquated Khan Bahadurships and Rai Bahadurships. And though we are disposed to believe that these orders and medals are not as constantly operative a stimulus as the permanent social advancement of a titleholder, still we congratulate the Government on its wisdom in determining—as it seems to have done—to establish the prestige and, in the public eye, the purity of these new decorations by bestowing them on those who are really deserving and are universally respected among its servants,—quite irrespective of colour, rank or creed. One of the quietest of these quiet workers is Mr. Khan Abdul Majid Khan, Inspector of Co-operative Credit Societies in the district of Jullandhur. The sustained endeavours of this worthy officer for the betterment of the condition of the poor agriculturists of his district have just been rewarded by the bestowal of the Silver Medal of the Kaiser-i-Hind. We heartily congratulate the Khan on this public and official recognition of his earnest labour in such

a good cause; and many of our readers will discover particular reason for jubilation in the fact that the Khan is the popular late Football Captain, and a prominent Old Boy of Aligarh. That the establishing of these Co-operative Credit Societies all over India is one of the most prominently beneficent acts of a benign Government is a fact, which we take it, has long past the controversial stage. We believe it is accepted on all hands that it is ultimately destined to prove the salvation of the Indian rural community. Alike for the educative, the disciplinary and the constructive side of its usefulness the system has already established itself too firmly in the confidence of the public to need any further advocacy. And the fact that even within such an incredibly short space of time it has attained the catching tendency of a prairie fire and that even in the most backward provinces the number of these Societies, their membership and their capital is doubling itself year after year is ample enough demonstration of the public appreciation of their indubitable merits. In the Punjab these Societies have come more prominently to the fore than perhaps anywhere else. The Land Alienation Act, though rightly intended to save the landed agriculturists from utter annihilation, was likely to destroy credit by destroying the exchange value of land, which has been almost the sole security of agrarian classes in all ages and all climes. No agricultural community in any part of the world has ever been above the need of credit, and as in India particularly the grinding poverty, the notorious improvidence, the variable character of harvests and, more than anything else, the prevailing ignorance and consequent lack of corporate action among the agriculturists, have made credit the mainstay of the cultivating population, the prospects of the land-owning classes with a restricted ownership of land and shattered credit seemed to be conducive to the darkest pessimism. But the establishment of the Co-operative Credit Societies proved their salvation by making available to them a system of credit which, while possessing all the benefits of facility, tended at the same time to minimise, if not preclude, the possibility of the worst abuses of facile credit. When Mr. Abdul Majid Khan was first put in official charge of the Jullandhur Societies in 1908 there were only 56 co-operative banks within his jurisdiction. In 1910 their number rose to 197 and in 1912 it stands at 400. The membership of these Societies was confined to 4,000 in 1908 and now the number has swelled to 26,000. Nor has the increase in the capital of the Societies been less remarkable. The total capital available has multiplied itself five-fold during the régime of Mr. Abdul Majid Khan and has increased from Rs. 4,00,000 in 1908 to approximately Rs. 20,00,000 at the present moment. In fact the progress made is so satisfactory that the Society authorities of this district have found themselves in a position to extend the scope of the usefulness of their Society all over the Punjab, and have given advances to banks in such far off districts as Umballa, Karnal, Grudaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala and even those of the Provincial capital—Lahore. Nor has the educative influence of these banks and their effect in checking the growing craze for litigation, which is sapping the resources of the country, been less apparent. The District Judge of Jullandhur himself observed in his annual report that these banks are responsible for a decrease of 1,100 in the number of cases which have come up to the Court during the year under review in comparison with the previous year. Besides, the Societies are not limiting their activities to the department of credit, but have even so early as this begun to branch out into those other departments of co-operation: co-operative stores, co-operative purchasing and co-operative sale agencies without which the co-operative movement cannot attain its full fruition. The Khan has also assured the future prospects of the Society by enlisting both the official and the public sympathy in the cause. All the higher Government officials now make it a point to scrutinise particularly the development of the Co-operative Societies in all the districts they tour in and to encourage and foster their uninterrupted development by all the means in their power.

The leisured classes too are now taking a lively interest in the establishment of these institutions and are largely responsible for their flourishing condition. And all this progress has been achieved in face of all that stubborn opposition by the interested and by no means impotent class of Bunnias, against which Society officers have always had to battle in India, to say nothing of the thousand and one obstructions which such a movement is naturally doomed to encounter in a country with no tradition of corporate endeavour beyond the narrow limits of the village community, with a past history by no means conducive to a growth of credit and an outstanding national trait of blind conservatism and stolid imperviousness to the leaven of new ideas. Surely this is a record of which any patriotic Indian official or non-official might well be proud. And we congratulate the Jullandhur public and the district administration on having a zemindar and an officer of Mr. Abdul Majed Khan's calibre in their midst.

TURKISH RELIEF FUNDS.

	Rs	As.	P.
Through Mumtaz Ali Saheb, Quetta ...	100	0	0
Moulvi Bashir Ahmad Saheb, Etawah ...	10	0	
Through Muhammad Hosain, Esq., Nurhat ...	2	4	0
Syed Muhammad Hosain, Esq., Hyderabad, Deccan...	4	0	0
Through Muhammad Akbar, Esq., Kabul Co., Simla	60	0	0
Through V. Shaikh Daood, Esq., Karikal—			
N. S. M. M. Abdul Kadir Marikar, Esq. ...	11	0	0
Messrs. A. M. Bawa Maricar, M. Said Ahmad			
and a widow, rupee one each ...	3	0	0
Through Mirza Muhammad Zahid Beg, Esq., Afzalganj,			
Hyderabad, Deccan ...	128	12	0
Habibur Rahman Khan, Esq., Habibganj, Aligarh ...	100	0	0
Through Badrur Rahman, Esq., Haiya, Dist. Noakhali	22	0	0
Through Mr. Muhammad Ali, Anna Mayya ...	2	0	0
Through M. Alimuddin, Esq., Bihar—			
Syed Muzaffarul Hasan, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Moulvi Abdul Majid, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Minor Subscriptions ...	2	0	0
M. Ahmad, Esq., Mandalay ...	1	0	0
Syed Abdul Majid, Esq., Dhilwani ...	5	0	0
Amount received during the week ...	453	0	0
Amount previously acknowledged ...	19,203	1	0
TOTAL ...	19,656	1	0



Verse.

Ad Aethera.

The star-crowned beauty of this glorious night
Doth make the earth-imprisoned spirit long
To soar on fiery pinions swift and strong
Into the regions of eternal light ;
To gain the constellations burning bright,
To catch the burden of the mystic song
Hummed by the planets as they whirl along
Their destined course upon th' empyreal height !
That deathless melody the soul hath known
Ere mortal birth, when, wafted on the wings
Of Love Divine, it ranged the glittering Zone,
And mingled with the unseen choir that sing
Its hymns of triumph round the Eternal throne
Of Life and Light, whence all Creation springs.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

The Comrade.

Some War Publications.*

OF MORE general interest than the other two publications, Mr. Bennett's book deals with many aspects of the war as they presented themselves to an observant man of culture. He has a great admiration for the Turk, and especially for the Young Turk, but it does not appear to be the result of any special predilection of long standing in favour of the Ottomans. He certainly started with sympathy for the Turks in a wholly unprovoked war, but whatever predilection he now has for the Turks is entirely an acquired one and the result of his own observations during the few weeks that he spent in Tripoli. The time has been a very trying one, and the character of the Turks has been well tested by the rigours of the war ; it is therefore unlikely that Mr. Bennett has set too high a value on the soldiers of Turkey. It goes without saying that Mr. Bennett is an admirer of the courage of Turkish soldiers. He refers to their poor equipment during the Cretan insurrections of 1898 when he saw the Turkish troops, and adds that, if the Turkish soldiers were unkempt 14 years ago in Crete, they present even a stranger spectacle in Tripoli to-day. "Most of the soldiers," he writes, "wore bedraggled suits of khaki serge or drill, and many of them had bluish-grey great-coats ; but their garments were torn in every direction, buttons and shoulder-straps were missing, and nothing remained of some of their boots except the soles. Nevertheless, one could travel all over the wide world and find no better soldiers than these ragged regiments—'*Si patients, si braves, mais, monsieur, il n'y a pas de l'argent*' (so patient, so brave ; but, sir, he has no money), as an old captain once remarked to me in the evil days of the old *régime*." After this he adds, "The more I see Ottoman troops in various parts of the world, the more I realize their value, and I am convinced that under their new and improved conditions they have few equals. The French are admirable fighters, but they are sometimes too elated by success and unduly depressed by failure. The Turk is a happy mean between these two extremes. He is never boastful, but during the present campaign against immensely superior forces, the Turkish regulars, officers and men alike, have displayed acts of almost incredible coolness and courage. On the other hand, he endures reverses, small or great, with admirable fortitude." He is an eye-witness of the retirement of the small forces at Ain Zara when General Peccori's division, 15,000 strong, menaced their flank. "The regulars," he says, "marched away in a most leisurely fashion without any sign of apprehension as to possible attacks by the enemy's cavalry." But he adds that, perhaps, by that time, they had got to know the Italians and estimate them at their true fighting value ! There is one feature of the Turkish army which struck him as remarkable, and that was the excellent feeling which subsisted between all ranks. "The discipline is," he says, "admirable, and I have never detected any trace of undue familiarity, but officers and men are bound together by ties of real affection and mutual respect."

Mr. Bennett's remarks about Turkish officers are, if anything, even more complimentary. He observes that it was the fashion in the days of the Russo-Turkish war to decry the Turkish officers while according just praise to the gallant soldiers of Suleiman Pasha, Mukhtar Pasha and Osman Pasha. "But if," writes

1. * *The Turko-Italian War and its Problems* by Sir Thomas Barclay. (London : Constable and Co., Ltd., Rs. 4-6.)

2. *Italian Warfare in Tripoli and Moslem Feeling in India* (W. Spaight and Soas, Fetter Lane, London, As. 8.)

3. *With the Turks in Tripoli* by Ernest N. Bennett. (London : Methuen and Co., Ltd., Rs. 3.)

Mr. Bennett, "general charges of inefficiency and worse were justified in 1878, it is perfectly clear that the Turkish officers of to-day, the men who have passed through the Harbia College and have seen service in Thessaly, Crete and Macedonia, and that scene of incessant conflict, the Yemen, are efficient soldiers, keen about their profession and thoroughly in sympathy with their men. As to their social qualities, go where you will over the wide world, and you will find nobody so kind, courteous and considerate, nobody who better deserves the name of 'gentleman' than the Turkish officer." He acknowledges his deep sense of obligation to good friends and comrades amongst the Turkish officers, and from various incidents during his journey to the seat of war and his sojourn there, it is clear that he has not exaggerated the virtues of the Turks out of excessive gratitude. He, of course, made it a rule from the start in this campaign to cause as little trouble as he possibly could to the Turkish Staff. As he says, "when one saw the cruel difficulties under which these gallant soldiers held their own, and experienced every form of personal kindness and hospitality at their hands, it would indeed have been an outrage to make unreasonable demands." Nevertheless, the Turkish officers went out of their way to make Mr. Bennett comfortable and suffered a good deal themselves in their efforts to secure his comfort and convenience. But this was nothing peculiar to the case of Mr. Bennett. The following extract illustrates the kindly disposition of the Turks admirably:—

One of the correspondents who arrived a week earlier than myself had been lent a horse by the Staff and had "stuck to it," and another had been lent a military bell-tent by the Commandant at Zuara. I do not for a moment criticize either of these gentlemen for their possession of the horse or the tent—they were friends of mine and of Turkey too. I will only say that they were lucky to find a Staff which would provide such requisites. No other army in the world would dream of equipping correspondents in these respects gratis. All that a correspondent can reasonably expect from an army to which he is formally attached is the ordinary food rations. As to liberty of action, the Press representatives were permitted to do practically what they liked, although the vast extent of the area covered by the defensive forces and the difficulties of transport over sandy tracts, rendered it difficult to see as much of the operations as one would have liked. Take one more example of Turkish generosity. In the camp at Azizieh was a gentleman, a British subject, but a Levantine by birth, who had arrived without any regular credentials from a newspaper, but with the express intention of "writing a book." He was a man of real ability and considerable information derived from life and troubles in India and the nearer East, but absolutely devoid of all campaigning experience and without the most elementary knowledge of military affairs. Despite the fact that he was known to have severely attacked the policy of the actual party to which Fethi Bey is a devoted adherent, this gentleman was shown every courtesy by the Chief of the Staff and even permitted to visit the lines of the Turkish Defence. I do not blame him for availing himself of his opportunities. I feel sure he would not abuse them. At the same time I congratulate him on his good fortune in discovering so facile and complaisant a Staff as that of the Azizieh headquarters. He may rest assured that nowhere else in the civilized world would an ordinary journalist, unattached to an army by any formal credentials as the Press representative, be permitted to loam at will in the theatre of war—to arrive when he likes and depart when he likes! And I am bound to add that, in the eyes of anyone accustomed to the conditions of service in modern warfare, the complaisant attitude assumed by the Turkish Staff towards visitors *ad extra* appeared to extend beyond the limits of reasonable courtesy and pass into the category of a tolerance altogether quixotic and preposterous.

When Mr. Bennett comes to deal with the Arabs, the picture is not uniformly complimentary. He acknowledges the patriotism of the Arabs and ridicules the stories which Italian newspapers have spread that the Arabs are fighting only because compelled by the Turks. "Compulsion indeed! Apart from the numerical proportion of Turks and Arabs, a glance at the faces of these Arabs when the word 'Italiano' is mentioned is enough to disabuse any writer's mind of this belief." At another place he remarks that Turkey is faced with the question—Will the Arabs remain faithful? And his answer is full of assurance.

There are certainly no signs of any defection at present. At the time of the great rains in November the loyalty of the Arabs round Tripoli was put to a severe test. The rainfall for 1908-9-10 had been miserably inadequate and the utter failure of the harvests had caused many Arabs to migrate into Tunis in order to escape starvation. And so when the beneficent rain descended in full measure, the husbandmen were miles away from their little fields. Some few returned for a time to their farms, but the vast majority placed patriotism before pocket and remained at their posts even at the risk of subsequent starvation for themselves and their families.

He is amazed at their physical courage and mentions the case of wounded Arabs absolutely refusing chloroform for their operations.

Men calmly submitted to the amputation of arms and legs without any anæsthetic, a thing almost incredible to Europeans, more susceptible to mental and physical tortures. A poor Arab woman who was operated upon for the removal of an Italian bullet from her side endured the pain of the deep incision and a prolonged operation without chloroform and without tears.

At another place he writes:—

The amount of battering these water-drinking Arabs and Turks will stand, before they succumb, is astonishing. One Arab *walked* 28 miles to Azizieh from the firing line with *seven* bullet wounds in him, and, after treatment, refusing to be sent to the big base hospital at Gharian, insisted on returning to the front!

Describing his journey to the Turkish headquarters he says:—

As we reached Bir Terin, our bivouac for the night, the gleaming searchlight of an Italian cruiser swept over the desert and caught our little caravan in the arc of its faint radiance. The sight of the poor Arabs silhouetted against the electric rays saddened me. Searchlights, Maxims, batteries, warships, aeroplanes—the odds seemed so terrible! But these sons of the desert, with their rags and their rifles, have, after all, the essential quality—they are not afraid to die. With anything like equality in military equipment, I doubt if any European troops could stand against these Arabs.

In addition to courage and stamina, the Arab is acknowledged by the writer to be "one of the most mobile of fighting men." "He slings his rifle over his shoulder, carries his cartridges in the folds of his jibbah, can live contentedly on barley bread, a few dates, and a little water, and, finally, can carry out marches of almost incredible length without fatigue."

But here, according to Mr. Bennett, the Arab's virtues end. He is impetuous and reckless. An ever-present terror in camp arises from "the incessant firing of their rifles by the Arabs." "They handled their Mausers," writes Mr. Bennett, "like children with new toys, and directly after cleaning the barrels fired off a cartridge (which of course helped to dirty the rifle again) in order to see if their precious gun was in good order." This led to many accidents, and when Mr. Bennett complained of this wild and dangerous waste of ball cartridges—they even aimed at birds with ball cartridge—to the medical staff and other officers, they only shrugged their shoulders and said it was "impossible to control or discipline these Arabs." As in modern warfare there is not so much of the headlong rush and the "forlorn hope", the absence of fire control and the existence of excessive impetuosity takes a good deal away from the military value of the Arabs.

But even these intractable irregulars have become tractable under the commandant at Zuara, Bimbashi (Major) Mahomed Musa Bey. He comes from the Yemen and is a relative of Imam Yehya, the famous leader in successive revolts against Turkish authority, but now in full accord with his fellow Muslims in face of the common peril to Islam. Musa Bey was trained in the Military College at Stanboul and has shown consummate ability during his command of the Zuara coast-line. The following account of this great Arab leader gives a true picture of the Arab's control over the Arabs.

His influence over the Arabs is amazing. Every morning a crowd of these irregulars would assemble behind the officers' quarters with all manner of requests, grievances and items of information. There stood the Commandant, his well-worn tunic open, slippers on his feet, a small white cap on his head, with no sword—this had been smashed by a shell splinter. In half an hour everything would be settled, and the Arabs would go off to their posts happy and contented. But Musa Bey

was firm as well as kind. When the first bombardment occurred the townspeople were filled with dismay, and it seemed for the moment as if a headlong flight of the population might leave Zuara almost at the mercy of an Italian landing party. The Commandant, however, after his orders to "be steady" were disregarded, drew his revolver and without further ado shot the two chief panickmongers dead. Confidence was thus restored, and now every day a large body of Arabs lies waiting along the coast for the long threatened disembarkation of an Italian force, and longing for an opportunity to meet the hated invaders at close quarters.

The effect of the discipline infused into the Arabs can be seen in the account which Mr. Bennett gives of the rout of an Italian force at Sidi Said, the place which is of some importance now as the Italians have proclaimed this week that they have gained a victory there, though presumably it must be a repetition of the Zanzur "victory." He writes that on December 15th, a certain excess of valour having inspired the Italians, two warships arrived opposite the Marabout of Sidi Said some 25 miles from the frontier. The warships came to anchor and a party of the sailors were actually landed from a steam launch. But an Arab woman standing near the tomb of this holy man, who has given its name to the place, witnessed the arrival of the Italians and, like a goose on the Capitol, screamed out her warning notes to some men working in the adjoining fields. These Arabs advanced to give battle, but the landing party did not wait for further developments and instantly clambered into the launch and steamed off to the ship, which thereupon fired many rounds of shrapnel at the sand-dunes and disappeared. Then follows a vivid description of the reception given to the cruisers when they anchored close to the beach next morning.

The Arabs were alert and faithfully carried out the orders issued by Major Musa Bey, the Zuara Commandant, viz., to carefully conceal themselves in the sand-dunes and allow the Italians to land and advance some distance before firing a shot. When I saw the Arabs watching the Italians from their hiding places in the sand, their eyes glistening and their whole being absorbed with the hope that the enemy would come ashore, I was always reminded of my favourite setter "Dick" who sometimes joins me, without permission, when I am waiting for flighting ducks in Norway. When a duck sails up and flops into the water far out in the lagoon, "Dick" shivers and bristles and gently whines in his intense excitement, and I have to hold him down by force. Musa Bey had infused some measure of discipline into his Arabs, and there they lay in the dunes, their fingers itching to fire on the invaders. The first detachment was commanded by an officer and carried trenching tools. The launch made two other journeys, and the three boat-loads, some 150 men all told, advanced cautiously from the beach. The officer led the way, and continually stopped to survey the plain and the distant hills with his field glasses. Just as the landing party commenced to climb the dunes the Arabs opened fire. The officer, badly wounded, fell on his knees, and a second bullet killed him outright. The effect on the Italians was striking. The 150 men simply turned tail and bolted in utter confusion to the beach, hotly followed by 34 Arabs, who could no longer be restrained from pursuit. The sailors managed to carry off the body of their officer and six killed or wounded comrades, but they left on the sand 50 picks and shovels, 300 cartridges, and a number of sailors' caps. One Arab was wounded by a bullet which pierced his cheek and smashed his jawbone.

Apart from the military qualities and shortcomings of the Arabs, Mr. Bennett has many social defects to find in them. "They are," he writes, "with, of course, striking exceptions, mirthless, grim, ungrateful, cruel and, above all, filled with an absorbing spirit of greed from childhood to old age. Pericles in his great speech stated that the love of honour is the sentiment which abides latest in the human mind in the case of the Arab it is love of money. The feelings of the average Arab expressed or latent are fixed on 'feluss' and 'baksheesh', and in order to make himself master of a trifle he will sometimes stoop to brutal violence and even bloodshed." In connection with the alleged avarice of the Arab, Mr. Bennett refers to the bribing of Hassouna Pasha and some of his hangers-on. They did their utmost to corrupt the inhabitants of villages near Tripoli, like Gargaresh and Zanzur. He says it was notorious all along the coast from Ajilat to the frontier that a cer-

tain number of local Arabs had been tampered with by the Italians. The former Commandant of Zuara, Ahmed Bin Muntasir was heavily bribed in order to facilitate the long-delayed landing at that point, but most fortunately the treachery of this scoundrel was detected in time, and he is now undergoing a thoroughly deserved punishment in the common jail at Gharian. Writing on the same subject Mr. Bennett says:—

money is indeed the root of all evil, the ethical system of the average Arab must be in a bad way. Considerations of petty finance form a veritable obsession amongst these natives. Camel drivers will never miss an opportunity of using their monetary difficulties for an appeal *ad misericordiam* and a demand for large *baksheesh* at the journey's end. Listen to the incessant prattle of the Arabs as they sit round their fires in the evening and chatter all through the night—the burden of their talk is money, money, money. Franc, piastre, medjidie, soldi, *baksheesh*, how much, not enough—such terms and phrases occur in damnable reiteration. A group of camel-men will argue hotly with each other for hours about a minute difference in their pay, realized or prospective.

Mr. Bennett contrasts the humanity of the Turks in the treatment of animals with the callous brutality of the Arabs, and says that the latter's treatment of his animals is on a par with what he metes out to his fellow-men.

While the Turk is always kind to children and animals, the Arab is unequalled for his callous indifference to animal suffering. His alleged love for his horse is a mere fable. If his horse or his donkey or his camel can cover so many miles from stage to stage, he rarely troubles to water them on the way, even when the water is easily accessible. If a frightful wound caused by his own brutality or carelessness does not actually injure the progress of the beast, he leaves it untended to fester in the sun.

Once Mr. Bennett noticed with great horror a most shocking wound in the flank of the horse he had hired the evening before. The flesh was torn away and a portion of the ribs exposed. His Arab servant was quite bewildered by his concern and could not be brought to understand why he protested against such treatment. "At length," says Mr. Bennett, "he openly laughed and asked me why I was upset by the appearance of the wound. It did not, he said, prevent the horse from travelling quickly, and it would certainly accomplish the work for which I had paid, viz., my conveyance on its back as far as Zuara." He gives another instance of a camel, a portion of whose hump had been torn off by the careless packing of its heavy load and the bone splintered. These are allegations which we feel bound to believe, although they put the Arab in a much worse light than we have ever viewed him before.

Education in the United Provinces.

THE results of the various examinations recently published by the University of Allahabad call for a detailed study with reference to the general state of education in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Figures for provincial education as ascertained in the last census have not yet appeared in tabulated form; and we cannot, therefore, estimate the educational progress of the people in the last decade, particularly of the masses, in the absence of adequate data. In some of the larger provinces educational returns have already been compiled. We had occasion to deal the other day with the figures published by the Punjab Government and estimate their bearing on the intellectual and moral condition of the people. We think it should not be necessary to remind the United Provinces Government, which appears to be loudly progressive in some of its ways, that the results of the Census in tabulated form under various heads of general importance and interest should have been published with more despatch.

The last University results, though not an infallible test in themselves, afford a fairly reliable and correct measure of the growth of secondary and higher education in the Province. The total population of the United Provinces, according to the last census, is 48,012,577. This community of about 48 millions,

comprising many races and creeds, is in varying stages of social development. In the main features of its social organisation it still retains the old economic basis, though the flood of new ideas and the growth of new economic conditions are gradually demolishing the ancient landmarks. The time is still distant when the provincial communities in India would be efficiently organised and adapted to modern needs. As things are, the social organism is rickety and out of gear. If only the public men of this country realised the enormous waste of power and the economic futility to which the existing social conditions gave birth, there would, we are sure, be a deeper sense of the importance of the educational factor in India's problem. It is only by courtesy that we may at present style as "provincial communities" the mass of human atoms, loosely held together by habit or by traditions that are fast losing their vital force and meaning. The real cohesive force that comes from some great unifying purpose is wanting. To create an intellectual atmosphere for the growth of that purpose is the main task at which the public men of this country should be resolutely engaged. It is only when the ground has been cleared of social prejudices and sentimental humbug that sound and balanced views on the organisation of Indian society would take root, which might ultimately grow up into a complete and co-ordinated system of national education. For the present, we have our provincial communities as so many loose social improvisations for crude economic needs, top-heavy, beginning to lose their essential character as agricultural tribes and feudal organisations in their hopeless economic struggle with the brand new industrial democracies of the West.

It, therefore, requires no large gift of the imagination to realise the urgent need for the spread and many-sided development of provincial education. There is needed, first of all, a widespread enlightenment that there may ultimately grow up a unity of effort and aspiration. But, above all, it is necessary to organise facilities for the diffusion of what is generally known as technical knowledge with special reference to the changing needs of the economic situation. The United Provinces Government made some efforts a few years ago to establish experimental farms and technical schools in order to foster the development of agriculture on modern lines and prepare skilled artisans for provincial industries. No great results have, however, yet been achieved in these directions and we confess we can see no appreciable advantage accruing from half-measures of this kind. The problems of agriculture and of industrial development are gigantic in their scope and magnitude and require a bold, thorough and systematic treatment. One of the most important factors that would have a decisive bearing on the solution of these problems is the mentality of the mass of the people. The organisation of mass education, especially with reference to the agricultural and the industrial needs of the Province, ought, therefore, to claim the undivided attention of the provincial Government. It would appear from the report of the Director of Public Instruction that the condition of primary education in the United Provinces is not very satisfactory. Several primary schools were actually closed last year and the number of school-going children fell appreciably. Whatever may have been the causes, this state of things is obviously not desirable. Some of our educational "experts" regard efficiency as only another name for restricting the area of education and increasing the strength of the inspecting staff. If these "experts" have not the capacity or the will to extend education without impairing its efficiency, they have no business to supervise or direct the educational activities of the Government. Men with greater strength of purpose, more energy and larger constructive gifts are needed to undertake the task.

The state of secondary and higher education in a community of 48 millions, judged by the University examination results of this year, is not at all hopeful or encouraging. According to a most generally accepted standard, one-sixth of the total strength of a nation or a community is always at a stage of life when it ought to

be subject to some organised process of training and education, i.e., 8 millions of the population of the United Provinces must at this time be in what is known as the preparatory stage of life. Let us, however, reduce the number by half in view of the fact that organised female education is practically non-existent in this country. Let us also make a further reduction of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions representing those who may be said to have not yet grown out of the cradle and the nursery. After these liberal deductions we have as residue $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions who ought to be undergoing some sort of training organised by the community or the State. We doubt, however, if the Education Department of the United Provinces and private enterprise have together been able to cover even a tenth part of the ground. More than two millions of the younger generation are growing up to man's state on whom the collective will and intelligence of the community has never been brought to bear, who are without a chart for the voyage of life and are feeling their way through accident, misdirection and failure to an inadequate, cramped and ineffectual manhood. In an efficiently organised community of about 48 millions there must be about half a million boys in the secondary and the higher stages of education in all its branches. Industries and professions requiring technical knowledge and skill may claim 3 lakhs, leaving 2 lakhs for the study of the liberal arts and sciences. Of this number two-thirds, we suppose, should be in schools and one-third in the arts colleges. There exists, however, a wide gulf between what is and what ought to be. The state of secondary education in the United Provinces may be gauged from the fact that the number of the boys who appeared this year in the matriculation examination of the Allahabad University was 3,415. And it must be remembered that the figure, paltry as it is, includes hundreds of students who were educated in schools outside the territorial limits of the United Provinces, in Central India and the Central Provinces. As regards the higher education, the figures are more paltry still. The Degree Examinations have added 25 M.A.'s, 8 M.Sc.'s, 49 B.Sc.'s and 359 B.A.'s this year to the ranks of the educated classes. Our estimate of the social value of these results is this. The community of 48 millions in the United Provinces, whose requirements as a civilised social group can adequately be satisfied only if $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of its male population are being constantly trained under collective will and intelligence, gets only about 3,000 young boys every year as the raw material for manufacturing the wheels of social efficiency, while the annual output of about 400 graduates represents, so to speak, the brainpower that is to keep the huge machine going. The utter inadequacy of these results stands in no need of further elucidation.

Apart, however, from the actual state of secondary and higher education in the United Provinces, which ought to be a matter of very anxious concern both to the people and the Government, the University results throw instructive sidelights on the standard of collegiate teaching and on the comparative position of the various religious communities in the scale of education. As regards the first, it is a matter of genuine surprise to us that such a large percentage of students should fail to satisfy the University test. Excepting the M.Sc. degree for which 8 out of 10 candidates have been declared qualified, the results in every other case point to an alarming condition of things. The percentage of passes in the B.Sc. is 34.7; in the B.A. 40.1; in the Intermediate examination 41.4. There can be only two reasons for this frightful and enormous wastage. Either the standard of collegiate teaching is low and the teaching itself inefficient, or the University tests are pedantically severe and irrelevant. In either case there can be no justification for such a heavy percentage of failures. The state of affairs is hardly creditable to those who control the work of the Allahabad University or guide collegiate teaching. There must be something radically wrong in the system of education which leads to about 70 per cent failures even after the scholars have undergone a normal course of instruction. No such disparity between efforts and results is known

to exist in any other University in the world outside India; and we hope we would not be asked to believe that the Indian student is lacking in habits of application or intelligence.

As everywhere else, the spread of secondary and higher education has been most marked amongst the Hindus of the United Provinces. The number of the Hindu students in the University examination figures is proportionately higher than the relative strength of the community in the population. The proportion of the Mussalmans is comparatively lower; and the circumstance becomes much more alarming when we take into account the representative character of the College at Aligarh. The Mussalmans comprise 14 per cent. of the population of the Provinces and their proportion in the University results should, in consequence, be 14 per cent. We must, however, bear in mind in this connection that the Aligarh College, the most important centre of Moslem education in India, is situated in the United Provinces and is affiliated to the University of Allahabad. It draws its students from every part of the country. The University examination figures relating to Mussalmans will, therefore, be misleading in regard to the actual state of Moslem education in the U. P. if the Aligarh contribution to the University successes is not subjected to a careful analysis. If we leave Aligarh out of the calculation, the number of the Mussalmans is reduced to an altogether negligible quantity. For instance, not a single Mussalman has passed M.A., M.Sc., or B.Sc. from any College outside Aligarh. Similarly there are only 37 Moslem B.A.'s, out of 359 and 77 Moslems out of the total of 599 who have passed the Intermediate Examination. Thus, it would appear, the Mussulmans avail themselves but little of the educational facilities in the colleges maintained out of the revenues of the State to which they contribute an appreciable share. An overwhelming number of those who get collegiate education is attracted to Aligarh. Taking the number of the Mussulman students as a whole, they comprise 24 per cent. of the total passes in M.A.; 2.04 per cent. in B.Sc.; 29.2 per cent. in B.A.; and 23.03 per cent. in the Intermediate; while not a single Mussulman appeared in the M.Sc. examination. The Moslem percentage seems to be proportionately higher, except in the M.Sc. and the B.Sc. results. The reason for this has already been explained, *viz.*, the inclusion in the Aligarh College figures of those who come from the other provinces of India. We cannot give the exact number of such students, but we believe it is about half. If we eliminate this disturbing factor from the calculation, the Moslem percentage in the higher education of the Provinces cannot be considered to be very satisfactory.

The results of the Aligarh College in the Arts Faculty are, on the whole, satisfactory. Of the six candidates for M.A. all have passed: the University percentage being 55.5. Out of 132 students 68 have passed in B.A., giving a proportion of 51.5 per cent. against that of 40.1 per cent. for the University. In the Intermediate Examination 61 have passed out of a total of 126, the proportion in this case, too, being higher than that of the University by about 7 per cent. It is, however, in the Science Faculty that the most disappointing results are shown. In the B.Sc. Examination only one has passed out of 4, while not a single student appeared this year in M. Sc. And yet these results do not seem to be accidental and appear to be a tame repetition of recent exploits. We are sure the Mussalman public has a right to demand an explanation of the disgraceful state of the teaching of science at Aligarh. The Prince of Wales School of Science has for some years past been annually costing the community an enormous sum of money. The expenditure for its maintenance in 1909 was Rs. 17,580, and it has been mounting up rapidly since then. The estimated expenditure for the year 1911-12 stands at the huge figure of Rs. 28,257. The staff of the School consists of two Professors of European qualifications, two Assistant Professors, and two demonstrators, all of

whom draw liberal salaries. If, however, in spite of such enormous expenditure only one student has the ability to pass B. Sc. and not a single student is prepared for M. Sc., we think the best course would be to dismiss the staff, get rid of this white elephant of a School and divert the money to some more useful ends. The Mussalman community can ill afford to tax itself to the tune of Rs. 28,257 a year for the luxury of manufacturing a B.Sc. If that is how Aligarh has learnt to organise the teaching of the most important branch of modern knowledge, one may well despair of the Moslem communal education ever getting on the right track. We trust the Trustees of the College will make a searching enquiry into causes of such glaring inefficiency and extravagance and either mend the teaching of the School of Science or end it. Is it too much to hope that the Science Staff, which is responsible for these results and has not recently been conspicuous for modesty in its own estimate of its value, will now have some of its guid conceit of itself knocked off by these results.



Anecdote.

MR. SEYMOUR HICKS tells of a quaint little incident that happened once when he was playing in a musical comedy at the old Gaiety. Much to his annoyance, the chorus girls would persist in chattering to each other while he was singing his verses. On one particular evening—it was a Monday and on Mondays the ladies seemed to have even more than usual to talk about—one of the ladies was telling her neighbour some experience so loudly while Mr. Hicks was singing that she knocked all the words out of his head.

"Hush!" said Mr. Hicks; but the lady went on with her story. After he had said "Hush!" half-a-dozen times with no effect, he determined to give her a lesson.

"One moment," he said to the conductor, and the orchestra stopped suddenly.

Then Mr. Hicks turned to the lady of the wagging tongue and, thinking to frighten her out of her wits and stop her from ever talking again on the stage, said:—

"Dear lady, will you finish your story, or shall I finish my song?"

"The lady took a step forward and beamed on him.

"Do you know, dearie," she replied, calmly, "it's a matter of the utmost indifference to me what you do."

"The house shrieked with laughter," says Mr. Hicks. "I retired feeling that I had not scored at all that time."

IN SOME reminiscences of the late Boer War, Colonel Kekewich, who so gallantly defended Kimberley for 126 days, tells the following story.

One day he was approached by a private, who asked:—

"Colonel, when do you expect we are going to get something to eat?"

"Eat!" exclaimed the colonel. "Did you join the Army merely to get something to eat?"

"Well, that's about the size of it," replied the soldier.

"Here," said the colonel, calling an officer, "give this man something to eat, and then have him shot."

The officer understood the joke and replied:—

"All right, colonel."

The private, however, exhibited no alarm, and, turning to the officer, said:—

"Boil me a ham, cap'n, stew up a couple of chickens, bake two or three pounds of potatoes, fetch a gallon o' beer, and load yer guns! With such inducements, the man who wouldn't be willing to die is a blithering idiot!"

A hearty meal was prepared for the soldier, and the threatened execution never came off.

THEODORE DREISER, the novelist, was talking about criticism.

"I like pointed criticism," he said; "criticism such as I heard in the lobby of a theatre the other night at the end of the play. The critic was an old gentleman. His criticism, which was for his wife's ears alone, consisted of these words:—

"Well, you would come!"

Morocco.

News of the Week.

The French Chamber has adopted the Bill establishing a Protectorate over Morocco by 460 votes to 79.

Reuter wires from Tangier:—Serious disturbances have broken out at Marrakesh owing to the appointment of an unpopular Governor. Europeans have been stoned, but looting was suppressed by the Shereefian troops.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Mogador, May 31 (?).

The Nationalist movement originating in the Southern Provinces, and headed by Mulai Hamed el Haiba, is daily assuming a more serious character. The reported abdication of Mulai Hafid has given a powerful stimulus to El Haiba's enterprise, and it seems that all the Atlas chieftains have now sided with the "Pretender." I had some conversation to-day with an influential supporter of his, who said: "We recognise that France has secured control of the seaports at present open to foreign trade and the seven-mile zone defined in the Algeciras Convention, but we deny the right of any foreign Power to control the interior of our country. On this issue we shall fight. No Sultan imposed on us by a European nation will be recognised by the people of Morocco. If you can do it you may massacre our men, women, and children, but we will never willingly submit to foreign control."

My recollection of the Pretender based on a glimpse I had of him when he was last at Mogador, gives him middle height, a light brown complexion, slightly bronzed by an outdoor life; large and expressive eyes, and a firm, not unpleasant mouth—altogether a typical Arab of the purest breed. An enthusiastic friend of his tells me that he is now thirty-one or thirty-two years of age, and that he has latterly grown rather stout, which is the way of most Moorish "personages." Save for headgear, consisting of an exceptionally high *turboosh* and turban, his garb is simple but of the best material: a dark blue kaftan, with silk embroidered pattern, for indoor use, this being hidden by a blue haik when "his Majesty" rides or walks abroad. His food is the same as that of his poorest dependents, being mainly confined to dates and camel's milk. He is well versed in Moslem literature, follows devoutly the precepts of the Koran to the letter, and leads much the same sort of life as did the early disciples of Mohammed.

(FROM THE "STANDARD" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 7.

The Sultan of Morocco has left Fez for Rabat, and this is probably the last act in his reign. His departure is described as having been very picturesque. Mulai Hafid left his palace on horseback, accompanied by Generals Lyautey and Moinier, and preceded by his richly caparisoned stud of horses. A cloud of Moorish cavaliers hovered round him, galloping backwards and forwards and clearing the way, but few of the population turned out into the streets to watch the cortège. The *Liberté* says that it is needless to remark that the Sultan will never return, I have every reason to believe this is beyond dispute.

Who the next Sultan will be does not appear to be settled, and, whoever it is, his education as a ruler and as a *protégé* of France will soon have to be considered. For the present, General Lyautey will to all intents and purposes govern Morocco through the Makhzen, and he has already given such proofs of coolness and readiness of resource under the peculiarly difficult circumstances which marked his arrival that every confidence is felt in him. It is clear that in him the French Government have another Kitchener.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, June 7.

To-morrow will be the first anniversary of the occupation of the Larache and Alcazar zone by Spanish troops. Whatever may have been said at the time as to the much-disputed necessity of this action on the part of Spain, it is most satisfactory a year later to state that during the entire period not one life has been lost, not one shot has been fired, and, I believe, not one justifiable complaint has been made of ill-treatment of natives. The same may be said of the wild mountainous zone lying between Ceuta and Tetuan, through which the Spanish forces have advanced almost to the gates of the latter

town without ever ceasing to maintain with the tribesmen the most friendly relations. In spite of a certain military rashness in the early days of the advance from Ceuta, the Spanish authorities in both spheres of occupation have shown throughout, in their dealings with the natives, tact as admirable as it has been praiseworthy and the highest sense of probity and justice.

If the Spanish Government will treat international commerce and industry in the Spanish zone of Morocco with the same spirit of equity, it will have given proofs of a new capacity and spirit of colonization which others might well emulate.

Madrid, June 7.

M. Guiot, delegate of the Moroccan bondholders, accompanied by the other French members of the Franco-Spanish Financial Commission, arrived in Madrid to-day.

It is understood that, in addition to his functions as a member of the Financial Commission, M. Guiot will probably be the French representative on the Anglo-Franco-Spanish Commission, which is expected shortly to meet in Madrid for consideration of the future régime at Tangier.

Paris, June 11.

While the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber is engaged in examining the Franco-Moroccan Treaty of 3rd April of this year, the *Temps* publishes the bulk of the correspondence which has passed between the French Foreign Office and the Sultan Mulai Hafid during the past 15 months. The correspondence throws some interesting light upon the Sultan's attitude towards the Franco-German Treaty of November, 1911, and also upon his idea of abdicating, and the way in which it was received by the French Government. The Sultan took considerable pains to guarantee the position and emoluments of the Shereefian dignity, and it was only after considerable correspondence with the former French Foreign Minister, M. de Selves, that he gave his assent, on 9th November 1911, to the consequences of the important article 3 in the Franco-German Treaty and agreed that the diplomatic and Consular Agents of France should be entrusted with the representation and protection of Moorish subjects abroad, and that the French representative at the Moorish Court should act as intermediary between the Shereefian Government and the Powers.

On 17th October 1911, Mulai Hafid addressed a long communication to M. de Selves in which he tabulated, in the form of numbered articles, the conditions on which he was willing to adhere to the terms of the Franco-German Treaty then approaching the stage for signature. Several of these conditions referred to the eventuality of his abdication "in consequence of weakness or lassitude." In that event he desired that his Heir should be established on the Shereefian Throne and that the succession should be assured to the Heir's full brothers. For himself, the Sultan asked that he should, after abdication, be allowed to reside where he pleased, "either in the place where his Heir was, or elsewhere in the Moroccan Empire, or in the numerous towns situated in French or other Colonies, or at Medina or in other Islamic towns." He stipulated, moreover, that if he went to reside in a French colony he should be treated with all the consideration due to his rank. If he should desire to visit foreign towns he would only do so after having come to an agreement with the French Government on the subject. He also insisted that he and his successor should have complete liberty to move about in Morocco according to the traditions of the country.

M. Regnault, when he went on his special mission to Fez a few months ago, gave the Sultan explicit written assurances with regard to his civil list and the other expenses of his position. He also gave the following assurances in a separate document:—

On the day on which your Majesty for any reason should decide to renounce the exercise of power an honourable pension will be assigned you by the Government of the Republic. Your Majesty may, if you think fit, designate one of your sons as Heir-Presumptive to the Shereefian Throne. An arrangement will be made with the Government of the Republic on this subject. As regards the journey which your Majesty contemplates making to Rabat I have noted your intentions, and shall comply with the invitation which you have addressed to me [to accompany Mulai Hafid on his journey].

On 10th November 1911, Mulai Hafid had expressed a desire to pay a visit to Paris "in May, 1912." He recently desired to fulfil that desire, and he also thought of exercising the right to abdicate which M. de Selves, then Foreign Minister, had agreed to grant him. It was found difficult, however, to fulfil these promises when they were recalled to the memory of the French Government by the Sultan last April. The Sultan, however, has now been allowed to proceed to Rabat accompanied part of the way by M. Regnault, and the latest telegram from Fez says that he is to-day camping close to the Sadi river, and that there has been a slight delay in his progress coastwards.

Persia.

News of the Week.

IN THE House of Commons on the 2nd July Mr. Walter Guinness asked whether the military authorities were asked for their opinion on the general principle of direct Russo-Indian railway communication or merely invited to suggest conditions which would make the scheme least objectionable strategically.

Sir Edward Grey said the general question as well as the particular scheme were considered and the views of the chief military authorities were expressed to the Government of India and at Home.

The Muhammadans of Madras mustered strong on the 28th June in the chief mosque at Royapetta to express the sense of indignation of the Muhammadan community at the sacrilege of the sacred tomb at Meshed by Russian troops as also to protest against Italian naval activities on the Arabian coast and also to express sympathy with the object of the Calcutta Islam Association. The following resolutions were passed:—(1) This meeting views with intense abhorrence the sacrilege of the sacred tomb at Meshed and the plunder of the treasure attached to it by Russian troops; (2) this meeting strongly protests against this unjustifiable Italian naval activities on the Arabian coast to the great annoyance and consternation of Indian Mussulman pilgrims, in spite of repeated assurances that they would be localised to Tripoli, and this meeting expresses its entire sympathy with the objects of the Moirul Islam Association of Calcutta.

Affairs at Meshed.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Meshed, May 24.

SOME days after the bombardment the Russian soldiers were withdrawn from the mosque and shrine, and the whole property was handed back to the "Chief Keeper," who gave a receipt for safe return of the sacred buildings, the priceless historical jewels and other treasures; but there seems to be doubt in the minds of some as to whether all the valuables which disappeared from the mosque and shrine at the time of the bombardment have been replaced. The repairs have not yet been done, and I am told that the damage amounted to 70,000 toman, which is about £14,000 sterling. This is rather more than it was at first supposed to be. Some of the damage done cannot be made good at any price, because the work belonged to the lost arts.

Before the bombardment there were extensive bazaars in proximity to the holy precincts, which were included in the area to which only Moslems were admitted. The entrances to these bazaars were marked by chains or timbers; but these barricades were destroyed during the bombardment and have not been replaced, and these bazaars are now open to non-Moslems, and the area to which only Muhammadans are admitted—commonly known as the Sacred Precinct or "bast"—is much smaller than before.

The Persian police force, which was dismissed by the Russians when they took over the city, has been restored with its former chief, Munshi-i-Nizam, at its head, and the whole department is under the supervision of Colonel Kharanoff of the Russian garrison.

Rukn-ed-Dowleh, the Governor-General, who resigned when the Russians took the city, left for Teheran, and a few days ago was robbed near the western border of the province and some of his men in attendance were killed.

At the time of the bombardment it was supposed that all the leaders of the agitation who were in the mosque and shrine got out alive and also some of their followers. This supposition has been confirmed. Talib-el-hagh and about a dozen others are in custody in the Russian garrison. Yussuf Khan Herati, the chief agitator, and Muhammad Nishapuri soon appeared in the region of Nishapur and committed such depredations that the Russians were obliged to place a garrison of their own soldiers with a strong battery of artillery in the city of Nishapur. Muhammad Nishapuri is still murdering and plundering in the district; but Yussuf Khan Herati and some of his followers turned south and east toward the trade route to Afghanistan and began operating in that district.

Sheer Ali Khan, who, with a force of men, was sent to capture Yussuf Khan Herati, reported a few days ago that he had captured his man and would bring him into Meshed on a certain day. A scaffold was erected in the public square, the band played, and crowds collected; but at noon report was circulated that the whereabouts of Yussuf Khan Herati were not known, and, therefore, he would not be brought into the city that day. Various rumours then became current. One was to the effect that he had been captured and would be executed and his body brought in and displayed in the public square. It was said that if he

were brought into the city alive and given a trial there would be unnecessary delay and complications. It is commonly said that he was a paid agitator and was only a tool in all that he did. Had he been brought in alive he might have escaped, or if he had been given a trial embarrassing information might have come to light. I was told to-day that certain ecclesiastics offered 20,000 toman (which is about £4,000) for his escape. I do not know by what authority he was captured and executed. But dead men tell no tales!

There is a Russian garrison at Kuchan, about a hundred miles north-west of Meshed on the military road leading to the Russian frontier. A few days ago the Russian Army Chaplain of the garrison in Meshed went to Kuchan to administer to the troops there. While returning he was attacked by robbers near Chinaran, about forty miles from here, and barely escaped with his life. I am told that the Russians sent a punitive expedition and destroyed several villages in the neighbourhood.

The Baluchis are murdering and robbing in the district of Neh in the southern part of this province, a hundred miles west of Seistan. The Afghans, taking advantage of the weakness of the Persian Government, are raiding in the undefined boundary between Persia and Afghanistan, south of Karez. The whole province is in a state of lawlessness and there is not one road safe and free from robbers.

United Tribute to Yeprim Khan.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 2.

A MEETING held this morning in a public hall in Pera presented a striking picture of some of the forces now at work in the Near and Middle East. The meeting was convened in honour of the memory of Yeprim Khan, the Armenian Commander of the Persian Government forces, who fell in battle against Salar-ed-Dowleh near Hamadan. The organisers of the meeting were the Central Committee of the Dashnaksutun, the party to which Yeprim belonged, and which has branches in Russia, Turkey and Persia. In Turkey this party, which formerly took the lead in the struggle against Turkish oppression, is now pursuing a policy of carefully calculated co-operation with the Young Turks. The audience, which numbered in all about 1,500, was composed almost exclusively of Armenians and Persians. The Persian Ambassador was present, several former Persian deputies, the leading members of the large Persian colony in Constantinople, and the pupils of the Persian School, and there were Armenians of all classes, from dignified Government officials, deputies, and merchants to students, shop assistants, and working men. There was also a sprinkling of Turkish officers, impressed probably by the strangely adventurous career of the brave peasant from the Caucasus.

There was an entire absence of ceremonial, unless the playing of a funeral march be counted as such. The two morning hours were devoted entirely to speeches, to which the audience that filled the amphitheatre listened with eager attention, irrespectively of the variety of languages used. Yet it is hard to reproduce the speeches. They were attempts to express, vaguely or forcibly according to the temperament of the speaker, that profound, yet simple, feeling that moves masses of men when a man upon whom much depends dies fighting bravely for an idea. What was the idea in Yeprim's case? Some, like Mustafa Nejib Bey, who spoke in the name of the Committee of Union and Progress, declared that Yeprim fought for his party, the Dashnaksutun, and its programme. Others again, like M. Agnuni, a member of the Dashnaksutun, declared that his battle was against every form and species of tyranny—tyranny which he had learned to hate during his imprisonment and exile in Russia. Eumer Nadjib Bey, a member of the Central Committee of Union and Progress, affirmed in an impassioned speech that though Yeprim were dead Iran, for whose sake he had fought, would never die. M. Vramean, again, the Dashnakist leader, spoke of the power of the people to bring forth out of its own midst great men and leaders and reproached wealthy Armenians for their indifference to the national cause. Taqi-Zade, again, the former Deputy for Tabriz, spoke gratefully of the loyalty and aid repeatedly shown by Armenians to Muhammadan peoples, and recalled how in Persia Persians and Armenians fought together for a common national cause. Hussein Danish Bey, a leading member of the Turkish Colony in Constantinople, gave direct and forcible expression to his admiration for Yeprim's character and achievements in a Turkish poem. And a tiny Persian schoolboy recited in Persian verses expressive of the common feeling uniting Persians and Armenians.

That this morning a common feeling did unite Persians and Armenians and Turks there could be no doubt. The troubled course of Near Eastern politics—boundary dispute, electoral grievances, jealousies between Persian and Armenians—all this was forgotten for a little while. The three nationalities were for a moment drawn together by the sharp reminder given in Yeprim's death of an ideal that three or four years ago touched many hearts here in the East, but has since been almost forgotten in the multitude of disappointments and failures.

Railway Development in Persia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Teheran, May 30.

CONVERSATIONS have begun between the Russian and British Ministers and the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs with the object of securing for the Société d'Etudes an option for the survey and construction of the Trans-Persian line. The Anglo-Russian proposal appears to be well received, and when the present Cabinet crisis is over important progress will probably be made. At the same time the British Government has again brought forward the Khoramabad scheme, and an option is sought for a line from Khor Musa, near Mohammerah, to Khoramabad, for a strong English syndicate. The syndicate is composed of six groups, of which four are already connected with Persian commerce, *via*, the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, the Imperial Bank, the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company (Messrs. Lynch) and the British India Steam Navigation Company. The syndicate is prepared to undertake much more extensive railway construction in Southern Persia. As Russia will eventually build a line from Teheran to Khanikin, the Khoramabad line will probably be linked with this line, at Kermanshab or elsewhere, and Persia will thus have two routes from the Gulf to the North.

For the moment the "Trans-Persian" is of greater interest. The first thing to be said is, that, if we consider the routes proposed, the estimates of the cost so far published appear extraordinarily inadequate. The Société d'Etudes is now taking definite shape, and the names of its members already announced fully guarantee its serious character. We may therefore reasonably expect soon to see a change in the nature of the communications to the press. From £21,000,000, of which £3,000,000 was to pay interest on capital during construction, the estimate sank to £15,000,000 for actual construction. The line was to be built in three, or at most five, years. And the longing fancy of the home-sick Anglo-Indian was pleasantly stimulated by announcements, suggesting the poster and the prospectus, such as "London to Delhi in eight days. First Class fare, £40." Now, as the scheme at present stands, the line will run from Astara *via* Resht, Kasvin, Teheran, Kum, Kashan, Ispahan, either to Yezd or Kirman. From Yezd or Kirman it will turn towards a point on the Persian Gulf, either Bandar Abbas or Chabar, and thence to the Indian frontier at Gwadar. The reasons for this route will be referred to later, but I am now dealing only with the question of cost, and naturally I also omit the Russian and Indian extensions which will be necessary to link Astara with the Russian system and Gwadar with Karachi. If, then, a crow could be found willing to take this unusual flight from Astara to Gwadar, passing the points named, he might be found to have covered approximately 1,500 miles; but, not being a crow, the railway surveyor will cover more nearly 2,500. Those who follow Lord Salisbury's advice and "use large maps" will gain some idea of the *détours* that will be necessary both for gradients and to serve local needs. The varieties of gradients may usefully be set down, not to suggest the existence of any overwhelming engineering difficulty, but as bearing on the cost of construction:—

Astara	...	...	Caspian level, 84 feet below Black Sea.
Resht	...	...	75 feet above sea level.
Kasvin	...	4,100	" " " "
Teheran	...	3,860	" " " "
Ispahan	...	5,330	" " " "
Yezd	...	4,020	" " " "
Kirman	...	5,680	" " " "
Bandar Abbas	...	...	...

These points are far apart and give only the most general idea, for there are many ups and downs between. Here, for instance, are the heights over which our friend the crow would pass in succession in a flight from Kirman to the sea at Bandar Abbas:—5,680 feet, 7,530 feet, 10,130 feet, 3,048 feet, 10,990 feet, 660 feet.

The English estimate for the cost of construction of a line from Khor Musa to Khoramabad is £10,000 per mile and the Trans-Persian will have several sections more difficult and therefore more costly. The most recent English estimate for a line from Bushire to Shiraz is £15,000 per mile, and though the Trans-Persian will have to face nothing quite so back-breaking as the famous Royal road between Bushire and Shiraz, the mountains of the Elburz will present problems nearly as formidable. Moreover, the line is to be financed internationally, and the advantages of international finance are not secured for nothing. It seems certain therefore that the cost of construction will approach more nearly to £30,000,000 than to £15,000,000. As this estimate makes no provision either for rolling stock or for the payment of interest on capital during the period of construction, it seems clear that the loan operations involved must eventually total £30,000,000 at least.

The route favoured by Russia runs from Kirman to Robat and thence along the Baluch-Afghan border to the Indian railhead at Nushki. Suspicious souls see in this choice a straining after the

Englishman's India, but there is a strong commercial reason, and reasons of commercial war may be frankly stated. Whatever be the fate of the railway scheme in England, it is certain that it has enemies in Russia. Moscow merchants ply great trade in the bazaars of Northern Persia, and the worse becomes the state of the southern roads and the more difficult it is for Manchester goods to penetrate into Persia, the better trade they ply. A railway from the Gulf would restore the balance. The Moscow merchant is very conservative, but the suggestion of a route which nowhere touched the coast roused less alarm, for the long haul from Karachi *via* Quetta into Persia would considerably add to the cost of English goods, whereas a railway from Mohamerah or Bandar Abbas as an annexe to seaborne traffic, would make competition serious. At the present moment, one may note in passing, Teheran is almost hermetically sealed to English goods. There is not a southern trade route remaining open, and the Russian transit duty makes freight traffic impossible. Europeans live by parcel post, with an effect upon their incomes and their tempers which may be left to the imagination. Even large orders of champagne are regularly imported by parcel post in parcels of two bottles each. The parcel post runs only to Enzeli, and 3s. more has to be paid for transport to Teheran, in addition to Customs duty. Yet, in spite of the expense, much sympathy is felt for the American colony, as there is no parcel post with the United States. Evening frocks, however, have been known to come from America by letter post! This has its compensations, as the parcel post from London takes five weeks, frequently more, whereas epistolary garments come from America in 20 days.

It is matter of public knowledge that the Indian Government found itself unable to approve of the Kirman-Robat line and has insisted that the line shall run either from Yezd or Kirman to the Gulf. This condition is absolute, and if the line be built it will follow this route. At present India favours Yezd rather than Kirman, but the latter is an important market and the question seems open. Bandar Abbas, as the objective on the Gulf, has the advantage of being established as a port; but it will never be a good port, and Chabar far surpasses it in natural advantages. Another Indian condition is a change of gauge either at Yezd or Kirman. While Persia is still an independent country it is reasonable to urge that it is not fitting that the Russian gauge should run to the Indian frontier. But I do not know that it is seriously argued that a change of gauge has an important, or any, strategic value, and the question of gauge seems capable of broader treatment. Why have anomalous gauges, either Russian or Indian, at all? Is it not reasonable to suggest that the modern world needs a standard gauge on all great trunk routes? England as an island can afford a private gauge, but if the Channel Tunnel were built the private gauge would be a public nuisance. And what traveller has not grumbled when he has had to leave his European express on entering Russia? When Count Aehrenthal launched his Novi Bazar Railway project there was much ink spilt in Vienna in regretting that the Bosnian Railway had not been built on the Continental 1'435 metre gauge, and I was assured that some day, when the money could be found, this gauge would have to be introduced. The standard European gauge is also that of the Egyptian State railways, and although the temporary advantages of the Colonial gauges now employed in various parts of Africa are obvious, that continent will probably conform to the European system which has spread over Asia Minor. Thanks to this standard gauge men and mails can travel without a change from Ostend to Constantinople. In a few years' time, crossing the Bosphorus, they will be able to continue their journey to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. The standard gauge will touch the Persian frontier at Khanikin, and Russia has pledged herself that the Persian railway system will be linked with Khanikin and thus with Baghdad. The adoption of the 1'435 metre gauge for the Trans-Persian Railway might thus be the best solution and avoid the somewhat awkward discussions that may arise over the change of gauge.

As to finance, those who declare the scheme impossible are rash in dogmatizing. It is said that the Russian Ministry of Finance is prepared to guarantee loans, but presumably only for the northern sections, out of the surplus revenues of the Russian State railways. If this be so it will greatly simplify the problem. A Persian kilometric guarantee is out of the question. In considering the commercial possibilities of the line, while it has to be admitted that a line from Khar Musa to Teheran and so to Russia has far greater attractions, it is well to remember the American maxim that there is nowhere serve a where it does not pay to build a railway. The proposed route would number of important towns and distributing centres and would undoubtedly carry much trade from the south. The Indian mail is an attractive prospect and so is the passenger traffic. There is an exceeding bitter cry from Anglo-Indians that in the matter of rates they are at present absolutely at the mercy of one steamship company. But if the line is to do a great international carrying trade from the north its Russian supporters seem to realize that Batum must be made a free port and the Russian transit duty abolished. On this the Moscow merchants have a word to say, and will undoubtedly say it. The Treaty of Berlin has been scattered to so many winds that it is perhaps pedantic to mention that Article 59 of

that unfortunate document stipulates that Batumi shall be "a free port, essentially commercial."

There are, of course, yet other subjects for discussion in connexion with the Trans-Persian Railway project. Both parties will probably admit that the greatest Parliamentary experts on this subject are to be found in the House of Lords. They have so far preserved an admirable silence, but in time it will be their duty to make their opinions known.

British Interests in the Middle East.

MANY perplexing problems are confronting Great Britain in the Middle East to-day. Some of them are comparatively new, others are old problems in a new guise. Upon their right solution the safety of India may depend; and the safety and welfare of India are matters which nowadays concern, or should concern, the whole Empire. We cannot complain if India is being drawn more than ever into the sphere of international politics. It is no fresh development, for a hundred years ago the external relations of India were a subject of international attention. A great Dependency which keeps the Middle East in equipoise necessarily becomes involved in issues which are not domestic. When we think of India we should not think solely of her internal questions. We should remember that the Indian Empire stands amid "the grim dim thrones of the East," and that when neighbouring kingdoms are troubled, or fall into decay, those responsible for the control of India cannot always remain silent spectators of the difficulties of their neighbours. If, therefore, we would discern the future of India aright, we must, among other things, take note of what is happening in China, in Tibet, in Afghanistan, in Persia, in Arabia, and in Asiatic Turkey.

China and Tibet do not fall geographically into a survey of the affairs of the Middle East. All that need be said here of those countries is that, though the Chinese Revolution may at some future time have an unsettling effect upon the minds of the peoples of India, it does not yet seem to have done so; and that in the present efforts of the Tibetans to throw off the yoke of China, there can be no intervention on the part of Great Britain, because we have undertaken not to meddle with the affairs of Tibet. Our survey must therefore begin with Afghanistan, where the Amir is just now being menaced by a serious revolt. In Persia far larger issues are disclosed. Not only is the preservation of the Persian Monarchy of the utmost moment to Great Britain, but the new proposal for a Trans-Persian Railway to India raises questions which may conceivably complicate the whole policy of Indian defence. In Asiatic Turkey the latest plans for the completion of the Baghdad Railway present cognate problems of vital importance. In Arabia the repeated revolts of the Arab tribesmen against Turkish control touch Indian external policy very nearly. The object of this article is to give a concise explanation of the bearings of some of these questions so far as they effect Great Britain.

The Amir of Afghanistan is confronted by an awkward situation. Certain tribes under his rule, in the neighbourhood of the Indian frontier, have revolted, and all the district which has for its centre the town of Matun is in open rebellion. There is little doubt that the Amir will quell the insurrection, but experts believe that it will take him months to do it. His Army is not as efficient as it used to be, and the country in which it must operate is extremely difficult. It used to be said, as striking evidence of the solidity of King Habibullah's position, that he had never had a shot fired against him. This statement no longer holds good, and there is some reason to fear that the Amir's position is not likely to grow easier as the years pass. The common supposition that Habibullah is in some danger from his brother, Nasrullah Khan, who has great influence with the Afghan Army, is probably unjustified. Nasrullah Khan is well known in England, having spent some time in London on an official visit. While here he seemed fond of mundane pleasures, but of late years he has become an ascetic and the expounder of the most orthodox form of the Islamic creed. He stands for the old bitter Afghan spirit. Habibullah has more generous and progressive tendencies, and stands best with those of his subjects who favour reforms. The two brothers have a good understanding with each other.

There is common agreement among all shades of political thought regarding the value of Afghanistan as a buffer State. Great Britain has waged costly wars in pursuance of her policy of preserving Afghan independence, and placed the late Amir Abdur Rahman upon the throne that he held so firmly. The main reason why we have adhered to the buffer State policy is that we have always wished to prevent Russia from drawing near to India. The fact that north of Chitral the Indian and Russian frontiers are only separated by a narrow strip of Afghan territory does not really alter the success of our efforts. An invasion of India on an extensive scale by way of the Pamirs is practically impossible. Russia has expressly declared Afghanistan to be outside her sphere of influence, while Great Britain controls the external relations of the Amir, except in certain minor matters, and has given him definite assurances of protection.

While our relations with the Amir are not always very cordial, it is very much to our interest that he should remain on his throne. The improbable event of the present revolt threatening his security we should almost certainly go to his assistance, first claiming exemption in this special case from the general undertaking we have given to Russia not to interfere in the internal administration of Afghanistan.

The Amir's kingdom is to-day the most perfect working example in existence of the theory of buffer States. Some people think it is a little too perfect. Afghanistan is practically closed to foreigners, except a few technical advisers of the Amir and an occasional tradesman from Calcutta. Until recently it had no roads at all, and it does not possess a mile of railway. Many soldiers contend that if Afghanistan is to serve its proper purpose as a buffer State it ought to have good internal means of communication. We ought to be able to send an army by rail to Kabul, so that our troops could rapidly hold the passes in the mountain range beyond the Afghan capital if there came a menace from the north. We ought also to be able to send an army by rail north-westward from Quetta, through Kandahar to the plains of the Helmund, if not farther.

The question of railways thus at once emerges. The moment the problems of the Middle East are examined, railway projects immediately come into view. The whole Middle Eastern question is becoming more and more a question of railways. In the case of Afghanistan, men who are not soldiers argue with equal force in favour of its penetration by the locomotive. They insist that nowadays no country can surround itself with a ring fence and claim perpetual isolation. They point out that the time is coming when India must be connected by rail with Europe, and that the best and shortest route lies through Afghanistan. That particular contention is beyond dispute. If railway engineers had to give India communication with Europe to-morrow they would undoubtedly build their line, if they could do so, to Kandahar and Herat, and thereafter to Meshed and Teheran. That route is the coolest, and has the easiest gradients. Another argument in favour of Afghan railways is that they would develop the resources of the country. Afghanistan is terribly poor, but largely because it is so isolated.

On the other side it is urged that the Afghan policy of seclusion is the real secret of the success of the kingdom as a buffer State. Why, therefore, should we seek to press upon a reluctant country railways which might diminish its value to us? Our safest and simplest course lies in doing nothing to discourage the Afghan preference for being left alone, and the advantages we gain thereby outweigh the military reasons in favour of strategic railways to Kabul and beyond Kandahar. The last word—in fact, the only word—at present rests with the Amir, and his attitude is believed to be this. He says that since his visit to India he has fully realized the advantages of railways. He also knows full well that if his kingdom is to become strong it needs more wealth, and can only obtain it by developing its resources which in turn means better communications. But his people dislike the idea of railways and it is not wise for him to be too much in advance of them. Meanwhile, he is doing what he can by making good roads to the Khyber and elsewhere; and forced labour on these roads is one of the causes of the revolt.

The next country which claims attention is Persia, and here again we are immediately confronted by another railway question. The new Trans-Persian Railway project is the biggest issue which has affected British interests in the Middle East for two or three generations. At first sight it appears to strike at the root of some of the most generally accepted principles of British policy; but in examining it we must inquire whether those principles are as valid and as practicable as they were three or four decades ago. It may be that the Trans-Persian scheme is not quite so revolutionary as it seems. It may also, perhaps, be demonstrated that it represents tendencies which are inevitable and cannot be resisted. The Trans-Persian Railway is so incomparably the greatest question now concerning these regions that a great part of this article must be devoted to it. First, however, there are two preliminary points to be considered. One relates to the past attitude of Great Britain towards projects for railway connexion between India and Europe. The other refers to the general question of the isolation of India on the landward side.

In discussing the Trans-Persian Railway project it must not be forgotten that for some decades it was desired by Great Britain, not necessarily to establish direct railway connexion between India and Europe, but at any rate to build a railway part of the way thither. It is further notable that one of the avowed reasons of this desire was the fear of Russian aggression in the direction of India. The Euphrates Valley Railway scheme first came before the public in the reign of William IV., and the last time it was considered by a House of Commons Committee was in 1871-72. Its principal object was to convey troops and mails more rapidly to India. Only a line to the head of the Persian Gulf was contemplated, and the rest of the journey was to be performed by sea to Karachi and Bombay. Expeditions were sent to survey the route, and devoted men like General Chesney and Mr. W. P. Andrew toiled for years at the project. It was killed at last by the Suez Canal, for with a short sea route to India there

was no longer any advantage to be gained by building a line through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

Nor is the Trans-Persian Railway really a new scheme. Though it never received from the British Government the same degree of countenance as the Euphrates Valley proposal, it was brought before the public long ago. The late Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was for years the leading exponent of British policy in the Middle East, and no friend of Russia, wrote in 1875 that "the completion of a longitudinal line through Persia from west to east—that is, from Baghdad to Herat—ought to enlist the common sympathies and support of all the European Powers, as an independent section of the continuous iron road which must before long unite the East and West." The precise alignment of the route does not very much matter here. The point is that obviously the prospect of a railway across Persia to India had no terrors for the men who devoted the best part of their lives to warning England against the dangers of a Russian advance towards India.

We come next to the question of India's isolation. People often talk and write as though India had been practically shut off from intercourse with the outside world until Europe broke down the barriers. The case is exactly the reverse, and the barriers are largely of European creation. There was a time when Indians did not even shrink from crossing the "Black Water." An Indian expedition, possibly more than one, colonized Java, and it was in Indian ships that the philosophy of Hindustan was carried to Japan. On land the mountain ranges were no obstacle to intercourse with the world without. The long and melancholy list of invasions of India is sufficient proof, but more convincing testimony is forthcoming. The route behind the hills of the Mekran coast, now being surveyed for the Trans-Persian Railway, was once one of the greatest highways of trade between East and West. Alexander and his retreating army were not plunging into an unknown wilderness when they turned westward from the Indus. They were following a trade route which existed long before their advent, and was used long after they vanished.

It was the arrival of Vasco da Gama by way of the Cape of Good Hope which set in motion the tendencies leading to India's isolation. Trade with the West left the land routes and took to the sea. The opening of the Suez Canal simply meant the creation of yet another marine highway. The route through Mekran was long deserted, and now has to be explored afresh. British policy gradually accentuated the tendency towards landward isolation, but only very gradually. Afghanistan was far better known to British officers 60 or 70 years ago than it is to-day. A young British officer, Eldred Pottinger, directed the defence of Herat against Persian besiegers in 1838. The growth of the buffer State policy slowly brought about the closing of Afghanistan to India. Even the principle that India must have no intimate communication with Tibet has only crystallized into a definite part of our policy within the last few years. Successive Governor-Generals, from Warren Hastings to Lord Curzon, sought to establish better relations with Tibet. It was Mr. Balfour's last Ministry that closed the door and Lord Morley locked it.

The landward isolation of India, then, is to a great extent the creation of Europe, but the suggestion that India should always be debarred from land communication with other countries is of quite recent growth. Despite the supposed military dangers, it was not a cardinal principle of policy during last century. So far as communication with Persia is concerned, it is manifestly no part of the official policy of the present British Government, as is shown by the favour extended to the Trans-Persian railway scheme. In those quarters where it is now contended that India should remain completely isolated, the contention is based either upon general hostility to Russia, or upon the sincere conviction that it will be dangerous to the system of Indian military defence to make a way through the deserts of South Eastern Persia and the arid valleys of Mekran. These contentions may be right or they may be wrong; but in so far as they are applied to any scheme for uniting India with Europe by rail, they are new.

The actual Trans-Persian railway project needs no detailed exposition, as the facts are already before the public. The project was initiated in Russia, but has now received strong support in Great Britain, while French capitalists will also participate. An association has been formed, in which British, French and Russian syndicates have equal representation. The association has a capital of £100,000, and its object is to conduct surveys and study the scheme upon the spot. No concession has yet been obtained from the Persian Government. The British and Russian Governments undertake no pecuniary liability. The estimated cost of the line is £20,000,000. After skirting the shores of the Caspian, it will run to Teheran, thence to Ispahan and Kerman, emerging on the shores of the Indian Ocean either at Chahbar or Gwadar, or at

Gwettar Bay, on the Mekran coast. The Indian terminus will be at Karachi.

It has been said already that this is not the best route to Europe, which lies through Afghanistan. The Mekran route is longer and the gradients are more difficult; but the great objection is that it is far hotter. The heat question may, however, very easily be exaggerated. Any one who goes to India, during most months of the year, must be prepared to face heat on the way thither. The Red Sea is never very cool, and sometimes fiercely hot, and an inside cabin on an ocean liner is probably worse than a railway carriage will be in Mekran in May. The Kandahar-Herat route would not enable the traveller to escape the high temperatures of Baluchistan, and the Mekran portion of the journey can hardly be more trying than the railway run from Calcutta to Bombay or Karachi just before the monsoon has broken. A journey by rail to India is going to be hot; but on the sea route there are no icebergs.

The Mekran route offers better opportunities of local traffic than Afghanistan, because it will pass through such distributing centres as Kerman and Ispahan. Great trunk lines are chiefly supported by local traffic and not by through traffic. Whether the local traffic will ever be sufficient to make a Trans-Persian line profitable is quite another question. The whole population of Persia is under ten millions. The line only serves two really important cities after leaving Teheran. Ispahan has 80,000 inhabitants and Kerman 60,000. Both Persian and British Mekran are almost uninhabited. The whole population of British Mekran is estimated to be only 78,000, scattered over a very large area. Compare these figures with the population of the rich and fertile province of Manchuria, which had 16 million inhabitants when the Russians began to make the Eastern Chinese Railway. That section of the Siberian line showed a profit from the time it was opened, if the heavy military charges are deducted.

The question of profits is, however, a matter for the prompters rather than for students of politics. It may be contended with greater force that the line will probably tend to assist in the maintenance of British policy in Persia. Whatever impetuous American gentlemen may say, the one honest and sincere object of Great Britain in Persia is the preservation of an independent Persian nation. We have striven towards that end for a hundred years. We do so because it is the natural corollary of our policy of buffer States. The chief cause of the troubles in Persia is the gradual weakening of the central authorities. They are weak because their resources are diminishing and because they cannot dominate the distant provinces. If the Teheran Government had rapid means of communication we should hear less of revolts in Fars and the eastern provinces. Roads will never save Persia now: she must have railways.

The supporters of the scheme further dwell upon the impossibility of shutting India off from the railways of other countries. It is contrary to the whole trend of the world's development, and specially contrary to the processes now at work throughout the whole of Asia. The French are carrying lines from the Tongking coast into the very heart of Yunnan. China is being covered with a network of railways. The Baghdad Railway will certainly be built. The Turks have actually made a line through desolate Arabia to Medina. Only Great Britain lags behind. We will not even make a railway to the Aden Hinterland. We refuse to entertain the suggestion to give India access by rail to the Yangtze Valley. So backward are we that we have never made a railway between India and Burma. Can we continue to resist tendencies which are inevitable? Can we be obstinately conservative and say that people must for evermore take 14 days to go from India to England by sea, when they might soon go by rail in seven days? This much is certain—that we can do nothing to prevent Russia from making a railway to Teheran and Ispahan, for both cities lie within the Russian sphere of influence as laid down by the Anglo-Russian Convention.

Let us now look at the other side of the shield. The opponents of the Trans-Persian Railway can make out a very powerful case. They want to know why Russia is so eager to make a railway across Persia which will manifestly not pay. A railway in Persia will possibly mean troops guarding the line, as in Manchuria; and railway guards are generally the prelude to absorption. Railways which are practically under foreign control will not strengthen the hands of the Teheran Government, but will rather mean more foreign interference than ever. Then there is the military class of objection. Some soldiers, and many laymen, declare that the Trans-Persian scheme will undermine the whole policy on which the land defence of India is based. We have toiled without ceasing to make Afghanistan a buffer State. Mr. Gladstone nearly went to war with Russia about Penjdeh, with the approval of the founders of the modern school of Imperialism. We have created a great fortress at Quetta to guard the southern approach to India. We

have relied upon the deserts of Eastern Persia to prevent a Russian advance on India from that direction. Our Imperialists have waxed indignant when a few stray Cossacks have appeared on the beach at Bunder Abbas. For 50 years a host of writers, with Vambéry, Malleson and Marvin at their head, have bidden us beware of letting Russia draw nearer India. And now, it is urged, the Government, without consulting Parliament, have practically blessed a scheme which sets at naught all that the creators of the defences of India have tried to do; while publicists, who in the past have fervidly denounced the Russian menace, join in pronouncing benedictions on the Trans-Persian Railway.

Thus say the objectors, but they must be heard a little further. They proceed to remark:—"Ten years ago Lord Kitchener based the urgency of his proposed scheme of military reforms in India upon the sudden revelation that the Russians had completed their Orenburg-Tashkent Railway. Mr. Balfour sounded that same note in a memorable speech in the House of Commons in 1905. Now the Government practically decide to help Russia to build a railway which not only destroys all the value of Afghanistan as a buffer State, but spans the Persian deserts, turns the flank of Quetta and actually enters India. The proposed precautionary break of gauge at Isfahan and elsewhere is no precaution at all. The gauge of a railway can soon be altered. The expedient of taking the line along the Mekran coast, so that it can be commanded by the British fleet, is no precaution either. It is almost impossible to destroy a railway, and the few ships we keep in Indian waters are of no fighting value."

The supporters may be permitted a closing rejoinder. They answer somewhat to this effect:—"The soldiers have always wanted a railway to Kabul, and another to Kandahar, with a possible extension towards Herat. The rails for the Kandahar line were actually collected at Chaman. A line which was meant to turn the Khyber pass was positively built some years ago, and has only recently been torn up. Lord Curzon built a line westward from Quetta to Nushki, and talked of carrying it to the Persian province of Seistan. It is a fallacy of recent growth to suppose that the Indian defence scheme was ever based upon the postulate that railways were never to be carried over the western frontiers of India. Lord Kitchener was alarmed at the rapid completion of the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway, because at that time relations between Great Britain and Russia were strained, and it was honestly believed that Russia meant to try to absorb Afghanistan. The Triple Entente has changed the situation; but whether the Entente endures or not, we cannot take up the archaic position of saying that India shall for ever be isolated by land. The assumption that the line will bring Persia under Russian control is unjustifiable; and as for the deserts, we first talked of spanning them ourselves with the Seistan Railway.

There this very knotty question must be left.

The railway issue apart, British policy in Persia presents some awkward conundrums which can only be tersely indicated, though they are the subject of much not very profitable disputation. There is a school of publicists in Great Britain which in effect claims to be specially pro-Persian. It condemns the British Government for pursuing in Persia a policy identical in principle with that of Russia. It alleges that the real aim of Russia is the absorption of Northern Persia and that meanwhile Russia's object is to keep Persia as weak as possible. It usually depicts Great Britain as the foolish and unconscious tool of Russian diplomacy; but some foreign critics, such as Mr. Shuster, go further, and allege that the British Government are privy to the nefarious designs of St. Petersburg, and in practice abet them. The extreme pro-Persians do not, however, make any practical suggestions as to how the supposed designs of Russia are to be frustrated.

The condition of Southern Persia forms a further subject of controversy, rather different in character. Southern Persia is at present in a state closely approximating to anarchy. Its trade routes are in the hands of freebooters, the transportation of merchandise is impossible, life is everywhere unsafe, and there is no strong control even in the cities. British merchants protest and call for intervention. Others say that Great Britain should occupy Southern Persia, because we cannot afford to see a great region in close proximity to India given over to lawlessness. The pro-Persians, however, object to the British Government doing anything in Southern Persia. They say it must be let alone.

It may be stated as an indisputable fact—and this is not a matter of *pros* and *cons*—that Great Britain does not want to acquire, or even to occupy, a single inch of Persian territory. All our efforts are sincerely directed towards the preservation of the integrity and independence of Persia. Whether they are always directed in a manner best calculated to accomplish this object must be a matter of opinion. Those who speak for the British Government say:—"What would you have us do? We have made an Agreement with

Russia about Persia, and in our belief she has faithfully adhered to its terms. Her borders march with the more populous parts of Persia, and therefore she has had to intervene more often than we have done during this period of disorder; but she is withdrawing her garrisons in Persia and is otherwise fulfilling her undertakings. Our good understanding with Russia enables us to attain our object of preserving Persia. Without it, what could we do? If we were at cross purposes with Russia, she could occupy Teheran to-morrow and we could not prevent her. As for the south, it is true that its condition is deplorable, but we cannot take over the administration of an enormous area without consenting to a Russian occupation of the north. Military expeditions in Southern Persia to punish the raiding tribesmen would inevitably lead to administration, for the first result of the landing of a large British force would be that the Teheran Government would collapse. We cannot meddle too much with Southern Persia because we are already controlling in the Indian Empire an area of $1\frac{3}{4}$ million square miles and a population of 315 millions, with a force that is small enough for our needs. We are, however, doing what we can to help Persia. In conjunction with Russia we are lending her a little money so that she may organize forces to restore order in the south."

It will be gathered that just now there are few bright gleams in the Persian situation.

It is not possible to set forth the Baghdad Railway issue with the same amplitude as the Trans-Persian scheme. The necessity is less because the arguments are better known. The German holders of the concession for the Baghdad Railway had the right to build the final section from Baghdad to Basra; but they surrendered it in exchange for other concessions, including the right to build a harbour at Alexandretta. The question of building the final section thus entered upon a fresh phase, and the British Government have been negotiating with the Porte for many months on the subject.

Public opinion in Great Britain shows a marked cleavage on the Baghdad Railway question, and the dividing line appears to be drawn between those who favour more intimate relations with Germany and those who mistrust German policy and hold that it aims at weakening or destroying the Triple Entente. The actual merits or demerits of the railway scheme itself are thus often obscured, though the opponents of British participation are also disposed to condemn the scheme on the ground that it is not a good business project. The supporters of participation urge that this was originally a British proposal, and that, therefore, we should take the opportunity of joining in it. International control gives us a better chance of preserving our paramountcy in the Persian Gulf than complete abstention. Our refusal to participate has long been a cause of friction between Germany and ourselves; and our unwillingness to assent to the raising of the Turkish Customs in order to provide kilometeric guarantees for the line has tended to obstruct its completion. If we join with Germany in completing an enterprise which she has very much at heart, we shall thereby promote a better understanding between the two nations. We shall do no harm to our own interests and may conceivably do them some good. The line will in any case be made, and we had better have a share in it rather than remain outside. If we join with Russia in the Trans-Persian scheme we cannot logically decline to become a partner in the Baghdad scheme also.

The opponents of participation come forward with a ready answer to the last-named point. The Trans-Persian scheme, they say, does provide a short cut by rail from India to Europe. The Baghdad scheme does not, has long ceased to pretend to do so, and will never carry either Indian passengers or mails. It is true that Great Britain long dallied with the project for the construction of the Euphrates Valley Railway, but that was in the days when it was hoped to make it a short route for mails and troops. The opening of the Suez Canal killed British interest in the Euphrates Valley scheme and it has never since revived. Direct issue is joined over the suggestion that the Baghdad Railway has been a cause of friction between Germany and Great Britain. If, it is asked, that there has been friction, who has made it? Has Great Britain ever done anything to stop the construction of the Baghdad line? How could she stop it? So long as the line remains within Turkish territory, she could not prevent its construction, and has never sought to do so. One answer to the point about the Turkish Customs is that as the earlier sections of the line are now freed from kilometeric guarantees, the money thus released should now be available to guarantee the later sections. Many who object to British participation profess to look with suspicion upon Germany's insistent desire to have a terminus at Koweit. The natural commercial terminus of a line which claims to be commercial is admitted to be Basra. Why does Germany want to cross the desert to Koweit? May not Turkish aggression, inspired by Germany, turn Koweit into a fortified base when we are in difficulties elsewhere, and thus destroy our paramountcy in the Gulf? Other objectors base their opposition mainly on the business ground that the line will be unprofitable.—*The Times*.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

The situation in Albania is regarded in Constantinople with considerable anxiety. Soldiers who recently deserted at Monastir, Ochrida and Perlept were mostly Albanians, but apparently they were actuated by strong political discontent. They resent particularly the interference of the Committee of Union and Progress in the last elections and demand the dismissal of the Minister Talaat Djavid. It is evident that a secret organisation similar to that of the Young Turks in 1908 exists with branches at Constantinople, Monastir and Salonika.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The Chamber of Deputies has voted a Bill hurriedly introduced by the Government which places penalty on officers and soldiers taking part in politics.

Reuter wired from Rome on the 29th June:—Fierce fighting has taken place at Bukamesh. The Italians at dawn, supported by the artillery, attacked six thousand Turks, who were entrenched at Sidi Said. They drove them out of the trenches. The Turks left five hundred dead. Simultaneously the Italians executed a flanking movement and rushed and destroyed the base camp of the Turks. The Italian casualties were 20 killed and 112 wounded.

Reuter wired from Rome:—The news of the Italian victory at Sidi Said was hailed with immense enthusiasm and scenes of patriotic fervour in Parliament.

Reuter wired from Rome:—An official telegram states that fighting was renewed at Sidi Said on the 28th June. Masses of Turks and Arabs who had been heavily reinforced were discovered in deep entrenchments. The whole of the Italian division bombarded their position assisted by three warships and then assaulted it at the point of the bayonet. The Turks were routed and left two hundred dead. The Italians had 10 killed and 78 wounded. A corrected list of the Italian dead in the fighting on the 27th places the number at twenty-nine.

Reuter wired from Tunis:—Of the rioters arrested in connection with the disturbances in Tunis in November last seven have been sentenced to death, five to hard labour and twenty to terms of imprisonment. Thirty-six were acquitted.

The contract given to Messrs. John Jackson and Co. in May in connection with the Mesopotamia irrigation scheme has been withdrawn, owing to conditions imposed by the Minister of Public Works.

A *Times* message from Salonika states that troops sent to suppress the military revolt in Monastir are encamped outside the town. It is stated that they have resolved not to fire on their comrades. Eight more battalions are en route from the Dardanelles.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 12.

The *Sabah* and other journals publish with bitter comments a list, supplied by private informants, of Arabs of the Sahel and Meneshe districts killed by the Italian soldiery. According to the list, which gives the names and ages of the victims, 13 men and boys and 22 women and girls were killed, 12 women were violated, several of whom were afterwards killed, and some 60 persons of both sexes were wounded.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

According to Turkish official advices two encounters took place at the end of last month in the neighbourhood of Tobrouk. In the first the Italian's losses were one officer wounded and six soldiers killed. In the second encounter the Italians retreated after sustaining serious losses.

May 3.

At yesterday's meeting of the Cabinet it was decided to increase the property tax by 25 per cent. in order to meet in part the extraordinary expenditure occasioned by the Italo-Turkish War. This increase of the property tax is only provisional but it will be probably levied so long as the hostilities last.

In official quarters the hope is expressed that the tax will be well received, and it is stated that already numerous telegrams have been received from the provinces announcing that the people themselves demand the institution of a war-tax.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 13.

A Government Bill for the imposition of new taxes to meet the expenses of the war will shortly be submitted to the Chamber of

Deputies. The Government's proposals are known to involve a 25 per cent. increase in the taxes on rural and urban property and in the *Tenettu* or professional tax. The military exemption tax will also be raised.

Nothing is definitely known as to the remainder of the Cabinet's financial programme, but the fact that it proposes to raise from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000 of new revenue justifies the belief that an increase of other categories of taxation is contemplated.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, June 10.

Later despatches from Tripoli show that the action at Zanzur was of considerable importance. The number of the enemy engaged is computed at over 12,000 and their loss at more than 500 killed, according to the official version, though some accounts give double that number. The Italian loss is said to be relatively slight. The battle was fought over a very extended front of almost eight miles with varying intensity. The enemy showed the greatest determination and tenacity, a proof of which is given in the fact that most of the dead were killed by the bayonet.

The *Tribuna* remarks to night that the moral effect of this victory is even more important than the material. It disproves the legend of the extraordinary mobility of the Arab forces and the impossibility of meeting them at close quarters, and on the other hand shows that the Italian soldier, even after a long march in the Tripolitan summer, is more than a match for his foes.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GARDIAN.")

Tripoli May.

The Italians this morning occupied the shrine of Sidi Abd el-Djellil, near the Zanzur oasis.

The Tripoli telegram appears to make it clear that Zanzur, which is about 12 miles west of the town of Tripoli, was not occupied by the Italians. The shrine of the saint Abd el-Djellil lies a mile or two to the east of Zanzur. Gargaresh is half-way between the latter town and Tripoli.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, June 9.

The latest report from the Ipek district states that the Albanian rebels have dispersed and returned to their homes; that all the positions of strategic value have been occupied by the Turkish troops and that the Mitrovitza-Ipek and Djakova-Ipek routes are open to traffic. In order to calm the existing excitement, a proclamation has been distributed granting an amnesty to all concerned in the recent rising on condition that they do not again take up arms.

Isa Boletinatz, with a following of 150 Albanians, is said to have gained the mountains of Ragosna. As regards Hassan Bey, the ex-Deputy for Prishtina, it is rumoured at Uskub that he has crossed the frontier into Montenegro with the object of directing a more general revolt from Cetigne.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GARDIAN.")

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* communicates to his paper some details of the scheme for the re-organisation of the gendarmerie which has been taken in hand by the Turkish Government. It is contemplated to establish at Salonika the headquarters for the Gendarmerie Corps, which will operate throughout European Turkey, with the exception of the provinces of Constantinople and Adrianople. The chief will have the rank of a general and the rights of a commander of a corps in time of war. The general staff will include three European officers, probably French and English. The chief will have under him sectional officers at Salonika, Uskub, Monastir, Janina and Scutari. The whole force will consist of 16,000 men, divided into flying command ever ready to proceed against the bands. The commander-in-chief will have full power to deal with the situation as it arises, without consulting Constantinople. He will also have the right to call upon officers commanding the regular troops to assist him in carrying out his measures. To this end special detachments of volunteers will be formed and suitably trained in the regiments.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, June 7.

To-day a deputation of Aegean islanders presented a memorandum to the Legations of Great Powers here. The document points out that the autonomous rights which the islands had enjoyed for centuries had been suppressed, but were now restored by the Italian occupation. These privileges were first violated by the Turks after the departure of the Russian fleet which had occupied the Islands from 1769 to 1774. The memorandum also recalls how Greeks in the European vilayets of Turkey were punished

after the departure of the Russian army in 1878 because they had welcomed the army of a Christian nation. The islanders now implore the signatory Powers to the Treaties of Paris and Berlin to protect them against similar reprisals should territorial changes in the Aegean take place. The islanders desire to record their protest against the injustice done them after the battle of Navarino when other islands were liberated.

The committee of islanders will shortly address to the Great Powers a full memorandum setting forth the local privileges formerly accorded them, including the unrestricted jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch regarding religious affairs.

St. Petersburg, June 7.

A well-defined rumour is current here that Italy will shortly cede to Germany one of the islands she has occupied in the Aegean. The *Novos Vremya*, in a leading article, foresees the tardy awakening of Turkey to the real character of her alleged friends and intimates that Russia is playing a dangerous game in espousing the cause of the Triple Alliance.

Mytilene, June 5.

In the fertile island of Mytilene everybody is going about his avocations as usual, although I am informed that commerce has suffered considerably through the war. Italian occupation is not expected for the present. The Turkish troops, however, have withdrawn to mountainous positions in the interior. There are 3,000 regulars and 1,500 volunteers. Some arms have been distributed to the Turkish population, who number 15,000 out of a total of 150,000. Almost all the young Greeks liable to military service have already left the island. The main Turkish army is some 15 miles in the interior. The position is one impossible for the Italian guns to locate from the coast, but is accessible by well-engineered, though badly-kept roads. Two magnificent natural harbours, formed by the Gulfs of Kaloni and Lero, should act as a bait to the Italians. Both, however, have very narrow entrances—Kaloni's navigable channel is only 300 feet broad. This 100 Turkish soldiers are engaged in blocking up with stones blasted from neighbouring rocks.

Chios, June 1.

An order has been promulgated that all Italian subjects must leave the island within a fortnight from 30th May. All the Turkish Judges and Kadis and almost all the other officials have left Chios. The repeated threat and postponement of the Italian attack are proving almost as harassing to the Christian inhabitants as to the Turkish authorities. According to information received from Mytilene the Turkish troops in the island number 4,000. They have been withdrawn into the interior. On 28th May an Italian torpedo-boat passed within three miles of the island going north. On the following day telegraphic communication with the mainland was broken off. No immediate attack by the Italian fleet is anticipated.

The Greek captain of the steamer *Xanthi*, of the Destouni Yannoulatos Line, reports that immediately after he had left the port of Smyrna about noon on Wednesday, 29th May, there occurred within 50 yards of his ship an explosion in water caused either by a floating mine or by a torpedo directed from a neighbouring Turkish fort. The *Xanthi* was not damaged.

Smyrna, June 7.

On 30th May two Italian sailors were killed by Turks on shore at Scalanova on the coast of Asia Minor east of Samos. An Italian bombardment followed. It is supposed that the Turkish authorities were withdrawing the troops from Samos to the mainland and that an Italian torpedo-boat destroyer intervened. All the Italian subjects, numbering about 6,000, have now left Smyrna.

The delegates of the International Commission for the protection of the Smyrna trade are forwarding to the Embassies of the Great Powers at Constantinople a circular pointing out that grave injury will result to Smyrna from a blockade of the town by the Italian fleet and urging the Powers to obtain from Italy a promise to refrain from such a measure. The next few months are the busy season of the trade, which employs 80,000 hands, whose earnings in July, August and September practically constitute their means of livelihood for the whole year.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" SPECIAL TRADE CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 8.

Following on the order recently placed for two aeroplanes to be built in England, it is now stated that H.E. Marshal Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha, the President of the Senate, together with his son, Moukhtar Pasha, ex-Minister of Marine, have decided to purchase three aeroplanes, which they will present to the Ministry of War. It also stated that another member of the Upper Chamber will propose that the Senators abandon one-half of their salaries during a year for the benefit of the new arm. While I have not had this news confirmed, I repeat it as showing that attention is now being turned in this direction, and in view of what has been accomplished by public subscription by the

Navy League in the purchase of two battleships, four torpedo craft, several transports, it would be well if British aeroplane makers kept the possibilities of this market before them. As bearing upon this subject it is announced that two Turkish Army officers who were in Paris studying aviation have just successfully passed the examination of the Aero Club.

Defence of Smyrna.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 7.

THE Italian Fleet continues to observe Chios and other islands, but has not undertaken any offensive action for the last three weeks, with the exception of a raid upon the shipping in the little port of Scalanova. The Turkish military authorities are, however, convinced that the present calm is but the prelude to joint military and naval action on a large scale on the Asiatic coasts of the Aegean, and have in consequence begun to concentrate large forces at Smyrna with the object of meeting any attempt to capture the town. Their knowledge that considerable Italian forces are assembled at Rhodes and that the Italian Press, doubtless with the object of throwing dust in Turkish and other eyes, recently hinted that a force estimated at 35,000 men was about to be transported from Tripoli to the Derna-Benghazi side of the African theatre of war inspires them with the belief that a descent on the coast of Anatolia is more than probable. The present season is eminently unfavourable for operations in Cyrenaica, and the latest information in the hands of the Turkish General Staff goes to show that the troops required for the "expedition into the interior" were really sent from Italian ports to Tobruk, which was used as the place of assembly for the expedition which recently captured Rhodes, and where the Italian garrison is at present exceptionally inactive.

It is impossible to give an exact estimate of the strength of the forces mobilized for the defence of Smyrna, but it is known that the best part of three Redif divisions have been called out in the course of the last two months for the defence of the coast and the 2nd Division of the 1st Army Corps is preparing to leave for Smyrna by rail. It is rumoured that two more Nizam divisions have been warned for mobilization, and in any case the number of troops shortly to be concentrated in Smyrna is likely to exceed 40,000 effectives.

Another possibility discussed in Turkish military circles is a raid by the Italian expeditionary force on Adalia, Marmaris, or other points on the Asiatic coast which are weakly garrisoned and owing to the lack of good communications cannot easily be reached by troops from Smyrna, Konia and other important military centres. The partisans of this theory maintain that the fact that strong reinforcements can be sent by rail to Smyrna from the capital and elsewhere in comparatively short time, though not excluding the possibility of a naval raid, renders a military attack on the town and adjoining district improbable, and believe that the rumours that it is impending are intended to assist the enemy to divert attention from his real objective. The situation is, indeed, an admirable object-lesson in the importance and value of sea power.

LATER.

It is officially reported that Italian warships have appeared off Gallek and Marmaris.

The Turkish Political Situation.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 6.

THE Italians, after occupying Rhodes and the neighbouring islands, have allowed a considerable period to elapse before proceeding to the occupation of the more northerly islands. Whether this delay is due to a concentration of forces with the object of making the occupation more effective or whether it is due to objections raised by the Powers, military operations in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles are questions that are now being discussed without any great display of animation by the Turkish Press. One theory is that the Italians, seeing that the occupation of Rhodes has not had the anticipated impression on Turkish public opinion, are preparing a more effective stroke, say, a descent on the coasts of Asia Minor. It is difficult to see which part of the coast of Asia Minor, apart from the neighbourhood of Smyrna, an Italian descent would produce a great impression, and European commercial interests are so strongly represented in Smyrna that it may be imagined that the Italian Government will continue to hesitate before taking such a step. It is stated here that the Italians have already concentrated 50,000 troops in Rhodes, and the number seems to suggest military operations of a somewhat extended character. In any case the Turkish Government has taken the precaution of transferring this week the Second Division from Constantinople to Cheshnie, the First Division having been sent

last week to Albania. In the meantime half the available fleet of lighters has been employed in transporting military stores to the fortifications in the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

An article in the *Hakk*, in which this organ of the extremely Nationalist section of the Committee of Union and Progress suggested that the Turkish Fleet should go out into the Aegean and, like the fleet of Admiral Rozhdestvensky, risk annihilation in a last heroic attack on the enemy, has caused some excitement among naval officers, which the Minister of Marine tried to allay in the course of a visit to the Dardanelles. It is reported to-day that the members of the War Council of the Ministry of Marine have resigned in a body. These perturbations in the fleet only slightly affect the general political situation, but they will increase the difficulties with which Admiral Lympus is confronted in the task of re-organising the Navy.

Will the present Cabinet remain in office? This is a question that is exciting some discussion at present, though matters have not as yet come to a crisis. Difficulties have arisen in the new Parliament rather sooner than was anticipated. At last Saturday's sitting several Young Turkish Deputies severely criticised the Government amendment to the Assemblies Law forbidding open-air meetings. And at a meeting of the Young Turkish Parliamentary Group this week, 102 out of a total of 126 deputies voted against a further modification of the Constitution giving the Sultan almost unlimited power to dissolve the Chamber. It remains to be seen whether this interesting divergency of views will develop into an acute conflict, or whether both sides will agree for the present to a compromise in view of the external situation.

Italian War News.

THE Italian Commander at Sidi Said has a distinctive style in despatch-writing that make his efforts a sort of guessing competition. On Friday he reported that the Italians had driven 6,000 Turks from an entrenched position at Sidi Said and that the defenders left 500 dead behind them. The Italian casualties, by the way, were 20 killed and 112 wounded. One may pause here to congratulate the Italians upon their superb marksmanship which far exceeds that of any other army in the world. Then it appears, the fighting was resumed on Saturday on account of masses of Turks and Arabs being "discovered in the trenches." How they got there is a mystery, for the average person, knowing that the position had been captured by the Italians, would imagine that they would garrison and hold it. But perhaps some of the 500 dead came to life and the Italians left for their health. However, our ingenuous commander passes lightly over this difficult point, and rushes on to announce that the trenches had been again captured. But he is more merciful this time and the Turks only lose 200 killed and the Italians 10 killed and 78 wounded.—*The Empire*.

Italian Views on the Situation.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, May 29.

A TEMPORARY lull in actual military operations has tempted the Italian Press to discuss the present situation of the war. The result is somewhat negative; no newspaper is apparently able to arrive at any definite suggestion of a possible end of hostilities. Public opinion, as displayed in the Press, seems to follow two different currents—one that professes satisfaction with the manner in which the war is being conducted, and the other criticising, to-day rather vigorously, the alleged inaction of the chief command in Tripoli. It need hardly be said that the latter current is restricted to the Opposition journals, notably the *Giornale d'Italia* of Rome, and that a good deal of this criticism is not more reasonable than that which is ordinarily addressed by an Opposition newspaper to a Government in office. Nevertheless the position of the malcontents is not ill-founded and their arguments a good deal more logical than any that have been brought to the Government's defence. What is the use, asks the *Giornale d'Italia*, of keeping a large army in Tripoli almost entirely inactive? The object of the Italian campaign was the conquest of Tripoli, and Tripoli seems to be the one place where no effort is being made. The brilliance, even the utility, of the victory gained by General Ameglio in Rhodes is not denied. It is amply proved that Italian officers know how to lead and Italian soldiers how to fight, witness the skill and valour shown, not only in Rhodes, but also in Bu-Kamesh. Why, then, is no serious attempt made to bring the war to an end, in the only decisive quarter, by a real advance beyond the trenches of Tripoli? The *Giornale d'Italia* discusses the *pros* and *cons* of such an advance in a fairly exhaustive fashion and quotes other authority in support of its view. In short it represents the views of those Italians, among whom are the great majority of Italian officers, who believe that Italy can finish the war by her own exertions and are longing to see a fair chance given to her army. A good many very competent foreign critics are entirely of the same opinion.

The whole question of the future issue of the war practically rests upon that of action or inaction in Tripoli. The diversions made by the Italian Fleet in the Aegean, if they were part of another definite and settled plan, might possibly lead to another issue. But no one believes that the Government has any settled plan of campaign in those waters, and it is very difficult to conjecture what plan they could possibly entertain. Meanwhile the Ministerial newspapers are full of rumours of intervention by the European Powers, strenuously objecting to anything in the form of a Conference—which apparently has been suggested in no quarter—and more than insinuating that they would welcome the mediation of a single friendly Power should such a Power, Russia for instance, undertake the duty of making peace. But it is carefully explained that the duty of that Power would be limited to putting pressure on one of the belligerents, Turkey, and persuading her that she was virtually beaten and had no other resource than to accept the accomplished fact. And here lies really the difference that divides public opinion in Italy. The *Giornale d'Italia* and more enlightened newspapers are willing to recognize that the fact is not accomplished yet. The Ministerial supporters seem to think they can persuade Europe that it is accomplished without the trouble of further expenditure of men and money.

The Italian Epitaphs.

THE account of the recent fighting at Homs that has been received by the editor of the *Comrade* and is published in our columns to-day vividly emphasizes the great discrepancies between the Turkish and Italian reports of the progress of the war. Our chief regret is that the two sides of the case are never simultaneously presented, for the Italian correspondents, whether veracious or not, obtain by priority of publication an advantage to which they are not entitled. That, however, is inevitable, and perhaps it does not after all make much difference. The reading public, outside Italy, has long ago learned that the despatches published in Italy are, to be believed as readily as an epitaph—and this is so, not because of the corrective afforded by other sources of information, so much as on account of the inherent impossibility of the Italian tale. According to the Italians, the small Turkish force in Tripoli—including Enver Bey—has been killed several times over, the Arabs have either been slain or won over to the invader—attracted by hospitals and other manifestations of Italian civilisation; and yet the fighting goes on and the hosts of Rome still occupy but a narrow strip of sandy coast.—*The Times of India*.

The Italians and Enver Bey.

THE mother of Enver Bey, the hero of the Ottoman revolution who is now fighting the Italians at Benghazi, relates some exciting experiences.

A few weeks ago a special message came to her through her son's war companion, Eshref Bey, who arrived in Cairo with a few wounded soldiers. He brought her a photograph of her son and a number of costly presents, also a camel of especial vigour and beauty, destined by Enver Bey for the Khalif.

Soon afterwards Enver Bey's mother and Eshref Bey started for Constantinople. They had to travel under special precautions, as the Italians got wind of her having received important information from her son. At one time the Italians thought Enver Bey himself was in her company. She obtained a passport bearing the name of Hanih Hanoum, the companion to the Khedive's wife, and she and those who accompanied her put on Arab costumes.

They left secretly on the *Ismailia*, of the Khedivial Mail Line. Not far from Crete the steamer was stopped by a cruising Italian warship. The officers of the latter went on the *Ismailia* and asked for the passports. This was a very trying moment for Enver Bey's mother, as she and her companions had concealed below their luggage important information concerning Italian war equipment.

At the critical moment, however, everything passed off well. The Italian officers were unable to discover anything suspicious. It was amusing to see them comparing a photograph of Enver Bey in their possession with every male passenger on board. They had heard that the young Ottoman hero was returning to Constantinople wounded, and they intended to capture him.

Near the Piræus the ship was again stopped by an Italian cruiser. This time the officers of the latter found the photograph of Enver Bey, but they did not recognise in the bearded image the youthful commander of Benghazi who was clean-shaven when he had left Berlin for Africa. One of the passengers on the *Ismailia*, Sadyk Bey, who resembles Enver Bey, was submitted by the Italians to a very strict inquiry.

Enver Bey's mother and Eshref Bey arrived at Dedeagatch without further trouble.

Turkey's Arab Problem.

(FROM A "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

IN the course of an interview with Colonel Ihssan Bey the Etat Major of the Yemen Corps, some statements were elicited that are certain to interest your readers, who cannot be indifferent to the political destinies of Arabia. Colonel Ihssan Bey, who knows personally Aziz Bey, the Egyptian leader of the Derna forces that have fought so valiantly against the Italians, declares that it is mainly due to his loyalty and wisdom, and to the peaceful intentions with which he has been able to inspire General Izzet Pasha, that the entente between the Ottoman Government and the Imam Yahya has at last been concluded. It is, moreover, thanks to Aziz Bey's personal charm of manner and persuasive powers, that the Imam has been influenced in the direction of peace, thus further facilitating the progress of the negotiations between him and the Turkish General.

The principal reason of the conflict that developed into open and prolonged warfare between the Imam and the Ottoman Government is alleged to have been connected with the Imam's seal. Before the entente the seal bore the inscription: "May Allah make him victorious," and at the bottom, in the shape of a crescent, "As Sayed Yahya Ibn Mohammed Hamid Eddine, the Prince of the Faithful (Emir El Mu'meneen) who lays his trust in Allah, the Lord of Creation." Now the seal has been modified thus: "Imam of the Zaidiehs, Es Sayed Yahya Ibn Mohammed Hamid Eddine." And it is not strange that for this mere inscription the Ottoman Government risked such onerous and bloody wars; for it implied an actual disavowal of the spiritual, if not of the temporal, authority of the Sultan as Caliph; and, but for the declaration of war by an infidel nation, such a renunciation of spiritual claims, supported by historical and traditional evidence, might have never been made. As it is, out of the 60,000 soldiers sent by the Ottoman Government to subdue the Yemen revolt, about 6,000 are acknowledged to have perished, mostly from epidemic diseases.

By virtue of the new treaty of peace the Imam now receives £11,100 per month, and the leading sheikhs of the Yemen tribes also receive allowances according to the degree of their influence. As soon as the treaty was concluded, the Imam distributed a manifesto among the friendly tribes warning them against rebellion and aggression, and counselling them to relinquish any hostile action against the Ottoman Government and to devote their energies to the tilling of the soil. It may here be parenthetically remarked that the Ottoman Government has been seeking, with special interest, to get the Arabs both in Arabia and Syria to settle down in fixed localities for agricultural pursuits, because it realised that so long as the Arab led the nomadic life he remained an invincible, elusive, and unavailable force. According to Ihssan Bey, Turkish troops now move about throughout the Yemen Province in perfect security. The tax collectors are appointed by the Imam, and constitute at the same time a force of gendarmerie; and it is said that since the entente there has not been a single recurrence of the old quarrels between the tax gatherers and the people, which used often to lead to sanguinary combats.

The Ottoman Government is eager to develop the rich resources of the Yemen now that security reigns therein. A Government railway is being constructed between Hodeida and Jafale, and though only three kilometres of rail have been laid, the embankment works are progressing; but, of course, with the blockade of the Red Sea coast in existence, the transport of all railway material is suspended for the present. Although the line was originally designed purely for strategic purposes, yet Colonel Ihssan is so optimistic about the results of the entente that he believes that, if the Government pursues the conciliatory policy of Izzet Pasha, its eventual use will be purely economic. Much seems to be expected from the Yemenite's intelligence; for it is generally recognised that in the matter of astuteness he surpasses his Bedawi brother of the Sahara. In certain parts of the Yemen the land yields four crops, and in others two; but the patriotic Colonel could not help deploring the fact that a lot of agricultural machinery sent out by the Government has rusted and decayed simply because no agricultural experts were sent with the machines.

It seems that a whole month elapsed before the treaty made by Izzet Pasha with the Imam was ratified by the Government, and Colonel Ihssan severely criticises the latter for its dilatoriness, especially in this matter, because he believes it to be very damaging to its influence and prestige with the Arabs, who often fell out with the Turks for want of open dealing. Colonel Ihssan confirmed the rumour, published some time ago in the papers, that, in return for the privileges and concessions granted him, the Imam has offered to place at the disposal of the Ottoman Government an armed force of about 100,000 men. In this connection may be mentioned the following anecdote, published recently in a local paper. In the course of conversation between Izzet Pasha and

the Imam, the former is said to have paid a special tribute to the prowess displayed by the Albanians in the recent revolt, whereupon the Imam exclaimed, "You could not see much of our prowess. Wait till you see us engaged with the real enemy"—meaning the infidel Italians—"and you will know then what Arab mettle is!"

As regards the Idrissi, the Colonel is in favour also of a conciliatory policy, involving, however, concessions far inferior to those granted to the Imam, for the claim of the Idrissi is only recent. Izzet Pasha, while acknowledging the sacred descent of the Imam, which is established by historical evidence, seems to consider the Idrissi as an upstart in Mahdism, and believes that, should his claim be acknowledged in any way, the Government would incur the risk of seeing a legion of other pretenders cropping up. Colonel Ihssan's personal opinion, however, is that, after attempting a war with the Idrissi, Izzet Pasha is likely to incline to a more lenient policy. Being asked whether there are other chiefs in those parts whose influence has to be reckoned with, he said that to the east of the Yemen are some smaller potentates ("sultans") whom Izzet Pasha is anxious to win over in view of the dangers that threaten the Government, especially as a foreign Power has been trying to attract them and secure their allegiance by means of liberal grants and offers of arms. According to the Colonel, two of these minor potentates, on hearing of the entente between the Imam and Izzet Pasha, came to offer, of their own accord, their allegiance to the Ottoman Government. At the same time, they told the Pasha of the intrigues of certain European Powers, confirming their statements by the exhibition of documents sent them by the agents of those Powers. Izzet Pasha is said to have given a cordial welcome to these chieftains, and to have acknowledged their local authority in Eastern Yemen, and after delivering an Ottoman flag to each of them, to have sent them away with handsome presents.

The Baghdad Railway.

THE Baghdad Railway was first mooted shortly after the visit of the German Emperor to Constantinople and Syria in 1898. Not to weary the reader with aspects of the matter which are no longer of cardinal importance, it may roughly be said that the concessions obtained from the Turkish Government in 1903, 1908 and 1911 contemplate the extension of the Anatolian Railway already existing at the earliest of these dates.

This line extended from Haidar Pasha, a port on the Bosphorus immediately facing Constantinople, through Afium Hissar to Konia the ancient Seljuk capital of Anatolia. From Konia the Baghdad Railway proper may be said to begin. A clause was included definitely granting to the concessionaires the right to extend the line from Baghdad to a point upon the Persian Gulf. The point itself was not named.

This concession was made to a company which, though officially Turkish, was in reality a German enterprise from the outset. The line was to be constructed and managed by a German company. On her side Turkey undertakes to protect the line,—a matter which is of some little importance at the present moment. In return for the services thus rendered by the German company, Turkey agreed to pay the famous kilometric guarantee which figures so largely in all discussions about this railway. It may be as well to have the exact terms of this guarantee:

Le Gouvernement Imperial garantit au concessionnaire par kilomètre construit et exploité une annuité de 11,000f., ainsi qu'une somme forfaitaire de 4,500f., par année et par kilomètre exploité pour frais d'exploitation.

This means that under any circumstances a sum of 11,000f. will be paid by the Turkish Government annually for each kilometre of the line over which the Germans are actually running trains. In addition to this Turkey agrees to pay a contingent sum, not amounting to more than 4,500f. a year, in order, when necessary, to make up the gross receipts of each kilometre to the sum of 4,500f. a year. The terms seem generous. It is to be noted that a newly-sanctioned section of the railway connecting the port of Alexandretta with the main line near Kalakeui is to be constructed by the Germans without any guarantee from the Turkish Government at all. This too will be seen to be a matter of some importance.

The Germans pushed on the railway from Konia through Ereğli to Bulgurlu, where for several years the rail-head of the line has remained. It is a comparatively small stretch of rails, and it runs through a fertile and well-populated country, presenting no great engineering difficulties. But beyond Bulgurlu the German engineers were faced by nothing less than the gigantic bulk of the Taurus Mountains and all construction work came to an end for a long time. Through this range there is, and always has been, only one feasible pass—the famous Cilician Gates. Through these gates the armies of every conqueror have passed and repassed between Asia Minor and Asia Major, and the Germans, in their turn, have

found it impossible to adopt any other route. But the difficulties to be encountered are gigantic. The work will require scores of tunnels through particularly obstinate and close-grained rock and viaducts across yawning ravines. Afterwards, the line descends to Adana, joining the existing little railway between Mersina and Adana, and extending it to the east to the junction to which reference has just been made. From Kalakeui—Osmanieh is the usual name for the place, though the town of Osmanieh lies ten miles to the east—one line will proceed due south to Alexandretta, or, as it is locally known, Iskanderun. To this important branch I shall make a reference later.

The main line, soon turning south itself, and still traversing very difficult country—At one point, between Bagche and Islahie, there is a tunnel 5,500 metres in length—reaches a place called Muslimieh. From this point the trains will run south into Aleppo, the main constructional centre of the entire line, where a very large station and railway works are already in process of construction. The through trains for Baghdad will return as far as Muslimieh, and thence run north-east to Jerablus, on the Euphrates, a place to which the excavations of Mr. D. G. Hogarth have drawn a good deal of attention of late. Here the real desert journey begins, and the difficulties of the line, except for one or two large bridges, from the engineer's point of view, cease. But from this point political trouble begins.

The course adopted runs eastward, and soon reaches Kurdish territory. These descendants of the ancient Medes have never been properly subdued either by the Turks or by the Persians. They maintain an imperium in imperio in the heart of the Turkish Empire, and their objection to railways, which is almost as obstinate as that of John Ruskin, should perhaps have been taken into consideration before the course of the line was finally decided upon. The Kurds near Mosul—the eastern objective of this section of the railway—have announced their intention of preventing by force the construction of any railway through their country. The Baghdad Railway Company has appealed to Constantinople for protection. This the Ottoman Government has been unwilling, and probably unable to afford, as its military forces are urgently needed in other directions, and the last thing it wishes is to provoke a Kurdish rising against itself at this moment. The company then requested that Nazim Pasha, the strong ex-Vali of Baghdad, should be given special powers to secure the protection of the work. It is not impossible that this may ultimately be done, but if so it will take place in the teeth of the strongest opposition from Shevket Pasha, who at present is practically dictator of Ottoman policy, and whose anger Nazim Pasha incurred by some drastic street improvements in Baghdad which threatened the property of Shevket Pasha's brother. The Mosul-Baghdad section of the line will be an easy matter from an engineering point of view. The right bank of the Tigris is followed without interruption.

Now it is not generally known in England that surveys of the entire line from Bulgurlu to Baghdad have now been completed, and that the actual work of construction is being carried on at several points in the north-western part of its course. I had the opportunity the other day of going over the railway works at Aleppo and I was very much impressed by the solidity and importance of the work there done by the Germans. This is no mere light railway, nor is it being made on the principle adopted by the engineers of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The latter, anxious at all costs to have railway communication with the Far East at the earliest possible moment, were content, so to speak, to "tack together" the new line in the first instance, with the knowledge that they would soon afterwards be obliged to go over the entire work in a more permanent manner. The Germans have decided to carry out the construction in a solid and business like way from the beginning. To those who know the kind of material usually employed for the pioneer railways it will be enough to say that the London and North-Western Railway itself might be glad to use the rails and points which are being laid down between Aleppo and Muslimieh. At the present moment the Adana section and the line from Aleppo to the north beyond Muslimieh as far as Akhterin are actually in working order. It is expected that the line will be complete from Akhterin to the Zorna Ara Bridge at Jerablus by October next. The new line between Alexandretta and Osmanieh, for which permission was only granted on the 16th February last year, will be finished on the 1st April, 1913.

This branch line is of considerable importance to the company. In the first place, the linking up of Alexandretta with the main line east of Adana will enable the engineers to collect the labour and material for the Mesopotamian stretch with very much greater ease. Secondly—and this is a matter of the first importance, which was pointed out to me by a resident in Northern Syria, who was considerably interested in the matter—the facts are that this branch line is a direct communication between Mesopotamia and the nearest and best European seaport, and that no tariff conditions attach to this unguaranteed enterprise. Thus the company will be able, if it wishes to do so, to differentiate the tariffs respectively imposed by it, so as largely to transfer any general profit earned by the whole line from the guaranteed section to their own!

In this connection it is important to remember the tariff laid down by the concessions. By this the rate to be charged for the

transport of cereals—which, of course, will be by far the most important freight—is at the rate of 22 paras per ton per kilometre. But there is a significant clause, providing that cereals carried in trucks, for a distance of not less than 900 kilometres shall pay a special rate of only 6 paras per ton per kilometre. Put into plain English, this means, that any grain taken to Alexandretta from the fertile districts of Mesopotamia—the 900th kilometre is reached about where the River Zab falls into the Tigris above Tekrit—will only have to pay about 25s. per ton for the whole journey. In view of the intention of the Turkish Government—and if it is not now the purpose of the Turkish Government it will shortly be to the interest of the German Company—to develop Sir William Willcocks' schemes and make of Mesopotamia a fertile grain-producing country, it is as well to remember that grain carried by this railway will not have to pay Suez Canal dues. We all know that it is an axiom of economists that railway-borne freight rates cannot compete with ship-borne freight rates. This is an argument which has been so repeatedly used to minimise the importance of the Baghdad Railway that it is as well to bear in mind the special circumstances of marine competition in this case.

Moreover, under the concession there is nothing whatever to prevent the Germans reducing the rate still further. They do not need for this purpose to obtain the permission of the Turkish Government. It is only necessary for them to give three days' notice of such a reduction, and the thing is done. Should the company, in order to prevent sea competition, think it advisable that American precedents should be followed, the main line might be thrown open for the almost gratuitous transport of grain. There is always the kilometric guarantee to persuade them to this course, for though this reduction may be brought about at the discretion of the concessionnaires, without the assent of Turkey, the latter is still obliged to make good the 4,500fr. per kilometre supplement.

What, it may be asked, is the consideration which has induced Turkey to sign so one-sided an agreement? We have seen that she is bound to pay a sum, which is capitalised at 269,110fr. for each kilometre, constructed and in operation. She is, moreover, bound to make up any deficiency in the annual receipts to the sum of 4,500fr. a year. In return for this she receives, on paper, all sums received per kilometre between 4,500fr. and 10,000fr. Above 10,000fr. 60 per cent. go to the Government and 40 per cent. to the company. It would be difficult to draft a concession which held out more inducements to the concessionnaires to minimise the receipts upon the guaranteed main line, and increase them upon their own short, unguaranteed railway, for which they have a right to charge what they please.

The company has not been slow to realise the advantages of its position. Alexandretta, which even as it exists to day, is the best harbour on the Syrian coast, is being transformed by the construction of a breakwater two kilometres long and enormous quays, which are to be fitted with every modern apparatus for handling grain. At Haider Pasha, opposite Constantinople, the company possesses valuable privileges regarding the handling of freight, but the company clearly intends to make Alexandretta the chief port. Naturally enough.

There remain for consideration certain other extensions of the main line which require a passing notice. Dismissing as of small importance proposed branches to Marash and Aintal to the north of Aleppo, an important feeder of the line runs down from Kharput, through Diarbekr and Mardin, to El Helif. This line, which taps a rich and important territory, largely inhabited by industrious Armenians, will sooner or later be extended northwards to meet what is erroneously called the "French" railway running up from Samsum on the Black Sea to Sivas. The construction of these rails will afford Russia the best steam accommodation with southern Asiatic waters, at least, until the new Trans Persian line has been constructed.

From Mosul a line will be thrown out towards Erbil, if Russian consent can be obtained. It will be remembered that the construction of these branch lines directed towards the Russian sphere of influence in Persia was a matter of special discussion during the "Potsdam" discussions of last year. We shall have to wait to see what the actual form of the agreement between Germany and Russia has now taken. A proposed line from El Baj on the Tigris, to Hit, on the Euphrates, is talked of, as also is a branch in the same district to the east of the main line linking up Kurmatli with Sadiyah. The latter is of no importance. The former may suddenly spring into prominence if the petroleum of Hit is properly developed.

But beyond all question, the most important extensions of the Baghdad line are those which are to link it respectively with the Russian railways in Persia, on the one hand, and on the other with the waters of the Persian Gulf.—PERCIVAL LONDON in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Its Working and its Growth.

THE Anatolian and Bagdad Railways have published their financial reports for 1911. The receipts of the former amounted to 15,100,271 francs (as against 11,497,999 francs in 1910), repre-

giving 17,103 francs per kilometre on the main Haidar-Pasha-Konia line and 11,366 francs and 17,358 francs on the branch lines Eski-Shehir-Konia and Arifeh-Ada-Bazar respectively. The number of passengers was 2,709,276 on the main and 212,535 and 124,144 on the two branch lines respectively. The goods carried amounted to 425,027 tons on the main and 216,509 tons and 44,611 tons on the two branch lines respectively. The working expenses were 6,202,444 francs, leaving a net revenue of 3,621 francs per kilometre. The receipts on the main line exceeded for the first time the amount of the kilometric guarantee, so that the Government had no prepayment to make and even received as its share the sum of 352,467 francs. As against this the Government had to pay 1,045,205 francs on the Eski-Shehir-Konia branch line. The report points out that the section Bulgurlu-Ulukishla has been working since June 1, 1911, and that from Dorak to the foot of the Amanus Mountains was opened on April 27 last. On January 4 of the present year the company obtained a concession for a railway, 60 kilometres long, from Ada-Bazar in the direction of Bolu for a period of 90 years. The company contemplates the raising of a loan of 60 million francs at 4½ per cent. for additional work on the existing main and branch lines. The total available surplus amounted to 3,660,094 francs, of which 2,940,160 francs were distributed in dividends of 5 per cent. The total paid-up capital amounts to 58,803,200 francs.

The Bagdad Railway has now a length of 237.6 kilometres. The net receipts amounted to 3,379 francs per kilometre—a total of 740,603 francs (as against 514,285 francs the previous year): 95,884 passengers and 38,056 tons of goods were carried during the year. The Ottoman Government had to pay in kilometric guarantee 238,166 francs (as against 381,135 francs in 1910). It is expected that during the present year 100 to 150 kilometres will be opened from Aleppo towards the Amanus on the one hand and towards the Euphrates on the other. It is also intended shortly to begin work from Bagdad northwards, and on a branch line to Alexandretta, to be completed in 1913. To cover the cost of construction of the line to Alexandretta the remaining 50 per cent. on the shares amounting to 15 million francs will be called up. The year's operation shows a net profit of 795,324 francs and 531,240 was distributed in dividend at 5 per cent.

According to Reuter's Berlin correspondent a telegram from Constantinople states that as the Ministry of Public Works has finally approved the plans for the Mediterranean port of the Bagdad Railway at Alexandretta and the branch line from Toprak-Kale to Alexandretta work was begun at Alexandretta on Monday.

An Anti-English View.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* gives a report of what was apparently an interesting lecture and discussion on the Bagdad Railway at the "Free Students' Association" in Berlin. The lecturer was a certain Dr. Jaechh, whom the report introduces as an authority on Asiatic Turkey. He observed that the struggle between Germany and England over the Bagdad Railway was the outward symbol of the struggle between these two Powers over Turkey. The Bagdad Railway could alone furnish the "Sick Man" with a backbone and set him on his feet again. Under Abdul Hamid only one-fourth of the line had been constructed in twenty years. The Young Turks, however, insisted upon the entire work being completed within five years. Of the capital 40 per cent. had been supplied by Germany, 30 per cent. by France and 10 per cent. by Switzerland; nevertheless the enterprise was technically a purely German work. The railway was already paying for itself, and, so far from needing the kilometric guarantee, yielded to Turkey a surplus of £200,000. The line was so far only worked in the daytime and the speed did not exceed 30 kilometres an hour. Five hundred thousand hectares along the Anatolian Railway were going to be reclaimed by irrigation by the Germans and 5,000,000 hectares in Mesopotamia were to be irrigated by a British company. The line would not be carried along the Syrian coast but through the Taurus, in order to guard against attacks from the sea. The railway would make Germany independent of the Suez Canal and would thus prevent the closing of a ring round the Indian Ocean, which was the object of the English. Russia's opposition had been transformed by the Potsdam agreement into co-operation. England did not want the independence of Turkey, so that she might obtain, as the greatest Muhammadan Power, the spiritual authority over the entire Moslem world. As had already been remarked by Moltke, Austria was the Power which had the greatest interest in the preservation of an independent Turkey and in the maintenance of order in the Balkans. Co-operation between Germany, Austria and Turkey would be of the greatest importance, not only for Germany, but also for the peace and welfare of the entire world.

Among those who took part in the discussion was Herr Eduard Bernstein, who protested against the anti-British tenor of the lecturer's remarks. Dr. Jaechh, he said, identified whole countries rather too much with the diplomatic game of cross-purposes which was arousing the ever-growing opposition of the peoples. There was no reason why Germany and England should

not be able to live on friendly terms. Germany's trade with England was a hundred times greater than the rest of her overseas trade.

As against Herr Bernstein, the well-known Pan-German writer Dr. Paul Rohrbach observed that precisely in the case of the anti-German policy gaining the upper hand in England, the Bagdad Railway would prove an excellent weapon against England.

The Manchester Guardian.

British Red Crescent Mission.

We reproduce below the letter addressed to the President of the British Red Crescent Society by Mr. Alan Ostler, late correspondent of the *Daily Express*, recently returned to England, a copy of which has been sent to us by the Secretary:—

SIR,—May I express through you my personal gratitude to the Medical Mission sent to Tripoli under the auspices of the British Red Crescent Society and my strong admiration for the magnificent work which it is doing at Gharieh?

I am sure that if your subscribers could only see for themselves how great and necessary a change has been made in the condition of the sick and wounded Turkish and Arab soldiery, they would be satisfied that their money is being well and nobly spent. I do not in any way disparage the heroic efforts which Turkish medical men, both military and civil, have made to cope with the situation. But the number of patients, the enormous areas over which they are distributed, and the scarcity both of doctors and of medical stores which obtained during the early days of the war, made it impossible to give proper medical aid to those who needed it. Even now, although matters are much better in this respect, there remains much more than the Turkish doctors can possibly hope to do, so that the help given by your Mission is truly of the utmost benefit.

I should like to bear witness to the genuine gratitude of both Arabs and Turks, of which any Englishman travelling at present through Tripoli is invariably made aware. The Arabs of the country, in particular, have always been ready to respect and admire English people; and since the arrival of your Mission, this tendency had markedly increased. The fame of the hospital at Gharieh has spread far and wide; for not the least of your Mission's splendid qualities is its readiness to give medical treatment to all who are in need of it—combatant, non-combatant man, woman or child. In addition to the regular military patients, crowds of suffering country people flock daily to the Red Crescent Tents. Other hospitals receive the sick and wounded of the Ottoman Army alone: but the doors of the English are open to all.

It is a splendid work. You are helping both the heroic army, which has so gallantly resisted the Italians, and the uncomplaining poor of Tripoli, who have suffered bitterly from war following upon many bad seasons. I only venture to hope that, having made so fine a beginning, your Society will find it possible to continue and even to extend the work.

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,

(Sd.) ALAN OSTLER.

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Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg, German Chancellor, conferred for one and a-half hours with M. Kokovtseff, the Russian Premier, and M. Sazonoff, Russian Foreign Minister. A state banquet was given in the evening. The Kaiser has bestowed the order of the Black Eagle on M. Kokovtseff.

After a farewell luncheon on board the Russian Imperial yacht *Standard* the German Emperor left for Swinemunde, whence he proceeds on Tuesday on his annual northern cruise. Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg has proceeded to St. Petersburg. Semi-official telegrams to Berlin mention the animated character of the conversations of the Emperors and also that the Tsar had two long conversations with Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg, but there is no hint as to any political result.

A memorable dinner took place on board the *Hohenzollern* on Friday night when the Kaiser entertained the Tsar, Tsaritsa and family. The decorations were superb. After dinner the Royal guests were entertained by a cinematograph display.

The *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg telegraphs that there are positive grounds for asserting that the Tsar is firmly and unalterably resolved to maintain and develop the Franco-Russian alliance and the *entente* with Britain. His Majesty's special care, as exemplified in the creation of a strong Navy, is to render Russia absolutely independent of German influence.

Semi-official statements published in St. Petersburg and Berlin emphasise the cordiality of the interviews between the two monarchs, at which, it is declared, political questions were frankly discussed, strengthening the conviction of the necessity for maintaining Russo-German sympathy in the interests of general peace. It is added that there was no question of a fresh agreement or of a change in the grouping of Powers.

Imperial Defence.

The Committee of Imperial Defence held an important meeting preliminary to the discussion with the Canadian Minister.

The Imperial Defence Committee met. There was an unusually large attendance which included Lord Fisher, Sir A. K. Wilson and General Sir Ian Hamilton. There were two long sessions.

Afghanistan.

A Frontier correspondent states that the Mangals in Khost are insisting on very favourable terms in their negotiations with the Afghan Military authorities. They are said to have secured a good many rifles and cartridges while the rebellion was in progress. These they refuse to give up.

The *Pioneer* states that it is reported from Khost Valley that the Jaji tribesmen have made full submission to the Afghan General Nadir Khan.

A Frontier correspondent states that the Kabul authorities have sent sufficient money to Khost to pay the troops. Their payments were apparently three months in arrears.

Liberal-Labour Split.

Ten Labourite Members of Parliament and Mr. Joseph Martin, M.P. (Liberal), supported Mr. Finney, the Labour candidate for Hanley.

The Week.

Franchise Bill.

Mr. Harcourt, moving the Second Reading of the Franchise Bill in the House of Commons on the 8th July, emphasised Government's intention to carry Redistribution in time for the next General Election. He did not think the House was prepared to grant Female Suffrage.

In reply to a question as to whether he was speaking on behalf of M. Lloyd George, Mr. Harcourt said "I am speaking for myself."

Mr. Pretyman moved the Opposition amendment, declining to proceed with the measure on the most important aspect of which, *viz.*, Female Suffrage, Government were not agreed and which left the most glaring electoral inequalities unremedied, being framed solely in the interest of one party.

Meeting of Emperors.

Reuter wires from Baltic port:—The weather is sunny here. The Tsar boarded the German Imperial Yacht *Hohenzollern* and greeted the Kaiser. The usual salutes were fired.

Reuter wires from Baltic port:—The Kaiser, on the 3rd current visited the Russian Imperial yacht.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said fifty Liberal M.P's had petitioned the Master of Elibank to give the seat to the Labour party. The Labourites, he continued, were ready to take up the war challenge and give the Government a General Election within a year.

Congress of Universities.

The Congress of Universities of the Empire has closed. It has appointed a committee to form a London Bureau to collect and distribute information about the Universities of the Empire.

China.

Sir Edward Grey replying in the House of Commons on the 4th July to Sir John Lonsdale and Mr. Laurence Ginnell in connection with the Chinese loan, said that the chief British interest is that British money lent to China shall be used to establish security and order. This interest is common also to the other countries. His Majesty's Government had throughout required adequate guarantees for the proper and useful expenditure of any loan. This was only attainable by effective control. The form of this control would necessarily be the result of the agreement between the groups of financiers and China, but the Governments concerned would not approve any scheme which did not provide adequate guarantees.

Reuter wires from Paris:—The Chamber has approved the Indo-Chinese loan of ninety million francs for public works.

Tibet.

Lhasa news is now getting through expeditiously. The last mounted Tibetan special messenger left Lhasa on the morning of the 7th July and reached Gyantse on Tuesday night, thus covering the entire distance from Lhasa to Gyantse in two days and one night. His information is to the effect that fighting continues at Lhasa while the positions occupied respectively by the Chinese and the Tibetans are unchanged. There is no confirmation either of the alleged murder of the Dalai Lama's minister or of the story that the Chinese have in any way materially improved their position.

Egypt.

Reuter wires from Alexandria:—Lord Kitchener has sailed for London.

Public Service Commission.

Active communications are now passing between India and Whitehall about the Public Service Commission and possibly the official announcement will be made during the course of this month. The Commission will be a large and representative body and both officials and non-officials will be fully represented.

Private advices by the last mail indicate that the appointment of Sir K. G. Gupta and Mr. Gokhale to the Commission may be looked forward and that Sir William Meyer will not care for another Commission of Enquiry.

Co-operative Conference.

The Co-operative Credit Societies' Conference will meet early next autumn and Registrars are being consulted as regard the agenda and other details. Nagpur has been suggested as the place for the conference.

Government Securities.

The Government of India have under consideration the question of the revision of the existing forms in which Government securities are held and suggestions have been made for the introduction of bearer bonds. The Government of India will proceed to consult the Chambers of Commerce and other public bodies before deciding the question.

Aviation in India.

A scheme for the establishment of a school of aviation in India is engaging the attention of the army authorities and in this connection Captain Massey, who lectured on "Military Aeronautics" on the 9th, has been on special duty in the General Staff's Division. It is expected that an acceptable scheme will shortly be ready for submission to the Government of India. There are already in existence in this country a Staff College at Quetta, a Cavalry School at Sugor and a Musketry School at Pachmarhi and an aviation school is urgently needed to complete the needs of army training in India. Aeroplanes are regarded as destined to play an important part in India and more specially in frontier regions.

Sanitary Conference.

The All India Sanitary Conference, which Sir Harcourt Butler initiated at Bombay last November, will meet in Madras this year early in the winter. The draft agenda has been circulated.

Indian Students in London.

In order to provide more adequately for the interests of Indian students in London, Lord Crewe has created a Secretaryship for Indian Students. Mr. C. E. Mallet will be the first holder.

The Stead Memorial.

A committee of journalists, headed by Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Lawson, M.P., has issued an appeal for a memorial to the late Mr. Stead.

New Delhi.

Consequent upon the decision to locate the permanent capital in the open ground a mile or two south-west of the existing city of Delhi, instead of in the Durbar area in the north as at first proposed, it has been decided to curtail to a certain extent the buildings for the temporary capital (which, it will be remembered, is still being erected near the Durbar area in and about the civil lines a few miles to the north of the existing city of Delhi.) There is no truth in the story that a halt has been called with any of these plans. The approximate cost of the temporary buildings so far sanctioned is understood to be from twenty to thirty lakhs, including six lakhs for the Secretariat Offices and one and a half lakhs for the Government Printing Press. Bungalows for the Indian clerks, which are being built to the north of the Ridge, are nearing completion. Quarters for the Viceregal menials, south-west of the Circuit House, are well advanced. The construction of bungalows for European clerks near the Kingsway Railway Station is to commence in the middle of the present month. Additional Members of Council are to occupy Metcalfe House. The Ordinary Members of Council are to have bungalows to themselves. The Government of India Secretaries are to occupy Curzon House. The Viceregal Staff will be accommodated in the officers' quarters of the existing Cavalry lines. The temporary Council Chamber will be in the centre of the temporary Secretariat buildings.

Plans for the ultimate construction of the permanent capital away to the south-west are meanwhile gradually maturing. The permanent city will be surrounded by land a thousand feet wide all round and it is understood that the Government will allot plots of land in the permanent city for building purposes to the general public on long leases, a lump sum to be paid down in the first instance in addition to a yearly rent thereafter. Estimates are now being prepared of the probable income to Government from this source.

Pilgrimage.

The Protector of Pilgrims requests us to publish the following:—All pilgrims passing through Karachi for the Haj are informed that it is possible that they may meet with difficulties in obtaining a supply of provisions at Kamran where a lazaretto is established. These pilgrims are therefore advised to take with them a good supply of provision which will not easily be spoilt, sufficient to last them for even the prolonged journey of the Haj.



Verse.

A Persian Love Song.

Dear Love! I know not why, when you are glad,
Blithely my glad heart leaps;
Dear Love! I know not why, when you are sad,
Wildly my sad heart leaps.
I know not why, if sweet be your repose,
My waking heart finds rest;
Or if your eyes be dim with pain, sharp throes
Of anguish rend my breast.
Hourly this shining mystery flowers anew,
Dear Love, I know not why
Unless it be, perchance, that I am you,
Dear Love, that You are I!

SAROJINI NAIDU.

Hyderabad.

TETE À TETE



WE ARE gratified to learn of the marvellous success that has attended

The Hindu University.

the efforts of the Maharaja of Darbhanga in collecting funds for the Hindu University. The Hindu public in Northern India seems to have taken up the idea with enthusiasm and the promoters of the scheme have had little difficulty in securing promises amounting to 63 lakhs in aid of the University Fund. The collection of money may not be a very difficult matter in the case of a wealthy community that is, at the same time, very public-spirited and alive to the advantages of corporate endeavour in great communal undertakings. The Hindu Princes in Northern India have helped the scheme with generous contributions. H. H. the Maharajas of Kashmir and Bikanir have made an annual grant of Rs. 12,000 each, while the Maharaja of Gwalior has announced the munificent gift of 5 lakhs. The necessary legislation to bring the Hindu University into being will be undertaken as soon as 50 lakhs have been actually collected and put into a bank. To some, however, this amount may appear inadequate and much larger funds may seem to be necessary and desirable if the Hindu University is to discharge its great functions efficiently. True, the Moslem University requires, according to official estimates, 35 lakhs before the Bill for its constitution can get legislative sanction. But the Aligarh College, its nucleus, has already attained to a high stage of development with an annual revenue of 2½ lakhs of rupees. We do not think the income of the Hindu College at Benares exceeds a lakh a year. This is an important aspect of a great undertaking like the Hindu University, which, we are sure, will not be lost sight of by the Hindu leaders. As regards the Moslem University, the necessary funds have already been collected if the grants from Hyderabad nobles are reckoned, and we are confident the Government of India will afford every facility for the Bill to be passed in the Simla Session. Any further delay at this stage will be greatly disappointing and unreasonable. We trust the Moslem University Constitution Committee will finally get through the work of settling the draft constitution as soon as possible and submit it for legislation to the Government. The Government would not be held responsible if the delay occurred owing to the tardy methods of the Committee itself, for we cannot imagine why the Government should postpone legislation when the scheme has been matured up to its final shape, as far as the Mussalmans are concerned.

STRANGE and, in some cases, ridiculous rumours appear to be going the round of a number of Turkish and Egyptian papers about the results of Syed Rashid Raza's recent visit to this country as President of the annual session of the Nadwah. A few

Syed Rashid Raza in India.

of them have gone even so far as to say that "the Editor of *Almanar* took part in the meeting of the Nadwah and discoursed in terms of praise about Englishmen and the need of implicit obedience to them, which has incensed the Indian Mussalmans and led them to hold themselves aloof from him." Now, this is a statement absolutely without warrant. As we have observed on previous occasions, Syed Rashid Raza aroused warm enthusiasm during his brief sojourn in this country; and his discourses, which were entirely devoted to the intellectual and moral condition of Mussalmans and the consideration of their educational problems, created everywhere an appreciative response. From what we have been able to learn of him he appears to be averse by temperament to the sort of activity associated with politics; and, as a matter of fact, he eschewed all expression of opinion in his speeches in India that could even remotely indicate the trend of his political views, whatever they may be. The Egyptian Nationalists may have their own differences with Syed Rashid Raza and may not be in sympathy with the aims and methods of the movement of which he has constituted himself the mouthpiece. With these differences of standpoint and outlook of an essentially domestic character we

have little concern. What we want is to dissipate all false rumours and misrepresentations that appear to have gained credence in some quarters in Egypt about the doings of the Editor of *Almanar* in India. His visit, we must emphatically say once more, has left nothing but happy memories behind. Whatever he said or did in private or on public occasions, while here, was entirely free from the taint of dubious politics.

THE resignation of Field-Marshal Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of War, will cause great regret and surprise, if not apprehensions, among the sympathisers of the present

regime in Turkey. Whatever may have been the reasons that induced the Minister to take the extreme course, the Turkish Cabinet has been unquestionably weakened by the retirement of one of the most powerful personalities of Modern Europe from its counsels. Reuter's message suggests that "his position was shaken by the outbreaks in Albania," while the Vienna correspondent of the *Times* in one of his despatches, which is reproduced elsewhere, had hinted at a rumour current in the Vienna political circles, which described Mahmoud Shevket Pasha as favouring more energetic and drastic measures for suppressing the Albanian disturbances. After the recent tour of the Minister of the Interior the Cabinet has embarked on a more pacific policy; and it is possible the late Minister of War may have pressed the view, held with equal strength by many prominent members of the Committee of Union and Progress, that concessions would be interpreted as a sign of weakness, that they would lead to more serious disturbances and further impossible demands and that they were particularly inopportune at the present moment. Be this as it may, Turkey could ill afford to lose at this juncture the services of one of the greatest generals and administrators that have ever directed the affairs of the Saraskariat. Mahmoud Shevket Pasha rose to fame and power after the second Revolution, when he crushed the reactionary revolt and deposed Abdul Hamid, by his famous march from Salonica with his Army Corps on Constantinople. The feat is regarded, on account of its lightning swiftness, consummate generalship and strategy, to have been one of the greatest in military history. Since his elevation to the War Office, he had thrown himself with characteristic energy and devotion into the great task of organising the Ottoman Army. Within a wonderfully short space of time he has brought it, in equipment, training and discipline, to the standard of the best armies in Europe. The most eminent military critics have now declared the Turkish Army to be the most efficient instrument for the purpose for which it has been designed—the defence of the Ottoman Empire. This is an achievement of which any Minister might be proud, though Mahmoud Shevket Pasha himself, with his high ideals of military efficiency and his passion for thoroughness, was still striving hard and with unremitting toil to achieve more. Among the patriotic Ottomans he has become a name to conjure with; and the latter may be trusted to appreciate to the full the unique services to the Empire rendered with enormous labour, courage and devotion by one of the greatest soldiers of modern times. We hope Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, though not in the Cabinet, will take up the active command of an Army Corps. Reuter informs us that his portfolio has been offered to Nazim Pasha. If the latter accepts the offer, the work of the Army reform initiated by his great predecessor will, we believe, be pushed on with ability and vigour, for Nazim Pasha, besides being a great administrator and statesman, is one of the ablest generals in Turkey. In an article on "Asiatic Turkey under the Constitution," which appeared some time ago, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell wrote of Nazim Pasha as follows:—"Nazim Pasha is a Liberal of the old school. He belongs to the group of men (they are the best elements of Turkey) who, even under the tyranny of Abdul Hamid, kept alive the traditions that go back as far as the reforms of Abdul Majid—traditions of the movement which centred round the name of Midhat Pasha and culminated in the granting of the first Constitution in 1876. His reputation as an honest man and a good soldier has always stood high, his influence in the Army is considerable; on all these counts, and more than all because of his strong and determined personality, his appointment to the vilayet of Baghdad in 1910 was hailed with acclamation. . . . All along the borders of the Syrian desert brigandage and raiding were put down with a heavy hand; the tribes were given a lesson of which they spoke to me with bated breath, and in the very heart of the desert I heard the name of Nazim Pasha uttered with respect. . . . All through the vilayet the defenders of the peace began to hold up their heads."

OUR readers have no doubt become as disgusted as we have been with European agencies in the matter of supplying accurate news and unbiassed views about Islamic countries, and we have at last put ourselves in communication with likely correspondents and others who are sympathetic to wards Islam and the East, in order to secure our own correspondents

in Constantinople, Teheran, Cairo, Tangier, and Fez. Had we, however, consulted our present financial position merely, we would have had no hesitation whatever in rejecting this idea the moment it occurred to us. But even if it is we who say so, it is a fact that there have not been, in India at least, many audacious or quixotic journalistic ventures to match ours; and the audacity and the quixotic character of our enterprise has led even some of those who knew us intimately and with whom we have had no secrets—even if we had any such thing with others—to ask us if we had been heavily subsidised. Our new venture of attempting to secure well-paid Foreign Correspondents of our own is entirely of a piece with our usual recklessness in the matter of our own finance. But we earnestly hope that, like so many other audacious and quixotic ventures of ours, this, too, would be appreciated by our readers and would induce them to redouble their activities in procuring us a larger number of readers. We have always taken our supporters into our confidence, and have published from time to time the number of fresh subscribers that we have secured. Recently, however, we have been directing our attention chiefly towards the *Hamdard* Debentures which have not yet come up to our expectations. But the case of the *Comrade* has not been very much better during the last few months. It is true that in April, May and June we secured nearly 450 new subscribers, but we have also to record that we lost in the same period not less than 200 old subscribers. What grieves us specially is that no less than 50 names had to be removed for repeated nonpayment of subscription, and such arrears exceed Rs. 400. This will partly explain that we have been in no great hurry to remove a subscriber's name, for on an average the amount due from each is equal to one year's subscription in the case of students, and nearly three quarters' subscription from ordinary subscribers. There are many others who owe us small amounts—which, however, total no less than Rs. 1,500 approximately—but whose names have not yet been struck off. But clearly, we cannot throw good money after bad by continuing to send the paper to these gentlemen after their neglect of us in a very important matter, *viz.*, the payment of our rightful dues! We have written to those gentlemen whose names have had to be struck off and also to those whose names have yet to be struck off, but only in too many cases our letters have remained unanswered, although the paper is readily accepted and read perhaps with the same old relish. We have a horror of the law courts and have, therefore, to indict these old friends of ours at the bar of their peers, *viz.*, the other readers of the *Comrade*. We have hit upon a plan of prosecution, or, to use a more civil language, of execution of decrees in our favour. It is this. We select in every district one or two of our most ardent supporters and send them a list of defaulters in their respective districts asking them to collect our bills for us just as they have been our honorary canvassers. Our past experience of bad debts has compelled us to be more strict in the realisation of subscriptions than we like to be. We ourselves have no load on our conscience in the matter of having been prompt payers, and our subscribers can well confound us by quoting from that saddest of all elegies in which Ghalib says:—“*Tum aise Khair Kaunse the dild o Sitad Ke.*” (You yourselves were never so prompt in payment). But in the language of the lawyers, the case can be distinguished. Our creditors could afford long credit because they were fairly large capitalists, while we have no capital except our confidence in our readers. If that is lost or weakened, we are sure to find ourselves before long in the Insolvency Branch of His Majesty's Court of Judicature for the Presidency of Fort William, and it is doubtful if our weekly message to our many friends, who have had no share in driving us into the all-embracing arms of law, would reach them at all. We, therefore, warn them that, unless they can assist us in recovering our dues and in securing us more subscribers, they will be doing great injury to their own cause. As regards the *Hamdard* we had hopes of launching it much earlier, but, in spite of the ready promises of purchasing more than 5,000 Debentures, we have had formal applications for less than 2,500. We have therefore a little more than 1,000 Debentures still on our hands, and more than 300 defaulters on our books. Surely the number of Debentures that each has yet to take on an average to bring us the required amount of money is not too large, and we trust that by the end of July we shall be in a position to announce that all *Hamdard* Debentures have been subscribed for, and that the *Hamdard* would be launched from the old and the new Capital of India in a month or so thereafter. We hope we shall not have to say with the poet that we love best:

*Mut Ki pit the mai, lekin samajhte the ke han,
Rang laigt hamari tija masti ek din.*

(We used to drink wine without paying for it, but we knew that the intoxication of hungry poverty would one day show itself in its true colours.)

AFTER it had been decided by the Moslem University Constitution Committee at its Lucknow meeting, held in The Moslem University, the first week of June, that the University Regulations would be published for public discussion, we had hoped such a simple and mechanical work as the publication of the revised draft would be got through without any

unnecessary delay. About six weeks, however, have elapsed since then, and for aught we know the draft may be undergoing another metamorphosis in the mystery-laden atmosphere of Aligarh. The delays of Aligarh have wellnigh become proverbial, but this business of the University is being muddled through with an absence of method and despatch that beats all previous records in the line and must strike even the least exacting amongst us as little short of irresponsible. The University has yet to materialise, but the officials in charge of its affairs have already become a bureaucracy. For instance, the Honorary Secretary in charge of the Central Office has a large staff of highly paid office-bearers working under him. The monthly bill of the Central Office is enormous and its activities should at least be commensurate with its cost. Even the publication of the weekly returns of Provincial realizations, which was tardily begun after our repeated demands, has been stopped again. And yet, we understand, an “Inspector of the University Fund Collections in India” has been added to the hierarchy of officials. Verily, they at Aligarh have a perfect genius for creating sinecures! We may yet hope the promised publication of the draft will not be too late in coming for the ultimate introduction of the University Bill in the Simla session of the Imperial Council; though we doubt if the Moslem public will have under the circumstances enough time to consider the constitution and offer useful and well-directed criticism.

WITH the best of intentions, we have repeatedly been accused by our contemporaries of undue partiality towards the Muhammadans of India. We would, however, remind our friends that on some rare occasions their own action forces us to

defend the Mussalmans against injustice and aggression. This, we assure our contemporaries, we do not do with any sectarian motives, but just because if we did not voice the grievances of the Mussalmans, we feel that they would not be voiced at all. For our Hindu contemporaries in their sleepless vigilance in safeguarding Hindu interests are very often apt to forget that there is another set of interests which, though we solemnly assert they should not be antagonistic, have under attendant circumstances to be sometimes competitive with those of the Hindus. We yield to none in our whole-souled desire to see the Hindu community prosper. But the attitude of most of our contemporaries being as it is, we find that the Moslem point of view in certain matters would be wholly ignored if we refused to extend the courtesy of our columns to them. This frequent but solitary advocacy of the cause of an important section of the people is almost as distasteful to ourselves as it is repugnant to our contemporaries. But a little unbiassed reflection would convince our friends that if anybody is responsible for this state of affairs, it is they themselves. Only lately, for instance, the Associated Press of India reported that out of the 10 Technical State Scholarships not one had been given to a Mussalman. Here was food for reflection for any really sincere Indian patriot and we had hoped against hope that some of our contemporaries would notice this remarkable instance of—let us call it—official oversight. But we have waited in vain. It cannot very well be said that this was merely a matter of course, and deserving of no special remarks. For if we were to imagine just for a moment a complete reversal of the position and a consequent complete ignoring of the Hindu interests—a contingency which would be quite as unpleasant to us as the present one,—we may depend upon it that our contemporaries would have had something to say about it and the authorities concerned would not have been suffered to rest in peace very long. As a matter of fact, only the other day when out of the three new Assistant Traffic Superintendentships, which have lately been thrown open to deserving Indians, one had been given to a Christian and two to Muhammadans, it provoked the “Nationalist Press” into what cannot be adequately described as anything but an undignified convulsion. That was an accidental case when only two posts had been given to the Mussalmans, whereas the Hindus already possessed many. This is one in which all the ten have been declared a monopoly of the Hindus. And yet these unimpeachable contemporaries of ours can afford to look upon it with perfect equanimity. Nor can the usual defence of want of efficiency be advanced on this occasion: for this was a case in which potentialities were to be developed and efficiency acquired. And he would be a bold doctrinaire who would be prepared to assert that the Muhammadans are absolutely wanting even in those potentialities which, if developed, would help them to take their rightful place in that new race of industrial revival on which India is just starting. We have said enough to make the position clear, and we hope our contemporaries may yet redeem their reputation for fair play and make amends for past oversights by voluntarily coming forward and calling the Government to account for this glaring indifference towards the interests of the Moslem community of India. As a great Urdu poet has put it,

آپ ہی اپنے ذرہ جور و ستم کو دیکھیں *
میں اگر عرض کروں گا تو شکایت ہوگی
(Do you yourself look at your injustice and cruelty; for if I make a mention of it, it would become a complaint.)

THE question of finding a suitable successor to Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk Bahadur as Hon. Secretary of the The Hon. Secretary Aligarh College is, at present, considerably exercising the minds of the Mussalmans all over the country. The office is the most important in the gift of the community; and it is hedged round with traditions of such weight, dignity and unselfish service that only men of approved merit, who have won the confidence of the Mussalmans, can be trusted to keep them alive. We need not just now estimate the measure of the success that the present venerable Secretary has achieved during his tenure of office. It is enough for our present purpose to note the universal anxiety and regret that the announcement of his decision to retire has evoked throughout Moslem India. Had it not been for the considerations of health and the imperative need for rest, the Mussalmans, we are sure, would have never dreamt of allowing their one tried and trusted leader to cease guiding their educational affairs and withdraw from public life. As it is, they are looking forward to the choice of his successor with evident concern. As has already been announced in the Moslem Press, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk Bahadur and some of the prominent Trustees of Aligarh have proposed Nawab Haji Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahab, Sessions Judge in the U.P., for election as Honorary Secretary of the College for three years. An agenda on the subject has been issued from the Secretary's Office and a meeting of the Trustees will be held on the 21st July to decide the matter in accordance with the usual procedure. In the absence of any rival candidate for the post, the election of Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahab may be taken to be a foregone conclusion. Obviously it is unnecessary to set about to pronounce on personal merit when the field of choice has been narrowed down to a single individual. It is, again, rather melancholy to think that there should be so few Mussalmans of adequate ability, leisure and position who may be fitted for the great trust. This is manifestly the reason why we lack means, under the circumstances, of ascertaining the direction of the popular choice, although much earnest discussion has been going on in the Press. The old type of the Mussalman who combined the experience of the past with a broad comprehension of the present-day problems and enjoyed great position, affluence and public confidence is almost extinct. The younger generation is still a little too young, and is struggling for a position of leisure and independence. The election of Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan Sahab will be regarded by the community in the nature of an experiment, and we hope it will be successful.

ELSEWHERE we publish a letter from a Mussalman visitor from South Africa complaining of the religious apathy of the Indian Mussalmans. The occasion of his complaint is the sight he saw common enough to us in India—of European visitors to the Jumma Masjid in Delhi treading the courtyard of the mosque with their boots on. He rightly thinks that the fault rests in the main with the Mussalmans themselves who let such things happen in utter disregard of what they owe to their own places of worship. If the committees in charge of the Indian mosques realised their duty, framed necessary rules in this behalf and enforced strict observance thereof, we do not think any visitors, European or Indian, will deliberately go out of their way to give offence to the Mussalmans. Complaints about the existing state of things have often come to our notice, and whatever may be the feelings of the Delhi mosque committee, some of whose members seem to have converted even that body into a stepping-stone to Khan Bahadurships, the general Moslem public feels very strongly on the subject. Now that Delhi has become the capital of India occasions for such complaints are bound to grow if things are left where they are. We have no great hopes that the mosque committee will energetically move in the matter. But, surely, the matter does not become less scandalous because a body of gentlemen, highly trained in the arts of worldly success, elect to remain indifferent. We think it is necessary to invite the attention of H.E. the Viceroy to the existing state of affairs and request him to issue the necessary orders directing visitors to all places held sacred by the Mussalmans to conform to the requirements of propriety and decency. We do not think in the circumstances it would be too much to ask. We doubt if it would at all look proper or decent if a non-Christian visitor to a Christian place of worship comported himself in a manner offensive to the religious susceptibilities of the Christians. The courtyard of a mosque is as much a place of worship as the inner structure. In fact every inch of space within the outer boundary of a mosque is held sacred by the Mussalmans, and the visitor who saunters forth into its precincts with pride in his port and defiance in his mein and little cares if his conduct is an outrage on Moslem feelings, must, by strict rules, be brought to a proper frame of mind.

THE recent death of Mr. B. M. Malabari from heart failure at Simla recalls to us most pleasant memories of one who loved to encourage the young.

A True Patriot.

Of late Mr. Malabari had been leading rather a secluded life, but before the days of Lord Curzon his name was always prominently before the public in connection with almost all the greatest movements for the political or social uplifting of the Indian peoples. Mr. Malabari was truly that rare and sorely needed specimen of a true patriot to whom difference of religious persuasions was absolutely no bar to human sympathy; and we sincerely hope that our modern Indian leaders—both Muhammadans and Hindus—will take the life-history of this patriotic man as a model for themselves. Mr. Malabari's incessant activities in public life were essentially of a non-sectarian character. As a journalist he stood in a class by himself, alike for ability, for resourcefulness and for rectitude. We may mention in passing that in the *Indian Spectator*, he wrote a series of comments and criticisms on Mr. Tilak's case, which were far the most honest and the best reasoned out. Some years back he also wrote a series of articles entitled "Forty Years Ago," in his other paper, the *East and West*, of which he was the founder-proprietor and editor. This series was an autobiographical account of his own early days and gives a most instructing and graphic account of how a child left orphan at the age of six years, battled against all obstacles and forged his way to the very front rank of Indian journalists and social reformers. We think these articles should be read by every young aspirant to literary or social fame in India. The campaign he fought—and ultimately won—on behalf of the Age of Consent Bill perhaps caused some ill feeling during the *régime* of Lord Dufferin; but the wisdom of Mr. Malabari's suggestion is not challenged anywhere in India to-day. He was also the pioneer of the recently started movement for establishing sanatoria for Indian consumptives; and the first institution of the kind at Dharampur owes its existence greatly to his philanthropic endeavours. His intense enthusiasm for the cause of education in India is well known. He fought a hard fight for the Parsi and Jewish children of Calcutta and secured such valuable concessions for them as now enable them without much difficulty to join the European schools and colleges. Only a short time ago on reading it in these columns he sent a munificent contribution to the Moslem girls' school lately established in Calcutta, and also secured various donations from other gentlemen. Mr. Malabari was one of the first of India's great men to recognise that Social Reform can be the only solid basis on which to build the edifice of future economic and political greatness of the country. Among his most recent activities was the formation of the Seva Sadan—an institution in which Parsi, Hindu and Muhammadan ladies work shoulder to shoulder for the poor of all castes and of all religions. His private charities are known to have been enormous, and a dark day awaits numerous destitutes of all castes now that their great benefactor is no more. We believe Mr. Malabari was the only Indian who twice refused the honour of knighthood. In short, we could multiply instances of the greatness of soul, the unbiased patriotism, the cosmopolitan sympathies and true philanthropy of the Parsi journalist, whose death all India now mourns. We might almost say with Antonio that of Mr. Malabari, "nature herself might stand up and say, 'Here was a man.'"

تمہیں کہتا ہے مردہ کون — تم زندہ دیکھو زندہ ہو *
تمہارے نیکیاں زندہ — تمہارے خوبیاں باقی

(Who dares call you dead? Verily! you are the most alive of all the living. For, are not your virtues immortal and your achievements eternal?)

WE HAVE been regularly publishing the correspondence of Capt. Johnson-Dixon, the leader of the British Red-Crescent Mission that has gone to Tripoli to tend the Turkish sick and wounded soldiers. It would be superfluous for us to dilate on the Mission is philanthropy with which Capt. Dixon and his imbued. It is deeply to be regretted, however, that, despite his repeated earnest appeals, the Director is not yet adequately provided with funds: and the last we hear of him is that he is gone to Tripoli, the scene of his activities, with a fresh batch of nurses, but has not got funds enough to employ as many Arab servants as he must do to make his expedition at all a success. It certainly cannot redound very much to the credit of British or Indian if such humane workers are worried by financial embarrassments. We pointedly draw the attention of the Moslem public to this unsatisfactory state of affairs and earnestly appeal to them to make an early provision for the financial help which must be forthcoming before Capt. Dixon can make any headway with this fresh expedition. And we do hope that the Moslems will at once redeem their traditional fame for charitableness by bestirring them selves in this most vitally important matter without any further delay.

The Comrade.

The New Ministry of Hyderabad.

PERSONALITY has always counted as the most important factor in human affairs, and much more so in a State like Hyderabad, where the direct personal will of the ruler has a very important bearing on the happiness of millions. In all such places, not only politics centre round some personal drama charged with intense human interest, but the shifting of individual fortune plays a vital part in the history of the peoples. A good, capable and energetic ruler endowed with almost unlimited powers may accomplish in a decade what a constitutional democracy may not be able to achieve in the course of several generations. But, while the possibilities for good are as great as the capacity and range of the unfettered personal will, the risks are equally many and formidable. This element of chance—the inscrutable fate of the popular imagination—constitutes the thrilling drama of the personal rule. It is, therefore, quite easy to understand why, for instance, a change of ministers in Hyderabad becomes an event of absorbing interest throughout India and gives rise to varied speculation. It is only recently that the State lost its late popular sovereign; and the accession of the present Nizam to the throne of his ancestors was acclaimed with feelings of joy and expectancy by the people. And now, the old Minister, Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, has resigned his high office after “a long and eventful career,” and Nawab Salar Jung III, the grandson of the great Sir Salar Jung I, has been appointed in his place with Nawab Imad-ul Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., as Assistant Minister. The present *régime*, therefore, starts with an entirely new *personnel*, and we earnestly hope that it will fulfil all the high expectations that we have reason to form of its future success. The people of Hyderabad have welcomed the new appointments with rejoicings and the general feeling throughout India will, we are sure, be one of hope, sympathy and confidence about the future progress of Hyderabad.

One cannot adequately estimate the prospects of the new Ministry without casting back a glance on the eventful history of the State. Since the growth and consolidation of British rule in India which owes not a little to the friendly assistance and co-operation of the rulers of Hyderabad, the history of the State, in its broader aspects, consists of the traditions that have gathered round the career of a single great personality who played a momentous part at the critical stages of its affairs. Sir Salar Jung I—the greatest statesman of his time in this country—not only wrestled heroically with political abuses, introduced far-reaching reforms in the administration and saved the finances from bankruptcy, but left the stamp of his policy and purpose on the politics of the State. His ideals have not invariably been pursued after him as energetically and resolutely as he would have wished, but he laid down permanent and broad lines of work which should afford the necessary guidance to the present-day administrators of Hyderabad. We have no concern, at present, with that aspect of the Hyderabad politics which thrives on mischievous activities underground and gives rise to low intrigues. Even the British Residency was, on some occasions, known to have been involved in the schemings and counter-schemings of rival parties bent on securing each other's downfall. This bane of Hyderabad politics has already proved of incalculable injury to the most vital interests of the State. We trust the new Ministry that will have the assistance of such a tried and seasoned counsellor as Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk will make a clean sweep of the nests of intrigue and of the evil broods that thrive there. Our greatest concern, however, is that the ideals of Sir Salar Jung should be recovered and his aim and policy be applied to the governance of the Dominions.

Naturally enough, in all our calculations about the future of the State the personality of His Highness the Nizam must be of the greatest account. We need hardly say that his is the most responsible position as the greatest Ruling Prince in this country. The traditions of his own illustrious House must, again, add to his sense of responsibility as well as be a source of inspiration to His Highness. He is young, with the full promise of life before him. The immense possibilities of usefulness that stretch before his career as a ruler must thoroughly rouse his energies and appeal to all the best elements in his nature of which he has already given an abundant promise. All accounts agree in speaking of His Highness as a ruler endowed with sympathy, intelligence and capacity for personal initiative and hard work. He has inherited his father's deep interest in the welfare of the people. He has shown every disposition to actively direct the administration of public affairs. The recent constitution of the Legislative Council, with a view to broaden the basis of government, is an index of His Highness's desire to give greater stability and representative character to the measures of the State. The generous gift of five lakhs to the Moslem University and the increase of the Aligarh College grant to Rs. 36,000 a year show how far the new Nizam is interested in the development of Moslem education. This is, we are sure, an earnest of the sympathy

that His Highness will increasingly manifest in the educational progress of his co-religionists as the years go on. We assume, then, with sufficient reason, that Hyderabad is at the threshold of a new era which holds out large prospects of internal reform and progress and of beneficent help to all measures of public utility. The temptations that beset the path of the ruler of Hyderabad are great, but we have great confidence in the strength of character of His Highness, and, we may be sure, he will manfully withstand them all and make the fullest use of the opportunities that Providence has placed within his reach to do good to his people and to be of great service to his fellow-men.

His Highness the Nizam has given a great proof of his earnestness and knowledge of men and affairs by choosing Nawab Salar Jung to be his Prime Minister. We think the choice could scarcely have been better, and with the association of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk in the work of the Ministry, the future looks hopeful and bright indeed. It needs scarcely be said that, after the Nizam, his Minister is the most powerful authority in Hyderabad. The responsibilities of the position are even greater, inasmuch as the whole character of the administration depends on the personality of the man who happens to be at the helm of affairs. Nawab Salar Jung is, like his master, in the prime of life. He inherits from his grand-father the most glorious traditions of statesmanship, public service, courage, steadfastness of purpose, independence of character and devotion to high ideals of duty and conduct—traditions of which any nobleman in this country might be proud. He now comes to a position of the greatest power, and perhaps the most onerous, open to any Indian in any country. It will tax his moral resources, intellectual capacity, in fact, his whole strength of character as a man. If heredity, careful training and personal instincts count for anything, we feel confident the young Minister is well equipped for his great task. He is a man of simple habits and of frank and straightforward nature. He is very popular with all classes of the people. Those who have had occasion to come into intimate contact with him speak of his great qualities with enthusiasm. His first public act on assuming the direct charge of his estate was the contribution of one lakh that he made to the funds of the Moslem University. We have reason to believe that his interest in Moslem education is great; and it will not be too much to hope that his example and sympathy will stimulate widespread interest in Hyderabad in the educational affairs of the community and lead to great results. The task that lies before Nawab Salar Jung is heavy. Administrative and financial reforms, development of State education, re-organisation of the judiciary, growth of public works and, above all, the purging of the public services of corruption and abuse and the cleansing of the political atmosphere of rank intrigue are some of the important problems that await solution. The new Minister, we are sure, will not quail before the task. He could have no more experienced statesman to assist him than Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk, who spent about forty years of his life in devoted service to the State. He was in his early career associated with Sir Salar Jung and, after filling various important positions, was Director of Public Instruction before his retirement. His clean, honest and successful career in Hyderabad, his ripe experience in affairs, his intellectual eminence, his broad outlook and trained powers of the mind and his unrivalled knowledge of the requirements of Hyderabad pre-eminently fit him for the great responsibility to which he succeeds in his grey years. The new Ministry starts, therefore, on its career with great popular confidence in its integrity and strength and with universal hopes of its ultimate success. To make Hyderabad a model State in India may satisfy the ambitions of any statesman; and we trust the ideals of the new Ministry would not be less ambitious than that.

No one can think of Hyderabad without speculating about the possibilities for good that are within the reach of its rulers. One cannot help wondering at what might have been, what is, and what might easily be. A territory, larger than many independent states of Europe, rich in agricultural and mineral wealth, containing a population of about 12 millions, may well tempt bold speculations about its future. The great scope for the development of its material resources is only one side of the dream that haunts the imagination of its well-wishers. What great possibilities, for instance, may not be opened up for bold and useful experiments in the many-sided development of Indian education. But, perhaps, the greatest potentiality of Hyderabad is the wide scope it might be made to offer for the development of indigenous talent. The highest public careers open to Indians in British India being few, it is only the Native States that can keep the highest forms of Indian statesmanship from being starved out of existence. Nothing can be more inspiring or worthy of ambition for the rulers of Hyderabad than to try to build up an efficient civil service manned by trained Indian administrators from top to bottom and to evolve efficiently organised Departments of the State presided over by experienced Indian statesmen—the whole machine working smoothly and without the least friction solely with the help of the Indian talent and rendering the Administration the best that could be possible under Indian conditions. The ideal is not difficult of achievement. It is worth trying. The area of

choice is as wide as India. The end is the noblest that could be imagined—to increase the happiness and prosperity of the people. The materials are available in abundance, only someone with unfaltering will and resoluteness is needed to make the trial for the lasting good and glory of Hyderabad. Who knows but that under the new régime the dream of the many may turn into a reality and Hyderabad become the training-ground of the best administrative talent and genius for statesmanship that this country can produce.

A Doleful Journal.

THE Indian public of Darjeeling gave a fitting reception to the Hon. Syed Shams-ul-Huda, on the 30th June last, which was attended by almost all the leading Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen of the station, and was pronounced to have been a great success. Rai Hari Mohan Chandra Bahadur, President of the Reception Committee, referred to Mr. Shams-ul-Huda's eminent qualifications and attainments as a literary man, as a lawyer and as a public man, and while acknowledging that his name was known throughout the length and breadth of India, said that it was their fervent prayer that as a Councillor to the Ruler of the Province he would leave behind him a name equally distinguished in history. He recalled the fact that Mr. Shams-ul-Huda was the first Indian and the first Bengali to be a Member of the Executive Council of Bengal. "We are all," said the Rai Bahadur, "proud of his appointment for many reasons. He is a Bengali and knows all the wants and necessities of Bengal. He commands the greatest confidence amongst all communities—Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians. In honouring him we honour ourselves." In concluding his remarks the President hoped that the Hon. Mr. Shams-ul-Huda may be the means of creating an *entente cordiale* between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Bengal, and of ending once for all feelings of suspicion and animosity between these two great communities. We take it that these highly creditable sentiments were the genuine outcome of the real feelings of the good people of Darjeeling, and this being the case, we feel sure that a repetition of such sentiments can never be tiresome. But we are equally sure that it will serve no purpose if creditable sentiments are repeated as mere conventions which have lost all meaning and sunk into mere "good form." In reply to the Rai Bahadur's sincere words of welcome the Hon. Mr. Shams-ul-Huda expressed feelings which appear unimpeachable not only to ourselves but to our contemporary, the *Bengalee*. However, we know not whether it is the notorious hostility of the *Patrika* to the *Bengalee*, or some other mysterious undercurrent which deflects the *Patrika* from the course of ordinary journals: but it is a fact that the leading article of the *Bengalee* of the 5th instant, which echoed the sentiments of Mr. Shams-ul-Huda, was followed on the 6th instant by an editorial note of the *Patrika*, concluding with the remark that "such a reply we never expected from Mr. Huda: it is an ill return for the honour and hospitality which the Hindus did to him." We do not know whether the *Patrika* had contributed anything to the honour and hospitality which the Darjeeling public had shown to the first Indian Member of Council in the Bengal Presidency; nor are we sure that it has been commissioned to voice the feelings of the Darjeeling public. On the face of it, the *Patrika's* intrusion appears very much like *Dadaji k' Patina, Hahwa ki Dukan* (the confectioner's shop a substitute for the alms distributed for the peace and rest of one's grand-father's soul). But even if we were to assume that the *Patrika* contributed something to the honour and hospitality, or that it is the accredited representative of the Indian public of Darjeeling, we have still to consider how far it is justifiable for a public man or a public servant to dole out insinuations or belie his real feelings simply because he has been publicly fayed. Mr. Shams-ul-Huda's only sin was that he gave expression to a sentiment which would do credit to any honest man, and that he had full confidence in his hosts when he expressed himself fairly and frankly in a matter in which frankness combined with fairness is very necessary in the interests of public life. Mr. Shams-ul-Huda, in the course of his speech, said—

I may assure you that it is my greatest ambition to serve my country, our common motherland, and in striving to do so I shall never forget that I am not the Muhammadan Member of His Excellency's Council but its Indian Member, and as such it is my duty to serve equally the interests of the Hindus and the Muhammadans. I shall, however, be perfectly frank with you and I would add to what I have said that I shall never purchase a reputation for impartiality by sacrificing the interests of my own community, and I am certain none of you would wish me to do so. But you may be perfectly sure that whatever I may do to advance the interests of my community in any particular matter, I shall always be prepared to do exactly the same thing with reference to other communities when they are similarly placed. It has been a matter of regret and concern to me to find that the relations of Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal have not been wholly satisfactory. Living side by side for centuries, tilling the same soil and drinking from the same fountain, it is a pity that they do not understand each other a great deal better than they do.

We do not know what there is in such a statement to regret or complain of, but the *Patrika* comments in this wise:—

So our esteemed Muhammadan friend unsaid what he had said before! Alas! when will men of the stamp of Mr. Huda, about whose brilliant talent and great ability there could be no question, realise the fact that the interests of Hindus and Mussalmans are absolutely identical in matters civic and political: and that it is not at all necessary for Mussalman and Hindu public men to sacrifice the interests of their respective communities in serving the common country! Such a reply we never expected from Mr. Huda: it is an ill return for the honour and hospitality which the Hindus did to him.

Alas for the psychology of poor *Patrika*! Because a Muhammadan Member of the Bengal Executive Council is not so selfish as to endeavour to win for himself a reputation for impartiality by sacrificing his co-religionists, he makes, according to the *Patrika*, an "ill return for the honour and hospitality which the Hindus did to him." Really, these have been bad times for the *Patrika*. A Behari, and, on top of that, a Mussulman, was appointed a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council two years ago. Last December Behar itself escaped from the clutches of the *Patrika's* friends and admirers, and the capital of India was again shifted to the historic North where they know what value to attach to *Patrika's* incessant patter. The only gleam of hope was found in paragraph 3 of the Government of India's Despatch, which no doubt our Bagh Bazar contemporary meant to have given it the undivided rule of Bengal in the place of the divided rule of India. But, alas! a fickle Government has shattered even this hope, and the *Patrika* has been crying for its lost capital. To these dismal griefs is now added another. A Muhammadan is allowed to poach on the *Patrika's* preserves in the matter of Provincial Executive Council appointments, and, wonder of wonders! he refuses to butcher his own community in order to make the *Patrika's* holiday.

We think there was a certain rhetorical over-statement in Mr. Shams-ul-Huda's speech when he said that "even this short experience (of administrative work) enables me to say with confidence that to every single case in which the interests of the Hindus and the Muhammadans are found to conflict, there are ninety-nine cases of much greater importance in which their interests are wholly identical." We are sure we believe as strongly as any one else in the identity of Hindu and Moslem interests, and when we say this we exclude even the solitary point of difference on a minor matter to which the Hon. Syed Shams-ul-Huda referred. But we must explain that the interests which are identical are the ultimate interests of the two communities. These are identical in the case of Indians and Europeans, and officials and non-officials also. But we fancy our contemporary has no use for such an identity of interests. In the matter of immediate interests there are many differences, and they have hitherto served to embitter the feelings of one community against the other the moment the weaker and more ignorant community, after having received modern education and learnt modern methods of political warfare, claimed its proper share in the benefits of good government and in the activities of public life. It is essential that these conflicting immediate interests of each community should be safeguarded in such a manner that they should not blind the people of this country to the identity of their ultimate interests. But this clearly depends upon the good sense of both the communities, and if the share of responsibility of either can be larger than that of the other, it must be so in the case of the larger, the wealthier and the more advanced community. A little magnanimity, or, to put it at the lower level of mere self-interest, a little political sagacity can ease the situation and bring about an *entente cordiale* between the two communities. But monopolists must beware that monopolies are not going to be tolerated in these democratic times, and the Mussulmans have for the last few years ceased to be mere "Babes in the Wood" who could be gulled by the nearest sentimental twaddle. The political activities of the Mussalmans are the handwriting on the wall, and those who have hitherto been comfortable in the belief that "the Mussulmans don't much matter," and that they can always be put to sleep with the opiate of sentiment, will be warned by the ruin of the monopolists' palace very soon, if they are not already warned of the impending loss of their despotic rule by the handwriting on the palace wall!



Anecdote.

ONE of Lady Reay's recollections is of a dinner party at which she had for her neighbour Mr. Gladstone in his happiest mood. He told her of his Eton experience and tales of terrible little Dr. Keate. The latter always had the names of those doomed to be flogged written down on a narrow slip of paper. One day, picking up such a list, he called up for flogging the boys whose names were inscribed upon it. Upon such occasions the delinquents were not permitted to offer explanations; so boy after boy was castigated and returned, sore and savage, to his seat. Not until the operation was complete did he learn that, instead of picking up the flogging list, he had picked up the slip on which were the names of the boys about to be confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE



Indian Moslems and their Religious Indifference.

THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR, Permit me to draw the attention of your readers to the following facts.

I am a South African born Indian and have come here for the first time to pay a visit to my motherland. I am sorry to have to confess that I am keenly disappointed with my co-religionists of Hindustan. The feebleness of religious zeal amongst them is appalling. With your permission I will give you an instance of a sore spectacle I saw on the 30th ultimo in the Jamma Masjid of Delhi. A European lady and gentleman were walking about in the courtyard of the mosque with their boots on. I was astonished at this, and on making enquiries I was told that this practice has been going on for some time and no one has raised a single voice against it! The Europeans are only asked either to take off their boots or put on the boot covering when entering the Jamaat Khana. Surely, Sir, the courtyard is just as sacred in the eye of the Moslem, because I have seen that very space filled with people at a Friday prayer.

Now, if the Imam of the Masjid will only take a little pain for the sake of Islam which he seems to profess and put up a few notices asking visitors to take off their boots at the entrance, I assure you, Sir, that not a single person will think of offending the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadans.

Another thing I should like to mention is that both in the Jamma Masjids of Delhi and Agra I was grieved to find that no prayers were offered for the Caliph and the Ottoman army. I may point out here that in South Africa—and I was equally glad to note that in Gujarat also—prayers are offered five times a day for the success of the Turkish arms.

Sir, when those brave Osmanlis are marching at this very moment through the burning sand of Tripoli to uphold the prestige of glorious Islam—is it too much for the Imams to pray for those brave Ottomans even on a Friday?

Yours faithfully,

HUSEIN DAWOOD.

Atrocious Libels on the Turks.

CROFTON-TEES, DARLINGTON, 8th June 1912.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I send you herewith copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Editor of the *Watan* as it may be of interest to your readers.

Yours truly,

C. F. DIXON-JOHNSON.

SIR,—I have been informed that a letter has been published in your columns containing the most atrocious libels on the Turks—saying they have abandoned their religion, drink wine publicly and tether their horses and donkeys in the mosques. I am not a Muhammadan although a sincere friend and admirer of Muhammadan races and Muhammadan religion. I have always found Muhammadan peoples most tolerant respecting other religions—but disbelief or sacrilege in any form they will not tolerate.

I have not been in Constantinople since the revolution, but if such things were happening, I should have heard of them—the whole of the Muhammadan world would be cursing with indignation:

it would not be necessary for an obscure writer to be the first person to make public such astounding facts.

What the purpose of this writer is I must leave to the intelligence of the Indian Muhammadan world to decide.

For the last seven years I have travelled in South Albania, my friends have been the Turkish officials and Muhammadan villagers—and sincerely religious people I have found them.

I have lately returned from Tripoli, where the Turkish officers and soldiers are showing such magnificent example to the world, and for anyone to say that their men have abandoned their religion and have desecrated their mosques is an iniquitous lie and damnable libel upon men who win victories against overwhelming forces and suffer the greatest hardships and privations without a murmur because of their faith. Doubtless there are I presume in every religious community—in Tripoli I am told that those who were doubters have returned to their Faith because they believe that only by God's aid could they have achieved what has been done.

I ask, would the Arabs of Tripoli and the whole of Northern and even Central Africa crowd to the side of the Turks to fight shoulder to shoulder for their Caliph, to defend their religion, to avenge the massacred women and children and the desecrated mosques if there were a word of truth in these vile charges? I feel strongly and I must write strongly for I have seen these splendid Turks, the sufferings they endure, their patient obedience to their officers, the spirit of comradeship between officers and men, and I cannot keep silence.

It is for your readers and all good Muhammadans in India to show with what contempt they regard this baseless charge on a brave race by redoubling their previous magnificent efforts in sending help where it is so badly needed—help for those who are valiantly fighting to save one of the few remaining independent Muhammadan States for an independent Muhammadan people.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) C. F. DIXON-JOHNSON.

5th May, 1912.

Moslem Education in Bengal.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—While thanking you most sincerely for the valuable expression of opinion on the education of the Mussalmans of Bengal appearing in the columns of the *Comrade*, we cannot help observing here that, as the ill luck will have it, there has of late sprung up a band of advocates of the cause of Bengali language who have propounded a theory and are trying to press it for general acceptance. They hold that the salvation of the Bengali Mussalmans depends on the production of Bengali Authors and Pandits from among the Bengali Mussalmans, basing their arguments on the assertion that it is impossible for them to rise without improving in the Bengali language which is their mother tongue. Now, although it is admitted on all hands that it is absolutely necessary that for an intelligent grasp of what is to be learnt, the medium of instruction from the very commencement of a child's attendance at school should be the language which he learns in his mother's lap, it may not with any force be contended in the case of the Mussalmans for various obvious reasons, that they should all be well versed in the Bengali language. All that is, perhaps, required is the simple Bengali which is easily understood, or at the most primary education in Bengali. Even for the sake of the argument advanced that in order to enable the Mussalmans to acquaint themselves with the tenets, principles and teachings of Islam, its traditions, histories, etc. should be translated into Bengali, it may not be conceded that Bengali Mussalmans stand in need of Pandits. On the contrary, such translating into simple Bengali may be of more use and service to Bengali-speaking Mussalmans in general. What strikes one as most curious is that, while those concerned with the Muhammadan Vernacular papers and their advocates lament over the limited number of subscribers and try to ascribe it to this and that cause, they overlook the one that lies near at hand—perhaps not less potent than others they have so studiously found out. It is this that the style and language of these Bengali papers, except wherein they deal with news, are hardly intelligible to the so-called literate Bengali Mussalmans. Bengali is still in the course of development, and what is more appalling, is that it has already begun to lose its ground. Middle Vernacular Schools are fast dying out. This year's educational report is expected to disclose a still more gloomy aspect. The Middle English Schools are the most popular institutions now. The advocates who have in the heat of enthusiasm lost sight of this painful fact will not perhaps find their work so easy. It should be the aim of all the Mussalmans to do all they can to draw nearer one another and the saying of our prayers in Arabic is perhaps a remote hint to the Mussalmans about a common language.

What we most earnestly beg of them is to consider once more before they set themselves to work.

A BENGALI MUSSALMAN.

The McCormick Case

MR. CHANNING ARNOLD appeared on Tuesday, the 25th instant, before Mr. A. G. Cooke, District Magistrate, to answer to a charge of having defamed Mr. G. P. Andrew, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, in two articles of his paper entitled "A Mockery of British Justice." Messrs. G. Rutledge and C. Gaunt appeared for the complainant, and Messrs. C. Hamlyn and C. Campagnac for Mr. Arnold.

Mr. Rutledge, in opening the case for the prosecution, said that Mr. Andrew, the complainant, welcomed and wished the fullest enquiry into every fact connected with this case. He intended to prove that the articles complained of were, on the face of them grossly defamatory and were published and circulated broadcast.

Mr. Andrew was examined by Mr. Rutledge, as follows:—

Your name is George Percy Andrew, I think. You are a member of the Indian Civil Service?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Rutledge: What is the date of your joining the service in Burma, Mr. Andrew?

Witness: At the end of 1899.

Mr. Rutledge: When were you transferred to the Mergui District?

Witness: At the end of January, 1910.

Mr. Rutledge: You have been acting as Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate of Mergui District since?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Rutledge to the Court: Here is a document. It is a certified copy of the declaration made under Section 5 of Sub-Section 2 of the Printing Presses and Books Act, showing that the defendant Mr. Arnold, and Mr. Liddbetter are the printers and publishers of the *Burma Critic*. I will put it in as an exhibit, Your Honour. I need not put it through the witness.

When you went to Mergui, Mr. Andrew, who was the Sub-divisional Officer at Victoria Point?

Witness: Mr. A. W. Buchanan.

Had he been there long before you came?

I think he went there in September, 1909.

When you went there who was the District Superintendent of Police?

Mr. Macdonald.

When did Mr. Finnie become District Superintendent?

Some time in April, 1910.

Now, coming to 1911, what was the first complaint that you received in connection with this case of Aniah?

The demi-official letter from Mr. Buchanan.

The Court: Was Aniah the complainant?

Mr. Rutledge: Yes, Your Honour.

What date did you receive?

3rd July.

Is that the letter?

Yes.

That letter is dated 3rd July?

Yes.

To the Court: Your Honour, I put in that letter now.

You also received from him, you say, an anonymous petition in Burmese?

Yes.

Is that the petition?

Yes, I think it was.

Now I am not going to take you through Mr. Buchanan's letter, but he suggested that the District Superintendent of Police should be sent down to enquire into this case?

Yes.

And accordingly did you hand over these documents to him?

Yes.

Did Mr. Finnie go down to Victoria Point?

Yes, almost immediately after I handed these letters over.

As a result of that an enquiry was held by Mr. Finnie into the case?

Yes.

You afterwards held an enquiry into the same case, I think, beginning on the 21st of August?

Yes.

And on the 23rd August, 1911, you passed orders in the case?

Yes.

Do you produce a file of the proceedings of that case?

Yes.

Now, was your attention called to an article appearing in the *Burma Critic* dated the 7th March, 1912?

Yes.

An article entitled "Alleged Grave Scandals in Tenasserim."

Yes.

You produce this?

Yes.

Mr. Rutledge to the Court: I put this in, Your Honour.

Had you any doubt in your mind that the articles referred to your conduct in connection with this case?

No.

Was your attention afterwards drawn to two articles in the *Burma Critic* of the 28th April entitled "A Mockery of British Justice"?

Yes, I first saw it on the 10th May on my return from Victoria Point to Mergui.

Do these articles contain imputations on you as a man and a Magistrate intending to harm you?

I should think so! Of course they do.

Have you set out the imputations you complain of in your complaint?

Yes.

Have these imputations had a wide circulation?

Well, I do not see all the papers, but I have been shown some of the articles, one in a paper called *United Burma*. I have seen the libel repeated almost *verbatim* in a paper called *United Burma*. I was also shown a Mahomedan paper called *The Comrade* in which the libels seem to be reproduced.

Is this the copy of *United Burma*, dated the 5th May, with a leading article entitled "The White Peril"?

Yes.

Have you got a copy of *The Comrade*?

I have not been able to get a copy, I have taken a note of it — of the number.

I do not suppose you had tried to examine the English and Vernacular Press of the Indian Empire. These two are the only instances which you have come across?

Yes, which people have sent to me.

The witness was then cross-examined by Mr. Hamlyn as follows:—

You have not told us, Mr. Andrew, that these articles are false? They are false on the whole.

Mr. Hamlyn: You do not suggest that they are a tissue of falsehood and a farrago of nonsense?

Yes, I do.

Mr. Hamlyn: You have known Captain McCormick since you went to Mergui?

No, no, since April, 1910.

Mr. Hamlyn: I take it that this is the first time you have seen Mr. Arnold?

Yes.

Now I think you either told us or suggested that you were prepared for something when the first article appeared?

I presumed that that article on the 7th March referred to the McCormick case. I did not know what was coming.

Mr. Hamlyn: You have told us that Mergui received three or four copies of that paper and that you then surmised that it referred to this case.

On the 7th March. I thought it did.

Did you take any steps to suppress it?

No.

You did nothing until you filed your complaint in this Court on the 11th June?

I wired and came up to see Government.

You did nothing except that?

No.

I take it that you mean you wired to the Commissioner of your Division.

Yes.

Did you tell him the business you were going on?

Yes.

Please tell me the date you sent this telegram.

If I can be supplied with a May calendar I will tell you the date.

Looking at the calendar, the witness continued:—"I got back from Victoria Point on the 10th, Friday. I saw this thing on Saturday and wired up the same day, to the best of my knowledge. I think it was the 11th."

Mr. Hamlyn: And I take it you got an immediate reply?

Yes. I left by the very next boat, which was on Tuesday, for Moulmein. I saw the Commissioner at Moulmein and then came on here.

Then you arrived in Rangoon on the 12th or 13th?

I came by train from Moulmein. I arrived on Saturday on the 18th.

Now you must have felt desperately hurt when you saw those articles?

I felt desperately outraged.

Your character had been assailed, and this is the most precious thing.

My character, as a Magistrate.

And not as a man?

My character as a Magistrate and a man. Why ask this question? Read the article.

Did you take the trouble in any shape or form to put an end to the circulation of this paper?

In what way?

Mr. Hamlyn: Well, I am not going to instruct you. Did you go and see Mr. Arnold about it? Did you instruct an Advocate to deny the truth of these allegations?

I did not.

You did not think it worth your while to write and say that the articles were a tissue of lies?

I did not.

Or to demand the insertion of an immediate apology in the paper?

No.

Why did you not do these things? You slept on it?

I did not sleep on it. I took steps to initiate these proceedings as soon as I could. I am not a private person, but a Government official and I had to get permission to do this sort of thing.

Mr. Hamlyn: I am very glad to hear your explanation. Continuing, Mr. Hamlyn asked:—

You did not think it advisable to come on the 19th or on the 21st to this Court and file a complaint?

I had to see the Government Advocate first. I may say that since my first interview with Mr. Rutledge I have acted according to his directions in this case.

Very well, it took from the 19th of May to the 11th of June before you could make up your mind to file your complaint?

No, I made up my mind at once.

I put it to you, Mr. Andrew, you have not brought these proceedings of your own free will. I put it to you that you have been compelled to do so?

No, I have not.

No pressure at all?

No pressure at all.

You do not wish to qualify that statement?

No.

Captain McCormick has left your District?

He has gone on leave, I understand.

Mr. Hamlyn: You know?

Witness: He wrote to me before he went away saying he was going and expected to be away for about six months.

When did he go away?

On the 9th March.

Do you mind producing the letter he wrote to you?

I do not think I have it, but I remember it very well because it contained a letter from Mr. Gaunt about some titles of land.

You don't produce that letter?

I have not got it here.

How many times have you communicated with him since?

I wrote to him forwarding a copy of the article appearing on the 28th April.

The Court: When did Captain McCormick go on leave?

To the best of my knowledge he left Penang on the 9th March.

Mr. Hamlyn resuming said:—

How many times have you written to him since?

Once only. I wrote a letter to him forwarding a copy of *The Critic*. That is the only one, and I also sent one to Mr. Finnie.

The Court: You also sent a copy of the 28th April *Critic* to Mr. Finnie?

Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn resuming said:—

In sending Captain McCormick a copy of the paper you wrote him a letter?

Yes, forwarding the paper.

Can you tell me where you addressed this letter?

Either to the Junior Conservative Club or to the Junior Constitutional Club.

And Mr. Finnie, where did you address him?

I sent it through Scotts.

Is Captain McCormick coming back to defend his character?

I could not tell you.

After a little hesitation witness continued:—Well, I could tell you so much that only last Friday a man in Mergui told me he had a letter from Captain McCormick announcing that he would be back in September.

Who is the man? What is his name? Mr. Taylor.

Is this the only communication direct or indirect that you have had with Captain McCormick?

Yes.

You had no telegrams?

No.

You have told us that these articles have been spread broadcast by means of reprints?

I mean two papers.

I understand your Advocate to say that the Indian and Colonial Press had got hold of them?

I know nothing about that.

In your complaint when you say that certain low papers had copied the articles, which papers do refer to?

May I see the complaint. Which paragraph?

Mr. Hamlyn: Paragraph 9.

Witness: The complaint has been drawn up by my Advocate.

Mr. Hamlyn: You signed it. It is over your signature.

Yes, I was shown a Moslem paper published in the Vernacular.

Give me the same.

One was *The United Burma*. I forget the name of the other paper. It was published in Burniese and Urdu.

Mr. Hamlyn: These are the two papers to which you referred?

No, no.

Then I suppose you mean *The Comrade* and you class *The Comrade* as a low class paper?

I do not class it as anything. I have only seen it for a few minutes. It seemed to me well printed.

I am going to draw your attention to the two articles you complain of on the 28th April. The first article opens with this passage:—"With the utmost reluctance, and only after we have made every effort possible to persuade the Local Government to re-open the matter quietly, we publish to-day the facts of a scandalous case in the Tenasserim Division." You take objection to that paragraph?

I do.

Why?

Because it does not publish facts.

Very well. Counsel continued reading:—"To the last we have desired to avoid the unpleasant duty which we feel now called upon to discharge. It will be observed from the correspondence which has passed between us and Government that a month has elapsed since that correspondence closed. To our letter of the 29th March we received the next day a simple acknowledgment of its receipt, and we had to conclude that our request—almost our entreaty—that the case should be re-opened, was finally refused. But we felt so sincere a reluctance to make public what is so far more wisely dealt with secretly that we have waited on for four further weeks, hoping that some steps would be taken in the matter. We regret the decision of the Government more than we can easily say." Do you take exception to that?

No, no.

Mr. Hamlyn continuing to read :—

"It is clear His Honour has been misled as to the facts of this most shocking case." Do you take exception to that?

Of course, I do.

Mr. Hamlyn continuing to read :—"Naturally, no other conclusion is possible. Sir Harvey has a great and honourable record of work in this Province and in India, and to no mind could the prostitution of British justice be more intolerable than to his. We confess that we have been sanguine enough to hope that we should convince him that he had been hoodwinked. That we have failed we readily account as our blame, not his. In this case we have never sought the sensation which we are now obliged with the utmost reluctance to make." Do you take exception to any of those passages?

Witness : Of course, I do.

Mr. Hamlyn continuing to read :—"There may be those who will hold that, however convinced we are that a grave miscarriage of justice has occurred, however scandalous the facts of the case, it was past and over and were better left to the official oblivion to which Government records consigned it in October last." You agree with that?

I do not agree or disagree with it, I am not responsible.

Mr. Hamlyn continuing to read :—"With these persons, if there are any, we most emphatically and entirely disagree. For the service of which His Honour the Lieutenant Governor is the head in this Province we have a great and abiding respect. It is a noble service, an honour to the glorious Empire from which it derives its honour. Its servants have left and are leaving in every portion of His Majesty's Indian Dominions a splendid record of faithful work, almost always excellently, often bravely, done. It is just because this is so, it is just because the Englishman feels proud of the Indian Civilian as a class that it is intolerable that there should be a smirch upon its fair fame, that our Oriental fellow subjects"

Mr. Rutledge here objected to the reading of this article.

Mr. Hamlyn : Your Honour, both these articles have been put in evidence and I am entitled to read them. I will, however, come down to paragraph 3 on page 8 :—"A Muhammadan Malayan girl of ten is abducted by a white planter, and, as we allege, is criminally assaulted by him. For three months this man dares to retain the child, even from her dying father. For three months, so incapable, so slack, so scandalously undutiful is the supervision of the District that this insolent bully defies the law which his friendship with two of the King's local representatives has made it possible for him to do, so we believe, in more instances than this shocking one." Do you object to that?

I object to that, of course.

Mr. Hamlyn : For three months this man detained the child even from her dying father. You deny that?

Yes. I say it is untrue.

"That this insolent bully defies the law which his friendship with two of the King's local representatives has made it possible for him to do, so we believe, in more instances than this shocking one." Do you deny that?

That is absolutely misleading and false.

That is the first extract from these articles that you have put in your complaint?

Well, that is quite enough. I object to that.

Mr. Hamlyn : I ask you the question, is it not the first.

Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn, continuing to read :—"And when at last a report reaches at least one dutiful official and an effort is made to bring the fellow to justice, what happens?" You know who that dutiful Official is?

I shall know if you will tell me.

Cannot you conjecture?

I conjecture it is the Sub-Divisional Officer.

Mr. Hamlyn : You are about right. Continuing to read :—"The guardians of the Empire's honour betray their trust. The case is burked ; a deliberate conspiracy, as we allege, is entered into between the Deputy Commissioner and the head of the Police to save their friend. For a non-bailable offence he is allowed on bail. The proceeding conducted are an elaborate judicial farce. Every rule and regulation is twisted and strained in the accused's favour. Every advantage is taken of the pauper suppliants for justice." I won't ask you if you take exception to that. Continuing to read : And Mr. Andrew sitting as King George's representative, called upon to exercise scrupulously and reverently the most sacred of the duties with the fulfilment of which he is honoured, discharges

a man on whose case he would not have thought of adjudicating, had he been a high-minded man." Do you take exception to that?

I object to that.

Mr. Hamlyn continuing to read :—"By the criminal law against which he had offended the planter McCormick will be dealt with. But what of those officials who condoned his misdeeds, who conspired to protect him from their consequences? They have not offended against the criminal law of the Empire, but they have offended against the Empire itself. It is impossible to imagine a baser breach of trust than theirs. They have traitorously degraded England's name. We can see no excuse for their conduct. The more it is studied, the worse it becomes. The trustees and the representatives of the King's justice, they deny it to the King's subjects, flippantly, insolently, causelessly. And why? Because they are the type of officials who are unworthy of representing the King, of serving the Empire."

You have left that last paragraph out of your complaint. I want to know why you selected certain passages and left others out?

Witness gave no answer.

Mr. Hamlyn continuing to read :—"We know the type : there are all too many of them about all over the King's dominions, and they must all go, or in time the Empire will go. Messrs. Andrew and Finnie did not think it mattered because the complainants were pauper Malays. Was that it? Is that their conception of their sacred duty to the Empire to which they owe everything? Is that the England they desire to show to their Eastern brothers and sisters? There is no test in such questions as sure as the personal test. Let us bring it home to these officers by asking them : "Would you have done the same, would have so prostituted justice been your little sister of ten who had been so treated?" Let them think of their English homes invaded by such a man as this McCormick. Would the King's officer, Mr. Finnie, have called it 'a funny case' then? There must be an end of this nonsense, this peridious nonsense as to the gradations of justice meted out to the different races of His Majesty's subjects. There are probably all too many officials who lean to such a pernicious view. The sooner the Empire is rid of such traitor servants the better for us all. There is only one law and it must be administered impartially. The principles of justice and honour and freedom are the key-stones of the Empire, cannot be played with, even in the remotest corner of the King's dominions, without its evil effect being felt throughout the whole political fabric at last. The Imperial conception of British dominion abroad is an ideal, and ideals are hard to maintain. Faults and grave ones in plenty we all know to exist under our flag ; but they are not without remedy, and they are remedied as they are discovered. British rule has meant and means incalculable blessings to many millions of human beings ; and the British Empire stands for something nobler than a mere political machine. The England which Messrs. Andrew and Finnie have shown the humble Muhammedan Malays of Tenasserim is not England, and steps must be taken to enlighten those humble folks. It is not much that we any of us can do to help the Empire, but to all of us 'out East' there are manifold chances of doing that little which really helps so much. Let us each do our little best. Let us each try, by constant courtesy, by consideration, by sympathy and perpetual self-control, to show the real England to our Eastern brothers. We can all do this at least, however humble our lot in life. For the officers of the King there are greater duties ; and, if they are honourable men, if they are patriots, they will never fail in those duties ; ever protecting the poor and friendless, administering the King's justice, showing to the lowliest as to the most exalted of His Majesty's subjects that England to which Messrs. Andrew and Finnie have been so false." I take it that in general you agree with those sentiments?

Witness : I do not.

Mr. Hamlyn : Now we come to the second article. You agree, I believe, with the opening line : "At or about the beginning of April, 1911, a Muhammadan Malayan couple, Malassa and his wife Fatima, resident in Kampong Tengah, Victoria Point, Tenasserim, sent their daughter Aniah, whose age was between ten and eleven, to stay with one McSone, a neighbour." Is that true or false?

That is true.

Mr. Hamlyn, continuing to read : "The mother declares the child to be under ten, but such people are often vague as to their own or their children's age, and it is therefore best to rely upon medical evidence (subsequently referred to), which fixes the child's age by irrefutable physical proof as much below puberty." You believe that the child was below puberty. That is substantially accurate?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn, reading? "Aniah is said to be a remarkably pretty child with large brown eyes, a rare feature in a Malay." Is that true?

Witness : Yes.

(To be Continued.)

Morocco.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Fez: General Gouraud, making a night march with a light column of four battalions with mountain guns surprised the Pretender's camp. The fighting lasted from four in the morning till afternoon, when two thousand Moors, many of them mounted, fled, leaving many dead and abandoning the camp and much ammunition. The success of this Pretender had been causing some anxiety to the French.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 14.

General Gouraud left Fez this morning going in the direction of Sefru, where rebel tribesmen have collected in considerable numbers. The expeditionary column consists of five battalions of Infantry, three batteries of Artillery and four squadrons of Cavalry. Suk-el-Arba is reported to be menaced by some malcontent Zemmurs, who are camped close to the river Kanova. The latest telegrams from General Lyautey are of a reassuring character. The patrols which are scouring the neighbourhood of Fez have restored the confidence of the small cultivators, who are resuming work. General Alix has pursued his journey along the Muluya and has reached Mahridza without having had to report any incident.

The French programme of re-organization of the Shereefian army and of the civil administration as outlined by General Lyautey has been made known this evening. The principal points are as follows:—

(1) To limit action strictly to regions already occupied, while at the same time assuring the security of the inhabitants and effecting their political, social and economic organization.

(2) To "neutralize" the regions outside the occupied zone as far as possible by relying on the chief kaids and assuring their authority and the solidarity of their interests with the French Protectorate.

(3) To centralize efforts for the moment on the Rabat-Fez zone, so as to clear the approaches to Fez and the regions south of the line of communications.

(4) To effect this General Lyautey is establishing a covering zone east and west of Fez, the military and political command of which has been given to General Gouraud, whose principal task will be to harass the rebel contingents and drive them back so that they can no longer menace Fez. On every occasion he will endeavour to persuade the loyal tribes to act with him.

(5) A similar policy will be pursued south of Mekinez, so as to cover the southern approaches of the line of communications, but no attempt will be made to penetrate the Zayan country. This task will be carried out by General Moinier.

(6) Behind these covering zones the authority of the local officials and that of the Maghzen will be re-established as far as possible.

The concluding paragraphs deal with administrative and economic changes which, as General Lyautey remarks, can scarcely be touched until security is assured. General Lyautey winds up his programme with the remark that unforeseen circumstances may necessitate the modification of some points.

Mulai Hafid reached Rabat yesterday morning. On his arrival he was greeted by General Ditte, accompanied by his staff and the members of the Maghzen, while a salute of 21 guns was fired.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Madrid, June 14.

While there are no grounds for the wildly optimistic reports which circulate even inside the Chamber of Deputies here regarding an early settlement of the Franco-Spanish negotiations, it may be said that these negotiations are following a normal course. It is understood that the Wergha Valley question has been settled, and

the delimitation of the Ifni enclave may soon be agreed upon. A sign that headway is being made is the fact that the *status* of Tangier is about to be the subject of special conversations between the French and British Ambassadors and the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Other important questions yet to be considered are the delimitation of the frontier along the river Lucus and the Customs in both zones.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 17.

M. Regnault, late French Minister at Tangier and special envoy to the Sultan at Fez, arrived with his family and the members of his mission at the Gare de Lyon this morning. He was welcomed by M. Daeschner, Minister Plenipotentiary and *chef de cabinet* of M. Poincaré, as representative of the Prime Minister. In the course of conversation with a representative of the *Temps*, M. Regnault said that the work of pacification had only been begun, but he thought that the worst was over and that the rebels would no longer offer serious resistance. Mulai Hafid he described as a very nervous man who was alternately confident and dejected. M. Regnault's task had been rendered very difficult by these changing moods. The Sultan's state of mind, however, had improved the moment his departure from Fez had been decided upon. M. Regnault had left him half way to Rabat in the best of spirits.

The column under General Gouraud camped yesterday evening at Suk Tleta, about 19 miles from Fez to the north of the road from Taza. The Moors are reported to be concentrating about half-way between Fez and Taza. The transport *Chaouia* left Marseilles last night with 100 sappers for Casablanca. To other companies of sappers will shortly be despatched in order to accelerate the bridging of the river Muluya.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, June 18.

General Lyautey continues to gain the confidence of the native population. His policy is understood and appreciated, and though much uphill work necessarily remains a general feeling of optimism pervades public opinion. His policy of restoring the popular chiefs of great families in the south, such as Thami Glawi and Aissa Ben Omat, to their former positions of Governors of Marakesh and Abda, respectively, has made the best impression.

Last winter, on grounds of urgency, the representatives of the Powers reluctantly consented to dispense with the formalities of public tender for the proposed additions to the Casablanca harbour works. So many delays have, however, occurred that it will be impossible to complete these works which have not yet been begun, before the autumn, which is the bad weather season. Acting upon the advice of the European representatives, the Public Works Department has cancelled the informal arrangement and will put the additions which were proposed for this year, together with those of next year, to public tender in one lot. It is hoped that the plans will be ready early in the autumn, and that the tenders will be received by 1st January, so that the works can be begun at the commencement of the fine weather season about March and completed before the following autumn. Meanwhile amply sufficient funds have been placed in the hands of the Public Works Department to undertake the maintenance of such works as are already completed or in hand. Beyond an inner shelter for lighters no serious works will be undertaken before next year. Work at Casablanca, owing to its exposed situation, is only possible between practically the end of March and the end of September.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 19.

The programme of operations outlined by General Lyautey is being acted upon, and General d'Albief left Fez yesterday to begin operations to the south of Mekinez with four battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery. General d'Albief is faced with a similar task to that entrusted to General Gouraud, and will harass the rebel tribesmen and drive them back until they no longer menace Fez and Mekinez. The artillery has already cleared Sefru and its approaches of some scattered groups.

General Gouraud's camp between Fez and Taza was attacked on Monday by native cavalry and infantry. The enemy was driven back by artillery and suffered severely when followed up by the French cavalry. The French losses were eight killed and about a dozen wounded. Despatches from the Muluya state that a convoy coming from Beni Tafit was attacked by a party of the enemy. The French had five riflemen and three native soldiers wounded.

Persia.

News of the Week.

M. Mornard, whose salary has been increased, will combine the functions of Treasurer-General and Administrator of Customs. He will probably receive a new contract as Treasurer-General for a period of five years.

Salar-ed-Dowlah appears to be still among the Kelhor tribe.

Mobarek Sutaneh, the newly appointed Governor-General of Shiraz, who will leave Teheran next week to take up his new duties, will make an extensive tour in Fars with a view to putting down raids in that country and will go into the question of punishing the assailants of Consul Smart.

The latest news received by the Persian Consul-General points to the fact that things are assuming normal condition in and around Shiraz.

A Bluebook on Persia concludes with a despatch from Sir Edward Grey to Sir George Barclay dated April 2nd, declaring that it is essential that men locally known to be guilty of the attack on Consul Smart be handed over to the Persian Government for punishment. If this is done, then the detachment at Bushire will be withdrawn, and if the tribal Chiefs are friendly and peaceable for at least two months and no more road outrages occur, the withdrawal of the cavalry from Shiraz and Ispahan will follow. Persia must however, understand that the continuance of this benevolent attitude will depend on the establishment of sufficient Swedish gendarmerie. Persia must therefore before the final withdrawal of troops undertake to support Swedish officers to the utmost.

In view of the improved situation Britain postpones making any proposal to Persia to utilize the tribal Chiefs.

The Collector of Karachi has recommended to the Municipality the buying up of land at once at Drigh Road Station, as this will probably be the terminus of the Trans-Persian Railway, and land can now be had at nominal rates before the boom starts. The object is to convert Drigh Road Station into a health suburb of Karachi with residential attractions superior to anything available in Karachi town.

Shiraz is suffering from long-continued depression in trade and there is no prospect of improvement. Roads are entirely in the hands of the tribes and it is difficult to believe any Persian force will ever be able to fight the tribes, and restore order.

News from Quetta state that the alleged infraction of the Persian frontier by the Afghans some weeks ago was of a most trifling kind and the rumour could be traceable to Russian agents at Meshed.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "OBSERVER" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople June 5

THE question now pending about the Persian territory around Urmia, which Turkish troops have occupied despite the protests of Russia and, if I mistake not, of Great Britain, is now being discussed by the Commission here. But I may inform the readers of the *Observer* in advance that the Commission will separate without coming to any satisfactory settlement and the affair will be referred to the Hague Tribunal. There, unless I am greatly mistaken, Turkey's claim will appear in a wholly unexpected light, and will surprise the Foreign Office of St. Petersburg, if not that of London.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, June 11.

The Regent left for Europe to-day. Before his departure, at the instance of the British and Russian Legations, he confirmed M. Mornard in his appointment as Treasurer-General for a period conterminous with his existing contract as Director-General of Customs. The fact that the Regent's family accompany him causes a

general belief that he does not intend ever to return to Persia. The moment of his departure is unfortunate, as a further reconstruction of the Cabinet can hardly be long delayed, and it therefore seems advisable that the State should have some head. Russia appears to desire the return of the Sipahdar to power as Premier.

Reuter's Teheran correspondent telegraphed:—The Regent, accompanied by his wife and daughter, left for Europe to-day. The Cabinet crisis has not yet been settled. Vusukh-ed-Dowleh, Minister for Foreign Affairs, is being pressed to withdraw his resignation.

M. Mornard has been confirmed in his post as Treasurer-General while remaining Director-General of Customs. His powers will be virtually the same as those the Mejliss granted to Mr. Shuster, and he will have a free hand regarding the control of the expenditure of the foreign loans, while nominally obliged to act in concert with the Cabinet in other fiscal matters. It is understood that his new control is for five years.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

It might be timely, in view of the latest development of the trans-Persian railway scheme, referred to elsewhere, to reprint from the *Near East* of February 1912 the opinion of Mr. Shuster as expressed in a special interview granted to this journal. Whatever our opinion of the Shuster incident, we must admit that the ex-Treasurer-General of Persia knew something more about the country and its conditions than many a political writer who has never left these isles. "The proposed trans-Persian railway," he said, "if forced upon Persia by the Russians, backed by a Persian guarantee, will absolutely cripple Persia financially for the next one hundred years. For by no means could such a railway be expected to pay expenses within a shorter period, and in the meantime the guarantee, or the interest on the bonds, would have to be paid. In addition to this, if we may judge by other similar cases, Russian railroad construction materials would be forced on the Persian Government at inflated prices, at least for the entire portion of the railway lying within the so-called Russian sphere. Therefore, even if the railway is only built as far as Ispahan, the advantage to Russian influence and selfish interests will be enormous, and, if built through to Bushire or to the Indian frontier, to the above would have to be added a most important strategical advantage for Russia. The railway would, most emphatically, not pay as an investment. Its *raison d'être* is purely political and strategical and favours Russian policy only."

Great Britain and the Trans-Persian Railway.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—During the past two years many soldiers have watched in silence but with increasing misgiving the project of a Trans-Persian railway to India, a project which has this in common with the Channel Tunnel scheme of old, namely, that it promises to be well underway before the British people are given an opportunity of deciding with knowledge whether it ought to be pursued at all.

On one side we have the Société d'Etudes, a cosmopolitan confraternity of financiers and engineers, which is about to begin work at Paris in almost official guise, as if the principle of the railway had already been accepted by the British Parliament, which, in fact, has never been consulted nor advised on the merits of the case. On the other, we have Sir Edward Grey's assurance, given in the House of Commons on 6th June, that there is little to be said about the negotiations because there is so little that is definite. A more thoroughly equivocal and unsatisfactory state of affairs from the public point of view it is difficult to imagine.

I should be obliged if you would afford me an opportunity of expressing my opinion that this scheme, if carried out, will gravely alter the conditions under which India must be defended; will enable external pressure to be applied to India and will therefore be politically unacceptable; will not materially benefit Persia nor British and Indian interests in Persia, except by affording a quicker route for mails; will divert mails and some passengers from the sea to the land route through Germany and will correspondingly injure our maritime carrying trade and industries; will reduce the profits which the public derives from the Suez Canal; will probably burden the finances of England or India, or both; and, while being of no conceivable military service to us in any circumstances that can be foreseen, may, in certain contingencies aggravate the military risks of India, increase the front which the Army in India has to defend with relatively weak forces, inflate expenditure upon defence, and render India more

liable to foreign aggression by depriving her of the shield of her desert frontiers.

I do not consider that our military and commercial interests in this question are conflicting. I consider them identical. Persia needs railways, so far as she can afford them, but not the Trans-Persian line. From the Persian as from the British and the Indian point of view, the need of the time is a line from the head of the Gulf to Khoramabad, extended if practicable to Burujird and Hamadan in order to tap the richest part of Persia and to enable British and Indian goods to approach the choicest Persian markets by the best and cheapest route. The projected lines in the Russian sphere in North-West Persia are the natural complement of a Mohammerah-Hamadan line and deserve our support. There is nothing in these lines which presents serious military risks, since they leave us the deserts for our frontiers. But of our own free act to deprive ourselves of that strongest of all barriers, a desert frontier—we who evade the first duty of citizenship both in India and in England and are allowing our supremacy at sea to be questioned and assailed—is not the act of sane men.

It is not, however, so much for the purpose of expressing an opinion that I venture to address you, but rather in order to say that so far as I am aware, neither the Committee of Defence nor the General Staffs in India and England, nor the military authorities at the India Office, have ever been invited to give an opinion on the principle of a Trans-Persian railway to India. They may have advised which is the least harmful trace for a line, but that is another question. I do not claim that military opinion, whether favourable or the reverse, should be the sole consideration in a State problem of this magnitude. But it is surely a reasonable suggestion that Parliament and the public should be made fully aware of the views of their best military adviser, before it is decided to force upon a neighbouring country, whose independence is desirable, a costly and dangerous railway, and to play fast and loose with the security of the Indian Empire.

I attach a map, upon which the various railways projected are clearly shown, in order to enable your readers to draw their own conclusions.

I am, &c.,

YOUR MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.

12th June 1912.

The Importance of Persia.

MR. H. F. B. LYNCH addressed the members of the Persia Society at University College, London, yesterday on "The Importance of Persia." After asking "What is Persia? What place does she occupy on the continent of Asia; and what is she to us and we to her?" Mr. Lynch gave a geographical and historical account of the country, and remarked that if one lesson had been burnt into the minds of the Russians of the present day, that lesson was that their hopes of a survival as a nation lie in the recognition by England and Russia—and especially by England—that the continued existence of a neutral state on the tableland of Iran is essential to relations of smoothness and confidence between these two Powers. There was little occasion for fear, he added, lest a strong and independent Persian Government would lend itself to hostile designs against us. Less attention is, I think (Mr. Lynch proceeded), due to an opinion which one sometimes meets—the theory, I mean, which, while recognising the necessity of a buffer state between us and the Russian Empire, would counsel us to retard rather than to assist its economic development. According to this view, the buffer state is most useful to ourselves when no railways cross its territory and as few roads as possible; when it offers to an invading army the scantiest supplies, so that a difficult advance would be followed, if the scales turned against the invaders, by a positively disastrous retreat. This doctrine involves the adoption of a purely selfish and immoral policy, and in the long run policies of this description are doomed to failure. Moreover, a state which is incapable of defending itself constitutes at the same time a standing menace to the peace of its neighbours and a bone of contention between them. I pass on from this theory and ask you to consider to the next place the eventuality of the suppression of Persian independence, whether openly or in a veiled form. In either case the result would, of course, be much the same.

It is surely evident that if this process should be continued—I am sorry to say it has already begun—it can end in only one way so far as England and Russia are concerned—namely, in the drawing together, and ultimately in the coterminous alignment, of their respective frontiers in Asia. It is true that the commercial spheres which were delimited in Persia by the Anglo-

Russian Convention of 1907 display a considerable gap between the British and Russian spheres. This gap constitutes a so-called Neutral Sphere. I scarcely know what counsels of wisdom or despair underlay the adoption of this strange device. But I hardly think that any of the eminent authorities on Persia who may be present here this afternoon would be prepared to argue that it would be possible to set up an independent Persian buffer state within the limits of the neutral sphere. If we may take that for granted, then in the eventuality which we are considering, the neutral sphere must either become absorbed by England or by Russia or be partitioned between the two. Whichever hypothesis we adopt we are thus brought face to face with the actual meeting of the British and Russian frontiers in Persia. That, I submit, is a prodigious eventuality, yet it is in this direction that, I am sorry to say, we seem now to be drifting. Suppose, in the first place, that Russia obtains control and ultimately possession of the neutral sphere. Then our frontier will envelop the western confines of Afghanistan, proceeding through Kirman to Bundar Abbas at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. It will have a length of over 500 miles, or, including the unprotected portion of the Afghan frontier on the side of Persia, in the defence of which we should have to assist, of 700 miles. If on the other hand, the neutral sphere were partitioned with any regard for British interests, our frontier would march directly with the Russian frontier across Persia for about 1,000 miles. Of course, we might retire to our present frontier in Baluchistan. But this would expose the western flank of Afghanistan, including the important strategical position of Seistan, and would still leave us with a frontier coterminous with that of Russia for over 400 miles.

Now, you already know enough about the natural features of Persia to recognise that none of these possible frontiers coincide with any commanding natural obstacles. You have to contemplate a frontier drawn for considerable distances across elevated plains which may be likened to the surface of a billiard table. I do not say that it would be impossible for us to defend such a frontier; but I do assert that it would involve an immense expenditure of money and the conversion of this country into a military nation. Nor would the burden upon the Russian Empire be an easy one to bear. Common prudence should therefore restrain the diplomacy of both Powers from drifting into a situation of this kind. I recognise that within the limits of time at my disposal I have been unable to do more than indicate the outline of my subject. But I think you will agree with me that it is one of absorbing interest. Looking at the issues which it involves, I feel that none of us will be inclined to underrate the importance of Persia.

(THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE speech of Mr. Lynch to the Persia Society last night put very clearly the political and military objections to our present Persian policy. The two parties to the old quarrel in English politics over Russian designs in Asia had this much in common, that they both recognised how serious a thing for England and for India a common Asiatic frontier with Russia in Asia would be. But whereas the one party proposed to ward off the danger by ourselves advancing to meet it, the other and the Liberal view was anxious above all things to create powerful and friendly buffer States between India and Asiatic Russia, and made it a first condition of our policy that we should ourselves do nothing to weaken their independence. In Afghanistan, this second policy has carried the day and secured the support of all parties. Not so in Persia. Yet, as Mr. Lynch showed, they are geographically the same country; and the same political and military principles must necessarily be applied in both. But in Persia we are deserting them. The idea has apparently captured the Foreign Office that we may as well write off the north of Persia for lost. Against that Mr. Lynch opposes his conviction that if the north goes, the centre, or neutral zone, must go too. "An independent Persian buffer State is impossible within the limits of the neutral sphere." And how grave the consequences of the disappearance of this neutral zone are Mr. Lynch shows by a few figures. We should have a common frontier with Russia of at least 500 and possibly of 700 miles. That would mean the conversion of this country into a military nation; it would destroy the rare advantages of our island position on which our political and maritime greatness has been built. That is the importance of Persia for this country. Let no one think that it is merely a question of Persian liberties; our own or some considerable part of them are involved too. We are glad to think that the tremendous political and military importance of Persia to this country is now more generally recognised in politics. The *Economist* of this week, for example, condemns the trans-Persian railway to India in most outspoken fashion; and others, no doubt, will follow in time. The mingled apathy and frivolity with which the press has for the most part treated this question has at times made one almost despair of the old English reputation for political sagacity.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

There is a more hopeful feeling in Constantinople with regard to the Army, as it is believed that the reports of alleged disaffection are exaggerated.

Large bodies of fresh troops have been sent to Macedonia.

The Government is resolved to proceed rigorously against the deserters unless they surrendered immediately.

Italians have occupied Misratah (Tripoli) after desperate fighting. The invaders were obliged to make a series of bayonet charges against stubborn resistance. The Turks subsequently fled into the interior, leaving hundreds of dead. The Italian casualties were 9 killed and 181 wounded.

It is stated on reliable authority that there are good prospects of an early settlement of the war. The departure of Said Halemt Pasha, President of the Council of the State, on the 3rd instant ostensibly for Vienna is connected with the possibility of a direct understanding between the belligerents.

Shevket Pasha, Minister for War, has resigned. His position was shaken by the outbreaks in Albania. The portfolio of the Ministry of the War has been offered to Nazim Pasha.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, June 18.

An assembly of delegates from the 12 Aegean islands occupied by Italy met on Sunday at the ancient monastery in the Island of Patmos and voted an address to the Italian Government declaring the desire of the islanders for union with Greece, but, in case this should be impossible, expressing the hope that Italy and the liberal European Powers will accord complete autonomy to all the islands in the Aegean. The assembly further devised a new flag for an Autonomous Aegean Confederation, and decided to issue special postage stamps. General Ameglio has invited the *Domogerontes*, or municipal authorities of the island, to confer with him at Rhodes on various local questions.

Rome, June 17.

Details are now given of the disembarkation of the Expeditionary Corps under the command of General Camerana at Bu Sceifa, some eight miles from Misurata, which is itself about 52 miles east of Homs. Immediately after occupying the shrine of Bu Sceifa the troops proceeded to the oasis behind Bu Sceifa and the neighbouring heights. Attempts made by scanty groups of Arabs to hinder this operation were met by a steady fire from the troops, and the enemy dispersed, leaving some dead on the ground. Later in the afternoon, however, the Arabs returned to the charge in larger numbers and made a determined attack upon the Italian right wing. Fighting continued till 6 in the evening, when the enemy retreated, leaving 50 of their dead on the ground and a considerable number of rifles with a quantity of ammunition. The Italian losses were two killed and nine wounded. Misurata is a rather important commercial centre with about 15,000 inhabitants, though its trade seems to have suffered a good deal on account of the war. It is about six miles inland, from the coast, from which it is divided in the north by a particularly dense oasis. The difficulty of penetrating this oasis is probably the reason for the choice of Bu Sceifa as the point of disembarkation. The exact strength of the expeditionary force is not stated, but it seems to include at least four battalions of infantry, one regiment of Bersaglieri, one company of Askaris, besides artillery and engineers. General Fara has also accompanied the force.

Rome, June 19.

The last despatches from General Camerana show that the expeditionary corps landed at Bu Sceifa is still occupied in strengthening its position at Cape Yorug and that no advance upon Misurata has been made. It is somewhat doubtful whether these tactics, which have on previous occasions permitted the gathering of larger forces of Arabs while the invading troops secure a basis of operations, are altogether wise. Any delay which fills the oasis round Misurata with the enemy must render the capture of that place a far more difficult and dangerous task.

The Italian Press is again filled with rumours of an international conference, taken for the most part from the least responsible

organs of foreign opinion. The attitude of Italian journals in this matter is not very easy to determine. They repeat every suggestion that is made, however absurd its character and however untrustworthy its source, and while they resent most of the proposals that are made with regard to the Italian terms of peace, they now seem equally to resent the counter-assertion that no international conference is called for or can serve any good purpose.

Salonica, June 19.

The negotiations between the Albanians and representatives of the Government continue at Ipek, where the Ulema, Beys and notables from Prizrend, Djakova, Pristina and Ipek have been summoned to meet Fadil Pasha and Massar Bey, respectively, Commandant and Vali of Uskub. It would appear to be recognized by the authorities that the removal of the Mutessarif of Ipek has become the principal condition imposed both by the rebels under arms and by the inhabitants of the town. It is now difficult for the Government, however, to cede this point without an exhibition of what they consider to be weakness. The Ipek conference, therefore, is being held with a view to reconciling the Albanians with the distasteful Mutessarif. The only incident of interest to report occurred at Vuchitrn, where the rebels descended and burned the fortified residence of Husni Bey and disappeared before the arrival of the troops. This occurrence has considerably excited the inhabitants, who, fearing more serious raids, complain of the deplorable position in which they are placed between attacks by rebels and oppression by the Army. Further north the situation at present is quiet. Fadil Pasha has visited Istok and posted troops at all positions of strategic value.

According to news from Uskub, the existing calm is due to the Albanians' lack of provisions and ammunition, and it is suggested that action of a guerilla nature will be recommenced when the rebels have succeeded in replenishing their stores. The Greek reports of fighting in the Agyrokastro district are unfounded.

Rome, June 20.

An official despatch from Benghazi reports that a brigade yesterday morning, while making a reconnaissance for the sake of practice in the oasis of Suani Osman, came across the enemy occupying well-chosen positions, on a very extended front, from which they offered a determined resistance. The enemy were driven back and the Italian troops returned to Benghazi after remaining three hours in the oasis. The enemy's loss is supposed to be heavy. The Italian loss was one Askari and one native killed and 11 men wounded.

Constantinople, June 20.

The National Bank of Turkey and Sir John Jackson's representative received communications from the Minister of Public Works yesterday and to-day, announcing that the recent adjudication of the irrigation works in Mesopotamia had been cancelled. A new adjudication limited to the firms of Sir John Jackson and Messrs. Pearson and Son, the latter of whom were officially eliminated from the previous competition, will now be opened. Tenders must reach the Ministry of Public Works by 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th instant and all offers exceeding a certain figure, which is not made public, will be rejected. Should the Minister then decide in favour of one of the competing firms the contract will almost immediately be submitted to the approval of the Chamber of Deputies.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna, June 13.

Great numbers of troops are being drafted into the Smyrna district by the Turkish authorities. There are 45,000 here already and 15,000 more are due to arrive in the next few days. Abdullah Pasha has come to take the supreme command.

There is no official confirmation of the rumour that the Italians have effected a landing at Mersina.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

Smyrna, June 8.

In Smyrna it is believed that the Italians have finally decided to occupy the islands of Chios and Mytilene simultaneously within the next few days and then make an attack on Smyrna. The Turks are making every possible preparation to repel any attack on the city. The French railway company have received instructions to arrange to have their line free to bring down 40 battalions from the Hermus Valley to Smyrna, and the British railway have received similar instructions as regards 13 battalions from the Meander Valley. The French railway company have sent a circular to all the principal merchants stating that they will not be responsible

for delay in handling goods owing to their line being altogether occupied in bringing down troops.

After mounting big guns on all the mountains surrounding the Gulf of Smyrna, the military authorities have now begun mounting small mountain guns on all the hillocks commanding the shore, as if they anticipated having to deal with landing parties. The Turkish troops in this province are to be placed under General Mahmud Mukhtar Bey, who was Vali of the Aidin Vilayet before he became Minister of Marine, which post he resigned on the outbreak of the war. The camp has been fixed between two stations on the British railway line to Aidin; Kazamir, nine miles south of Smyrna, and Develi-köy, seven miles farther on. In a few days some 60 battalions will be camped in this treeless plain. The position has great strategic value, because should the Italians land on the Kara Burun peninsula, after occupying the adjoining island of Chios, the Turkish army would block their way to Smyrna; should they, on the other hand, land from Mytilene the Turkish army could be easily moved by the British railway first to Smyrna and then up the Hermus Valley on the French railway. Many of the troops in camp at Develi-köy have come from Salonika and have been in arms for the past two years and present a very fine appearance.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 14.

The *Sabah* announces that the Government, in view of the cost of the war, have decided to lay proposals for an increase of the salt tax and the spirit duty before the Chamber. It does not appear, however, that a definite decision has been taken on this subject by the Council of Ministers.

Constantinople, June 17.

The negotiations between the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the acting Minister of Finance for an advance to the Turkish Government of £12,500,000 have ended, the Bank informing Djavid Bey that in the present condition of the money market it is unable to place more than £11,000,000 in Treasury bonds in Paris. Djavid Bey has requested the Bank to raise the amount to be advanced if possible to £11,250,000.

Tunis, June 18.

Captain Dixon-Johnson, accompanied by two doctors and an assistant and six male nurses, arrived here on Sunday with a second camp accommodating 60 patients. He is awaiting the arrival of his stores from England and hopes to leave for the frontier on Saturday. He is seeking a fully-qualified Arab doctor to accompany him and extra native servants, but is hampered by lack of funds.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The *Daily Chronicle* correspondent, telegraphing from Pera yesterday, says:—The *Tanin* prints an article in which it states that after the revolution Turkey showed a great desire for British sympathy and demonstrated the greatest friendship for Great Britain. In this expression of feeling the Government and the Opposition were alike unanimous. The misunderstanding which came later was not difficult to correct and now it is possible to create an admirable feeling of reciprocity. Turkey has in Great Britain (the *Tanin* states) a solid friend, but in order to consolidate this feeling of friendship she must show that she is serious in her progressive effort and in her work of regeneration. Liberal acts are necessary if Turkey is to win over British public opinion. What is wanted is adherence to an intelligent national policy and the avoidance of exaggerated national pride.

Occupation of Rhodes.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, June 13.

THE news which reaches Italy directly from Rhodes is rather scanty, and it is only from Italian correspondents who have returned after a visit to the Aegean, to Athens and elsewhere, that a fuller description can be obtained of what is happening in the islands occupied by the Italian forces. The *Messaggero* to-day publishes a long despatch from its correspondent in Athens containing an account of a visit to Rhodes that is not without interest. The writer describes the island as tranquilly pursuing its ordinary life and occupations. The administration, the postal and custom services, the courts of justice, all perform their various functions without any hitch. The Italian military authorities are paying especial attention to the question of sanitation and are actively engaged in improving the water-supply of Rhodes itself; so bad was it, apparently, that many cases of typhus have already occurred among the Italian troops with 15 deaths. The finances of the island have been also taken in hand, the Turkish system of taxation being continued for the present unaltered with the exception of a reduction of from 12 to 10 per cent. on agricultural produce. The Turkish customs régime is also continued, with its tax of 11 per cent. *ad valorem*, on imported goods and 1 per

cent. on exports. The revenue for the year is calculated roughly at about £60,000. To provide for local administration, General Ameglio has appointed 46 syndics and two *mudirs* and instituted 12 stations of *carabinieri* with three lieutenants. The syndics have been appointed according to the preponderance of nationality in the population; 42 of them are Greek and four Turks.

Beside the Italian tricolour the correspondent saw a number of Greek flags and not a few bearing a white cross on a blue ground, which represented the claim of Rhodes to be autonomous. The Greek and Jew quarters of the city were most animated. The Turkish quarter silent and almost deserted. In spite of all reassurances received from the Italian authority, the Turkish population holds aloof in sullen distrust. Five hundred Turkish women have already abandoned the island and gone to join their families on the mainland, while every day more permissions to embark are demanded. Of the men, 300 have been allowed to depart but a good many are still refused consent. It was said that as soon as the port was declared open the great majority of the Turks would immediately leave. The members of the Young Turk Committee, to the number of nearly 100, were all arrested and sent as prisoners to Italy in the first days of the Italian occupation, while another 400 Turco-Cretans considered dangerous to the public peace, were transported to Asia Minor. Meanwhile, at the end of last week, 7th June, some 20 Italian refugees from Messina in Asia Minor landed in Rhodes and were welcomed by the Italian authorities.

The correspondent remarks that owing to the lack of preconcerted plans and orders the treatment of the Turks in the various islands has differed greatly, each Italian commander, apparently, having made his own dispositions. While the *Kaimakams* and other officials of Syri and Cos are freely walking about the streets of Rhodes, all the authorities in other islands have been arrested and are in prison. In one island even the sanitary inspector, an orthodox Greek, had been arrested and deported elsewhere, his family remaining in ignorance of his destination. A similar confusion seems to have reigned with regard to the disarmament of the inhabitants. In some places it has been carried out thoroughly and in others not at all. It is evident, however, that the general rule prevailing in the Italian occupation is to interfere with the inhabitants of the islands as little as possible.

The correspondent gives an animated account of a visit paid to Kalimnos last Sunday, 9th June, by Admiral Viale. The admiral and his staff attended a *Te Deum* in the Metropolitan Church, and after the ceremony listened to an address which had been drawn up by the two chief island authorities. This address, after expressing gratification at the admiral's visit, continued, according to the *Messaggero*, in these words:—

"Our desire, cherished for long centuries past, has been to unite ourselves with our great mother, Greece. Gratitude towards our Italian brothers does not prevent us from revealing our sentiments and even prompts us to declare our wishes and hopes. We know that your mission aims only at the liberty and not at the conquest of these lands. If our desire for union with Greece should, for political reasons, not be capable of immediate realization, we none the less feel the liveliest satisfaction at finding ourselves under the protection of our Italian brothers. For this situation means at least for us the removal of the barbarous dominion which has made barren the fertile lands of Asia Minor, the fair Ionic shores, and the picturesque islands of the Aegean."

Admiral Viale seems to have answered appropriately, assuring the islanders of his sympathy and promising to make their wishes known in Rome. In spite of the diplomatic reticence of Italian admirals and even of Roman newspapers, it is evident enough that any idea of a restitution to Turkey at the end of the war of the islands now occupied will have to be abandoned. Not that Italy at all contemplates their permanent occupation. Though Italian newspapers find pleasure in recalling historical and legendary ties between their country and the South Aegean, there is no popular aspiration for dominion in those seas. On the other hand, the use of the islands for bartering purposes in the negotiation of terms of peace has in popular sentiment become impossible. At the most, Italy could bring herself to hand over her conquests to the other European Powers and only then because she will feel the assurance that those Powers will recognize the same impossibility of restoring them to Turkish rule.

Problems Of The War.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENTS.)

Vienna, June 17.

MEETINGS between the German Emperor and the Tsar are never devoid of importance, but to judge by the manner in which their

forthcoming *rendezvous* has been announced, it is desired in Berlin that the world should regard this year's meeting as particularly significant. This is, naturally, not a reason for accepting the German valuation, though the international situation that is being created by the Turco-Italian War doubtless lends unusual interest to the intercourse of two Sovereigns who are their own Ministers for Foreign Affairs. On the other hand, the German Emperor may have wished to forestall M. Poincaré and to make sure that Russia will remain true to the spirit of the Potsdam Agreement. The German Government is believed to be keenly alive to the possibility that the Turco-Italian War, both in its effects upon the Turkish Empire and in its influence upon the balance of power in the Mediterranean, may confront Germany with the necessity of modifying her policy in the Near East, and to be most anxious to ascertain at first hand the intentions of Russia.

The removal of Baron Von Marschall from Constantinople has always been regarded here as having been inspired primarily by the wish of Germany to have a freer hand in regard to Turkish questions than was possible while he remained there, and only secondarily by a desire to be represented in London by a statesman of the first rank. Germany is not a Mediterranean Power, and seems to feel that the settlement of the Turco-Italian conflict, whenever it comes and if it comes at all, may settle also the question whether the German ambition to become a Mediterranean Power is likely to be realized. This issue may, perhaps, be tentatively raised during the meeting in the Finnish waters.

With the Turkish Forces in Tripoli.

(FROM A "MORNING POST" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Zanzur, May 17.

I hurried here after the battle of Bukemesh, thinking that after that engagement the Italians would come out of Tripoli by way of Gargaresh and endeavour to occupy Zanzur. They have withdrawn most of their men from the Ain Zara side, and the neighbourhood of Gargaresh is full of their soldiers. They are building a wall from the sea, taking in the whole region outside Tripoli; the Turks sarcastically express the hope that they are not building it to take in the whole province. The Italian claim to have secured a victory at Bukemesh on 3rd May has created amazement here, as they were compelled to take refuge in their fortifications and only saved from complete destruction by the fire of their warships. In that engagement some Arabs got right into the Italian lines and brought away a sack of sugar and several cases of ammunition.

The Arabs are still making successful raids and returning continuously with all kinds of loot—railway, telegraph and telephone wire, Italian clothing which had been laid out to dry on the wire entanglements, tunics, helmets of the 6th Engineers and 40th Infantry, the green and red flags of railway officials and a railway guard's horn. I have seen these objects with my own eyes. It is believed here that the Italians are at their wits' end and have no idea what plan of campaign to adopt.

The Italian airmen have displayed great pluck and energy. The aeroplanes have not made their appearance since the arrival of the two airships. They are very active, visiting all the camps in turn and dropping innumerable bombs. The latter have done little harm, though several of the Arab women and children who throng the camps have been killed. The pilot of one of these airships sent a letter to the officer in command of the Turkish Artillery enclosing a bad photograph of a shrapnel shell which burst close to his airship. The commanding officer here has had a number of leaflets placed on the Italian barbed wire entanglements giving them news of their defeat (*sic*) at Rhodes with the loss of 200 men killed and 1,000 prisoners. This news was communicated to the Turks by special wire.

One of the leaflets recently dropped by the Italians referred to the alleged death of Enver Bey and ran as follows: "Enver Bey, on his way from Derna to Egypt (wishing to go back to Turkey) died at Mariot, gangrene having set into his wounds. During the last few days the Italian Fleet bombarded the Dardanelles and some towns and disembarked troops on the Island of Astrobia (Astropalia?). We have also vigorously repulsed the Arabs at Bukemesh five days after disembarking."

Another notice reads:—"On the 2nd April the Italian Army in its sortie at Khoms possessed itself of the ruins of Lybdié. On the 3rd April the Italian Army made a sortie at Bukemesh to capture a convoy, forced the enemy to retire, and inflicted severe losses, notwithstanding his pluck, which is well known. On the 4th May the Italian Army disembarked at the Isle of Rhodes."

"Arabs! The Turks give you bad provisions, which bring about sickness and cause great losses among you. What do you

expect from them? Why don't you detach yourselves from the Turks? God, being the owner of all territories, has the right to take it from one and give it to another. He has given it to us."

French References to the War.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, June 16.

M. POINCARÉ's references in the French Chamber of Deputies to the Turco-Italian War seem to produce some irritation here. The *Giornale d'Italia* is not the only newspaper which classes them among things better left unsaid, or at least among those which should have been expressed differently. The French Minister, according to his Italian critics, alluded to the incidents of the Carthage and Manouba as if his action had overawed Italy and prevented any recurrence of such questions between the two countries; a presentation of the case which, in spite of the accompanying friendly protestations, these critics think was not calculated to conciliate Italian opinion. Nor was his insistence upon the duties of France as a great Mussalman Power any better received by a country which thinks that the French Government has already gone needlessly far in respecting Arab prejudices. Arab agitations, Turkish recruitments and organizations of contraband in Tunis, it is held, have been the natural result of the too great complaisance with one side rather than with the other, and hardly bear out the French assertion of strict neutrality.

The fact is that Italian susceptibilities are still a little ruffled, and M. Poincaré's somewhat blunt declarations have failed to soothe them.

The charges made against the Italian troops by the journals *Sabah* and *Zanin*, reported in your Constantinople telegram of 12th June have also been noticed in the Italian Press, where they have excited an indignant denial. As your Constantinople Correspondent remarks, neither date nor circumstances are mentioned in this list of alleged outrages. There can be little doubt, however, that this is a mere repetition of charges contradicted and disproved at the beginning of the Tripoli campaign.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 20.

Considerable astonishment is expressed in Paris at the offence which, as your Rome correspondent mentioned in Tuesday's issue, appears to have been taken by the *Giornale d'Italia* and some other Italian journals at M. Poincaré's recent declaration on foreign policy in the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Poincaré declared that, notwithstanding the continuance of the Italo-Turkish War, and the uncertainty of the prospects of peace, there seemed no reason to dread any extension of complications. France faithfully maintained an identical attitude towards the two combatants, an attitude of the most scrupulous neutrality. With Turkey she had relations of traditional friendship. France was a great Mussalman Power, and the Government desired to do nothing which could weaken the influence of France in Africa. To Italy France was attached by links which had not been weakened by recent incidents (a reference to the detention of French vessels and of the Turkish Red Crescent Mission). The matters to which he alluded had been referred to arbitration, and no more ships had been exposed to visits of inspection such as had given ground for French protests. The misunderstanding now dispelled, had made no change in the sentiments of the two peoples, which were united by many memories and many affinities.

It seemed most natural for M. Poincaré to remind the Chamber that France, like Britain, is a great Mussalman Power—a fact that furnishes the strongest of reasons why France, like Britain, has to maintain an attitude of great reserve during the present conflict. It is inexplicable that any section of Italian opinion should charge M. Poincaré with having asserted that in consequence of his diplomatic action there had since the *Carthage* and *Manouba* incidents been no further visitation of French ships by the Italian authorities. M. Poincaré, as may be seen from the report of his speech, did not say one word about his "action." He merely mentioned with satisfaction, and in most cordial terms, the fact that no more French ships had been visited and that the relations of the two countries had again become excellent.

There is likewise a feeling of surprise here at the language used by a section of the Rome Press regarding an alleged "organization of contraband traffic in Tunis," in view of the very strict measures which have been enforced by the French Resident-General, M. Alapetite, in accordance with instructions sent by the French Government. Moreover, the impressions of certain Italian journals would seem to be in absolute contradiction to the views of the Italian Government.

Not only have the correspondents of French journals in Rome been able to report the entire satisfaction of Signor Giolitti with M. Poincaré's declarations, but, if my information is correct, the French Ambassador, M. Barrère, has been officially requested to thank the French Minister for Foreign Affairs for his public declarations.

Intervention.

THE Rome correspondent of the *Temps*, making himself the mouthpiece of certain French diplomatic influences, declares that the proposal of a European conference to settle the Turco-Italian War was originally brought forward by France, and is still being advocated by her as a means of restoring normal conditions in the Mediterranean, of preventing troubles in the Near East, and of paying her debt to Italy incurred at Algeciras. The idea is supported by England partly for the first two of the reasons mentioned, and partly because of the repercussion which the events in Tripoli are causing in the Moslem world. Backing is given also by Russia, which is afraid of troubles in the Balkans. As against this, the correspondent asserts, the proposal is viewed with little favour in Germany and Austria. Germany does not like the idea of meeting at the same table her Turkish friend and her Italian ally, and of having to choose between them. She does not relish the fact that the initiative in the matter has come from the Entente Powers. She further prefers to wait until the Porte is exhausted so that she may become the mediator between the two belligerents; and, lastly, she would like to defer any decisive step in the matter until the time for the renewal of the Triple Alliance arrives. As for Austria, she does not want to help Italy at the present moment lest this help should be regarded as payment for Italy's consent to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She wishes to wait until she can obtain something else in the Balkans, when her consent to the annexation of Tripoli by Italy could be made conditional upon consent being given to her own new acquisition.

The *Temps* correspondent elaborates this thesis at great length, but in the end admits that Italy herself is for the present against a conference because she cannot disown her annexations, while no Power would take upon itself to compel an unwilling Turkey to recognise them. Hence, the writer says, the determination of Italy to continue the war and to strike a heavy blow at Turkey to compel her to yield.

Such a determination seems, however, to be difficult to carry out. Signor di Marini, an ex-Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, writing in the *Resto del Carlino*, alleges that in consequence of an exchange of views between Italy and her two allies, the Italian Government has decided to suspend its naval action in the Aegean. This accords with the information given a few days ago by the leader writer of the *Temps*, according to which Germany had requested Italy to abstain from attacking Mytilene. Signor di Marini adds that there is a special article in the treaty of the Triple Alliance referring to the Balkan Peninsula and the islands in the Aegean. Italy therein entered into certain engagements which have now been recalled to her by her allies.

Railway Activity in Asiatic Turkey.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Beyrout, May 31.

THE war seems now to stimulate, after having damped, the efforts of the Ottoman Government to construct railway lines. The Medina-Mecca extension, which had been almost begun and then interrupted, is to be immediately continued. The surplus material which has been lying at Caiffa—the sea transport having been negotiated before the war—has been sent inland by the Hedjaz Railway, and two battalions of soldiers are said to have been despatched thither for the preliminary works. Once this extension is made into the Yemen the periodical insurrectionary risings in Arabia may be dealt with more effectively. The growing audacity of the Mahdi of Assir must have been a primary factor in determining such prompt action on the part of a Government distracted by a slow and wearying war.

The same activity is displayed in the improvement of the existing line. An order of about 15,000 tons of sleepers is already offered for tender, and will probably be secured by German firms. These sleepers are destined to replace the wooden ones on the line between Maan and Medina. Recent arrivals also include one hundred wagons and ten locomotives. Apprehending the possibility of seizure by the Italians, the Hedjaz Railway Company had the locomotive parts sent on to Damascus, and mounted there. A further order of one hundred wagons and thirty vans has been closed, and as this rolling stock is chiefly destined for the pilgrim traffic, delivery is to be effected not later than the month of October next. The ten locomotives have been supplied by German firms, while six first-class carriages have to be supplied by a Franco-Belgian concern.

Railway activity is also being displayed by the Government in Palestine. The laying of rails on the Caiffa-Acre junction commenced a few weeks ago, and this small line is expected to be in working order in the autumn. The works will involve the construction of two metallic bridges to span the rivers Mukattah (Sisson) and Naanman. The line crosses the village of Beled El Sheikh, where the Government intends building a barrack, and Shefa Amr. The building of Acre station is in progress. The length of the Caiffa-Acre junction is estimated at about 18 kilometres.

The Hedjaz Railway Company was reported lately to have decided on the building of a branch line from Aloule, on the Caiffa-Damascus line, to Jerusalem. I learn now that the preliminary works have already been undertaken. This branch line will, it is estimated, be about 87 kilometres in length, and will cross Jeneen and Jebel Nablous (Samaria). Most of the material necessary is already at Caiffa. According to orders from Constantinople it is to be finished, at least as far as Jeneen, before the end of the financial year, *viz.*, March 1913. As the new budget has not yet been voted, orders have been passed to draw the requisite amount from the old budget of the Hedjaz Railway so as to insure the realisation of the scheme by the required date.

Irrigation in the Near East.

(BY SIR WILLIAM WILLCOCKS, K.C.M.G.)

MR. WEBB of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce lately wrote an article in the *Nineteenth Century* on "The Coming Deluge." He meant a deluge of gold, which was being poured into the markets of the world at a rate of £100,000,000 per annum. To the fact that the profitable expenditure of this money did not keep pace with its production he attributed much of the present-day worries and troubles. It struck me, as I read the article, that one might go back to the oldest science in the world to enable us to spend some of this money profitably. There are many irrigation fields in the near East which might be profitably worked. Egypt could spend on:—

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- £23,500,000
- The Cilician plain consisting of 1,000,000 acres might be thoroughly drained and canalised for £8,000,000
- The Babylonian plain of 5,000,000 acres of reclaimable land might be provided with irrigation and drainage and agricultural works for ... £50,000,000
- Escapes into the deserts for the two rivers ... 7,000,000
- £67,000,000

The Karun and Kerkha deltas, containing 1,500,000 acres of reclaimable land might be canalised and drained, and provided with agricultural works for ... £15,000,000

Here we have a total sum of £124,000,000 which might be spent, and, if judiciously managed, might prove itself as profitable as a gold mine and as permanent as water power depending on the melting snows of the Alps. Europe has thoroughly learned the value and permanency of water use as power; it has only just begun to grasp the value and permanency of water used for irrigation. In realising these truths England is far behind America and the rest of Europe. The Institution of Civil Engineers in Westminster classes irrigation as a sub-section of sewerage, while our Australian cousins go back to pre-Adamite times and conserve the waters of their rivers for navigation, instead of "wasting" it on irrigation, even in years of drought when there is scarcely a ton of stuff to transport by boat on its then God-forsaken and barren plains.

In the early days of the world (and we must remember it was a Near Eastern world) there were giants on the earth who diverted the deluges of water into the mighty irrigation works of Egypt and Babylonia. Our world of to-day is waiting for some financial giant to divert some of the deluges of gold into the same channels as the ancients did, and so bring back the prosperous days of 2,500 years ago in the four best known deltas of antiquity.—*The Near East.*

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I am, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) GOPAL CHANDRA GHOSH,

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The Week.

Universities' Congress.

THE Indian delegates to the Universities' Congress have selected Sir Thomas Holland to represent India on the Central Bureau consisting of seven representatives of British and Irish and seven of Overseas Universities.

The Franchise Bill.

IN THE House of Commons on 12th July the Opposition amendment to the Franchise Bill was rejected by 290 votes to 218 and the Bill was read a second time. Mr. Asquith, replying to Mr. Balfour's criticism of the Government's attitude on female suffrage dismissed as altogether improbable the hypothesis that the House was likely to reverse its previous rejection of female suffrage.

Foreign Outlook.

SPEAKING at the Mansion House on 12th July Mr. Lloyd George said, he believed that the international situation had never been better. When he addressed a similar gathering in 1911, the outlook was anxious. He was glad that the disturbing element on foreign relations, the Morocco question, had been settled satisfactorily to all, leaving nothing to rankle. The era of goodwill, said Mr. Lloyd George, had begun. The situation was good and improving, and there was nothing in the foreign outlook to create uneasiness. There

was a growing desire on the part of the nation to be on good terms which would promote that confidence and enterprise which was essential to commercial prosperity here and in every other land.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech was delivered at the Bankers' dinner. At the outset he dwelt on the unequalled prosperity of trade, based on sound healthy circumstances, which was therefore likely to endure. Experts informed him that the trade barometer was set fair here and abroad. The vitality and soundness of our trade was such that his anticipations of the injury of the coal strike were not realised. The temporary injury had already been overcome. He did not anticipate any further overpowering labour trouble.

Naval Expenditure.

THE *Daily Chronicle* of 16th July says that some perturbation has been caused in Liberal circles by the statement made by Mr. Massingham in an article published yesterday that there is danger of the Government losing the services of Mr. Lloyd George. "Happily" says the *Chronicle*, "there is no fear of such a disaster. It is incredible that he should contemplate quitting the Cabinet on the ground of naval expansion for which his speech at the Mansion House in July 1911 was largely responsible."

Mr. Harold Spender in the *Daily News* says, it is understood that the Cabinet yesterday discussed startling estimates submitted by the Admiralty for increasing the expenditure by four millions in 1913, largely on behalf of the Mediterranean.

MR. CHURCHILL will announce the supplementary naval estimates on the 18th instant. Reports in the newspapers indicate heavy outlay for the Mediterranean and for increasing the pay of seamen.

A Departmental Committee is being established to deal with the manning of the navy and increase in pay. Lord Fisher has been asked to preside.

The *Times* states that a Royal Commission with Lord Fisher as Chairman will be appointed to investigate the question of fuel in the Navy. It is also hoped that the Commission will be able to enquire into the rates of pay in the Navy, with a view to the removal of grievances. Nothing official has hitherto been made public with regard to the Naval Committees.

In the House of Commons on 17th July Mr. Churchill in reply to a question said there was no truth whatever that a Commission had been appointed to inquire into rates of pay in the Navy. Newspapers, however, persist that Lord Fisher will preside over a wide inquiry extending to ship-building policy, distribution of the fleet and fuel supply.

Afghanistan.

A FRONTIER CORRESPONDENT reports that Shahgassi Dost Mahomed Khan has been appointed Governor of Khost, in place of Mahomed Akbar Khan, degraded and dismissed.

There are still a number of Mangal refugees with their wives and families in the Kurram Valley. They are to be given the option of returning to the Khost Valley or of surrendering their arms. There seems no reason now why they should not move back into their own hills as such lenient terms are being granted by the Afghan authorities.

General Janbax Khan has been sent to Khost Valley on a special mission, it is said, to coerce the Gabar section of Mangals who have not yet made their submission. They have retired to their hills and are sullenly waiting to be attacked. They will probably be leniently dealt with as orders from Kabul are apparently to pacify Khost and the adjoining hill tracts without resort to any stern measures.

A letter from Jellalabad states that the work of road making, in which the Amir takes such a strong personal interest, is proceeding steadily, mainly by forced labour. The Military road from Laghman into Kaffiristan is now open, a number of bridges having lately been finished. Similarly in the Asmar direction on the southern border of Chitral, the road has been greatly improved. It offers an alternative route into Kaffiristan. It is said to be the intention of the Amir to link the Military road through Kaffiristan with the trade route in Badakshan.

A frontier correspondent reports that negotiations between the Afghan authorities and the Mangal tribesmen in Khost were facilitated by some of the Amir's officers staying as hostages in the tribal villages. The Mangals were thus assured that no treacherous arrests would be made as on previous occasions.

Egypt.

Viscount Kitchener on 16th July paid a visit to Buckingham Palace. Later in the day he visited the Foreign Office, where he had a long conference with Sir Edward Grey and the officials.

China.

REUTER wires from Peking on 15th July.—It is officially stated that the President has accepted the resignation of four members of the Cabinet, also that of Hsiungshiling, Finance Minister, who will devote his whole time to the financial situation. The Premier, Hsiungshiling and Chowtschi, the ex-Acting Finance Minister, will constitute a committee to deal with the Foreign Loans.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg.—Official advices state that Chinese troops and villagers at Khotin in Turkestan surrounded and burned the house of a Russian subject, Said Effendi. A hundred of his compatriots were in the house at the time and many of them were killed.

Reuter wires from Peking.—The Russian Minister has demanded compensation and punishment of the authors of the outrage in Khotan.

Reuter wires from Hong-Kong.—The Chinaman who made an attack upon Sir Francis May, Governor of Hong-Kong, on the 4th instant, has been sentenced to penal servitude for life.

South Africa.

In the House of Lords on 17th July Lord Amphill said that the question of Indians in South Africa was again causing anxiety, in the first place because the long-promised settlement had again been postponed and secondly, because the management of the settlement was now in the hands of Mr. Fischer who was less amicable to Indians than General Smuts. Meanwhile the spirit of settlement was being violated. His Lordship gave instances in this connection.

Lord Emmott replied that the Government had always considered every case and were ready to intervene if any useful purpose could be served thereby, but they were not going to be driven into a policy of constant "nagging." There was reason in some of Lord Amphill's complaints, but said Lord Emmott, if he wanted all these individual cases affecting a self-governing Colony to be made the subject of representation then he must wait till the Unionists were in power.

Lord Amphill (interrupting): "I only suggested representations of a general tendency with regard to the treatment of Indians."

Lord Emmott: "It is impossible to deal with a number of cases on general terms. We must deal with each on its merits."

His Majesty's Government considered the Immigration Bill generally satisfactory and keenly regretted that it had not been passed this session but they had positive proofs of the South African Ministers' anxiety to pass it. Ministers had expressed regret to Lord Gladstone and promised to introduce it at the earliest moment next session.

With regard to the change of portfolios between Mr. Fischer and General Smuts, Lord Emmott said they were members of the same Government and presumably their policy in the matter was the same. His Majesty's Government had for a long time been trying to obtain appeal on the question of domicile. Ministers had promised an amendment to the Immigration Bill giving appeal. Such an amendment, said Lord Emmott, would have been most valuable. The case quoted by Lord Amphill did not afford ground for a general charge of departure from the spirit of the settlement.

The "Burma Critic."

In the Chief Court, on 16th July, Mr. Guy Rutledge, Government Advocate filed a plaint on behalf of Lieutenant A. M. C. L. Finne, District Superintendent of Police, claiming Rs. 15,000 damages

for alleged libel against Mr. C. Arnold, Editor and Proprietor, W. T. Lidbetter, Manager and part proprietor, and P. H. Ripley, printer, respectively, of the *Burma Critic*.

Mr. Channing Arnold, Editor and part proprietor of the *Burma Critic*, appeared again on 16th July, before the District Magistrate in answer to the charge of having defamed Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner of Mergui, in two articles of his paper entitled "A Mockery of British Justice." Mr. Rutledge informed His Worship before the hearing started that he had Lieutenant Finne present and intended to call him. His Worship proposed to stop altogether the proceedings and examined Mr. Arnold who said he took absolutely sole responsibility for the articles in question. Asked if he wished to say anything else, the accused said he did not wish to make his own protest and wished to be committed to the Sessions before His Worship heard evidence. His Worship charged the accused with defamation under Section 500, I. P. C., and committed him to stand his trial at the next Criminal Sessions of the Chief Court sitting on 13th August. His Worship said the case was too serious to be adjudicated by the Police Court.

Hedjaz Pilgrims.

WITH regard to the Muhammadan pilgrim traffic between Karachi and Red Sea ports, which will shortly be starting, the *Sind Gazette* hears officially that, with a view to facilitate sailings, the Italian Government has considerably suggested that shipping companies should, through the local Consular agents, keep the British Ambassador at Rome informed in sufficient time of the names and other indications of identity of vessels carrying pilgrims to and from the Red Sea. It is evident from this that the representation of the British Government have not been ineffective, and that the Italian Government is sincerely desirous not to cause unnecessary annoyance to *bond-fide* pilgrims from India.

About 12 to 15 steamers will probably leave Karachi with pilgrims for Hedjaz between August and November next. The Port Trust, at the request of the Commissioner in Sindh, will place three berths at the disposal of pilgrim steamers so as to facilitate the embarkation of pilgrims.

The Viceregal System.

The first number of the *Edinburgh Review* under the editorship of Mr. Harold Cox contains an article wherein it is declared that "the Viceregal system in India has broken down." "Excessive centralisation," it says, "must be qualified. India cannot be ruled from Home by the Secretary of State. The only way of meeting the governmental and sentimental needs of India is to make one of the Royal Princes the representative of the Sovereign with a high official as Dewan."

Public Service Commission.

It is expected that the constitution and terms of reference of the Commission on Public services in India will be announced during the Indian Budget debate in Parliament on the 30th instant.

Decentralisation.

The Secretary of State has been pleased to accept with certain modifications the proposals of the Government of India based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on decentralisation for the delegation to provincial governments or Local Governments having quasi-permanent provincial settlement, of enhanced powers in respect of the creation of permanent and temporary appointments, deputations, the revision of establishment and the grant of fees and reward of honoraria. The Governor-General in Council is now pleased to direct that effect shall be given to the decisions arrived at in respect of these matters and to prescribe with the object. The new powers include authority to create permanent provincial service appointments up to Rs. 800 monthly, revision of the permanent establishment up to a total of Rs. 50,000 annually, revision of rates of pay of minor appointments up to a total of Rs. 25,000 annually in any one branch. The Local Government has been empowered to create temporary appointments up to Rs. 800 a month for any specified period.

Gold Reserve Fund.

The Secretary of State has accepted the recommendations made by the Government of India that profits on coinage, which are at present devoted to the building up of the gold standard reserve, shall not be diverted to any other purpose until the sterling branch of that reserve has reached the sum of twenty-five millions.

New Universities.

A Press *communiqué* issued by the Education Department states:—"It has been finally decided that the educational scope of a University at Aligarh or Benares should be limited to the locality in which it may be established."

The *Statesman's* Special Correspondent says that it is understood that the decision announced to confine the scope of the proposed Aligarh and Benares Universities to the localities named will have the effect of converting the institutions concerned into

residential Universities, since it will render it necessary for candidates for degrees to reside in the neighbourhood, much as is the case at Oxford and Cambridge.

Lord Carmichael.

His Excellency the Governor arrived at Dacca on the 15th July at 11.15 A.M. Before entering the Durbar Hall, several leading official and non-official gentlemen were introduced to His Excellency. At the Durbar Hall addresses were presented by the Municipality, District Board, Landholders Association, Moslem League, People's Association and Saraswat Samaj. His Excellency gave a joint reply to the addresses which was thoroughly sympathetic. His Excellency assured them that the Government would spend a substantial part at Dacca each year. Amongst other things His Excellency declared that the punitive police will be withdrawn from Munshigunj and Madaripur. Referring to the Dacca University scheme, His Excellency said that on completion of the committee's work he would consult public bodies. Referring to the proposal of a college for zemindars' sons, His Excellency said he had referred the matter to Mr. Nathan for report. "To the members of the Moslem League I would like to say that I am glad to hear that you understood what I meant when I replied to the address of your parent league in Calcutta. I know that you recognise that in the main and in all things which are most essential, your interests are the same as those of your fellow Indians whatever be their creed, and I believe that you trust me to do all I can to forward those interests. But I can assure you that I recognise that there are certain matters in which owing to your history you just as others have special needs. It is my duty to try and find out those special needs and, wherever possible, to treat them sympathetically. Fair treatment is all that your community asks for. Fair treatment is what every community has a right to expect. Already during my present tour, some of your co-religionists have pointed out to me that the incompleteness of the voters list has, they believe, handicapped them hitherto in the matter of representation on local bodies. I do not know whether this is so or not, but it is only fair that those who are entitled to a vote should get it and I have already given orders to have the matter looked into. If things are as has been alleged, all communities must be affected and the fact that in some places it may not be the Moslems who are the losers should make all grateful to you for having been the first to bring the anomaly to my notice."

Intemperance.

AN influential deputation comprising Sir Herbert Roberts, Lord Kinnaird, Sir William Wedderburn, several members of the House of Commons, Mr. Gokhale and other Indian representatives waited upon Lord Crewe to-day to advocate reforms in Indian excise with a view to arresting the spread of intemperance. The proceedings were private.

The Delhi Council.

THE *Times* of 17th July says it is stated that Mr. Montagu has been invited by Lord Hardinge to attend the first meeting of the Legislative Council at Delhi and that it has been agreed that he shall be absent from the autumn sitting of Parliament in order to fulfil the engagement.

Calcutta Moslems.

THE following resolutions were passed at a mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Calcutta held on the evening of the 14th instant:--

I. This meeting strongly urges upon the Indian Mussalmans to take practical steps for serving and helping their brethren in trouble who stand in need of their assistance. This meeting, therefore, in pursuance of this object, considers it necessary that both the Anjuman-i-Moin-ul-Islam and the Red Crescent Society of Calcutta should co-operate with a view to send a Medical Mission of Indian doctors and compounders to Tripoli.

II. It has been established by experience that the true and real representatives of the Mussalmans failed to secure election last time for the Council. The Moslem voters should, therefore, bear in mind that their vote should be exercised in favour of a candidate who is a true servant of Islam and fully in sympathy with the ideas of the Mussalmans and who would not sacrifice public opinion to personal policy.

III. Separate electorates for the Councils have been found in practice to be the most satisfactory method of securing adequate representation of various interests. In the opinion of this meeting the method should continue intact. But the number of Moslem representatives in the Provincial Council should be increased in proportion to their numerical strength and historical importance.

IV. Experience of many years has proved beyond doubt that the Moslem representation on District and Municipal Boards would be utterly inadequate and their interests remain unprotected so long as they are not given the right of separate representation on these bodies. This meeting, therefore, strongly and respectfully urges on the Government to grant the Mussalmans the right of separate representation on the Corporation of Calcutta and the Municipalities and District Boards of the Mofussil. No other arrangement can be at all satisfactory in the eyes of the Mussalmans.

TETE À TETE



WE HAVE elsewhere given the text of the reply of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to the address of the Moslem League at Dacca. We note with the utmost satisfaction that Lord Carmichael has definitely recognised "certain matters in which owing to their history, the Moslems have special needs" and holds out a promise "to try to find out these special needs and treat them sympathetically." We only hope that in the attainment of this highly commendable object His Excellency will steer clear of the obstacles that some of the most aggressive vested interests in Calcutta or elsewhere will, in their own inimitable way, oppose to His Excellency's endeavour. We perfectly agree with the Governor of Bengal in thinking that "fair treatment is all the Moslem community wants, and has a right to expect." In fact, nothing would be more disastrous or humiliating to the Mussalmans of Bengal, if they ever fell into the demoralising habit of being fed by the spoon of official favouritism. But, perhaps, it is hardly necessary to remind a wide-awake ruler like His Excellency that "fair treatment" depends on an absolute equality of conditions. What a section of the Bengalee Press calls "unity," "identity of interests" and "brotherhood" is, in essence, the facile rhetoric of the monopolist who wants to hide the glaring inequality of racial conditions under democratic phraseology. The Mussalmans are determined to break through the bondage that the vested interests around them want to perpetuate. Lord Carmichael will earn Moslem gratitude if he helps, in some measure, in restoring to them the equality of opportunity which alone they need. We are sure His Excellency is aware that "fair treatment" does not always mean the maintenance of the *Status quo*.

THE Italians have perhaps thought it a psychological time to make another raid on the Dardanelles when there is a Cabinet crisis in Turkey. They attacked Kum Kaleh, a fort on the Asiatic extremity of the Strait, with six torpedo boats; but the raid

has ended in disaster. Two boats have been sunk and all the others damaged. The Porte has ordered the closing of the Dardanelles. It is as yet difficult to say whether the latest move is a part of some deeper scheme that Italians might have elaborated with an eye to create another diplomatic situation, or only a stray episode in their naval hooliganism in the Aegean. The closing of the Strait is bound to lead to much excitement in the commercial circles, and it may be that Russia has once more schemed to bring it about for the development of her own designs. Turkey is, of course, within her unquestioned rights to defend herself, and this right of closing the passage in self-defence was clearly recognised by the Powers on the previous occasion, though Russia had growled audibly and tried to create mischief. If the Dardanelles is to be kept open to commerce, obviously the demand should be made in Rome. The talk about the Italians having been forced to give a guarantee has turned out to be baseless after all. Whatever may be the Italian objective in the present attack, they may be sure that no change of Ministry in Constantinople can diminish one jot the Ottoman national determination to defend the Empire. The news comes this morning that Tewfik Pasha, Ottoman Ambassador in London, has accepted the post of Grand Vizier. This appointment is full of significance, and it is possible the new Ministry may initiate an altogether new foreign policy. We will discuss this weighty question in detail when the new Cabinet has been formed. We may, however, rest assured that no Ministry under Tewfik Pasha will try to modify the present attitude of Turkey in regard to the war.

A THOROUGH enquiry into the whole question of Indian Public Service has been a long felt want, and the announcement that a commission is shortly to be appointed to consider and report on the existing defects and possible reforms in the working of the system comes none too soon. Mr. Montagu is expected to make an announcement in regard to the personnel of the commission and its terms of reference on the occasion of his forthcoming statement on the Indian Budget in Parliament. Leaving aside, for the present, the questions that should come up for a thorough enquiry before the Commission, about which we shall have to say a good deal when the nature and scope of the inquiry has been definitely announced, we would like to say a word about its personnel. The commission will, we presume, include some Indians of capacity to make its labours really thorough and fruitful. We trust that a Mussalman gentleman of approved ability will be one of the Indian members of the Committee. The absence of a Mussalman member on the Decentralisation Commission was only too painfully apparent in some of the results of its inquiry. The question of the Public Service is, in every one of its aspects, much more vitally important, and it is necessary that the standpoint of the Moslem community should be represented on the committee that may be constituted to deal with it. There is no lack of competent Mussalmans to serve on any such committee with distinction. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, or the Hon. Mr. Justice Hassan Imam—to name only two Moslems—would be an acquisition to the Commission. We strongly hope, the omission that was made in the case of the Decentralisation Commission will not be repeated this time. We are not at all surprised to see that our Hindu contemporaries, which have been suggesting all possible names with their usual fertility of imagination, have not considered a single Mussalman worthy of their recommendations. We hope, however, the Government knows better or—ought to know better.

AFTER seeing the first number of *Al-Hilal*, issued on the 13th July, we can well understand the enormous labour and expense that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, its talented Editor, must have gone through before the launching of this weekly journal. It strikes a new line in Urdu Journalism by including pictorial illustrations as a permanent feature in its columns. The adoption of the Turkish type, though not exactly an innovation, is a welcome departure from the obsolete methods which, in spite of their clumsiness and tedium, still retain a paralyzing hold on the Urdu Press of the country. The change may in the beginning cause some inconvenience to the readers, but it has got to come if Urdu Journalism is to become up-to-date as far as neat, accurate and expeditious printing goes. The first number of *Al-Hilal* has been excellently turned out, equally as regards printing, illustrations and general get up and does credit to its publishers. The contents of this number, in addition to some interesting columns devoted to the usual editorial *débüt* and the aims and aspirations underlying the venture, deal in the main with the personalities and events of the war in Tripoli in a very lucid and learned style. But, as announced by the Editor, the scope of the journal is to be much wider than that. It will, henceforth, regularly set apart a certain number of its columns for the consideration of almost every subject of deep and abiding interest to the Mussalmans. Literary and scientific discussions and Moslem educational affairs will have a permanent space assigned to them, besides the regular presentment of the state of affairs in Turkey, Persia, Morocco and the Islamic world in general. Literary criticism and correspondence will also be a permanent feature of the journal. *Al-Hilal* has entered on its career with great aims and a fine promise of their fulfilment. We trust it will speedily earn a distinct position among its contemporaries by its many attractive features and by the spirit of high endeavour that evidently inspires its Editor. We hope it has a long career of usefulness before it.

HINTS from time to time have always been thrown out by correspondents, even in such responsible English papers as the *Times*, of the grave dangers which would await the English Government from the possible victory of the Turks in Tripoli, as it would engender a bloated sense of their military prowess in the minds of the Moslem populations in the British Empire. We had fondly believed that the mind of the English people was not yet so wholly imbecile as to entertain such utterly irrational views, and that it was not worth our while to waste time in refuting this baseless theory. But when we find such a responsible organ of the Tories as the *Saturday Review*, which presumably represents the views of a considerable section of Conservative Englishmen, voicing such silly sentiments, we think it is high time that we warned the Government of India and the English public of the grave risks they would be running by lending a willing ear to such mischievous and sly hints. The *Saturday Review* says in one of its leading articles:—"The war is now more dangerous to the Powers

in general than it was, and most unfortunately it coincides with grave French difficulties in Morocco. No Power which holds territory in Northern Africa or rules like ourselves over a large number of Muhammedan subjects could see with equanimity the victory of the Turks, or even any very notable successes on their side." This is plain enough. And we are inclined to believe that this even more than "the Italian seizure of the Aegean islands", to which the Review refers, is an attempt "to put pressure on the neutral Powers to induce them to force Turkey to peace." We would ask the British public to remember that the political consciousness of the Moslems all over India is sufficiently developed to enable them to grasp the significance of it all. Nothing is further from our mind than to suggest that the British Government actively countenances such perverse views. We would fain believe that it is yet time to remedy the evil created by these counsels, and trust the Government will not be carried away by sentiment, but will take a broad and statesmanlike view of the whole situation. Even if we were to suppose that the victory of the Turks would produce a feeling of mischievous elation among the Moslem subjects, we contend that the dangers that would be entailed by adopting the only remedy suggested by our far-seeing contemporaries are far more serious than any that it conceives of. It is a matter of common knowledge that all the stages of the war are being most closely followed in every home in Moslem India. The least suspicion that the British Government after its declaration of neutrality was siding with Italy, when there seemed to be no chance of an Italian triumph, would spread like wild-fire among the Moslem community, and may lead to most serious consequences. Once this happens no Muhammedan leader, however popular, could undertake to be responsible for the conduct of his community. Ignorance is always more inflammable than knowledge. This being so, we solemnly warn the Government that the Indian Mussalmans would strongly resent a breach of British neutrality in favour of Italy. There is another aspect of this war. The Italians have captured the Aegean Islands, and the Greeks are alleged to have welcomed them with acclamation. In other words, a subject race is ready to throw off the yoke of its rightful sovereign the moment a Christian Power comes by to protect it. And yet, not only are the Powers "able to see" this reprehensible action "with perfect equanimity," but the *Saturday Review* even seems to hint that it would be unchristian "to hand over the Greeks to the tender mercies of Turkey." We ask our contemporaries if such models of political perversity are the safest to be held up to the admiration of the Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor. What are the alleged dangers arising from the elation of Indian Mussalmans at the success of their co-religionists abroad compared to those arising from suspicion of British hostility to Moslem States, in spite of declarations of neutrality, or the danger of Moslem treason against a Christian Government when responsible British journals openly admire Christian treason against a Moslem Government!

A CORRESPONDENT—himself a South African born Indian of the Moslem faith—has sent to us a letter on the question of a new development in the notoriously shabby treatment of Indians by the South African legislature. "It now appears," says the letter, "that the Johannesburg magistrate has laid it down as a rule, which will certainly have currency throughout the Union, that no Indian Mussalman marriage whatever is recognised in the Transvaal, even though it be a sole one, on the ground that it is contracted under a law permitting polygamy." While we recognise the utter futility of discussing the ethics of the case with an administration that is frankly organised to promote race ascendancy and produce wealth by driving native labour, we might still hope that they are not yet so absolutely deaf to all counsels of sanity as not to recognise the practical side of the question and the magnitude of the difficulties they are so wantonly creating for themselves. For it goes without saying that, if no wife of a Muhammedan Indian is to be permitted to enter the province, this precious piece of legislation would, as our correspondent says, "disturb the most intimate and sacred family ties by putting a premium on marital infidelity." And if these wives—legally constituted concubines—and their children—legally branded bastards—are to be excluded from the Transvaal holy of holies, we gravely warn the South African Lawgivers that man is a man for all their legislative vagaries, and that these Immigration laws will give a powerful impetus to crimes of the most outrageous sort, which no executive brutality or mob lynching can check. We confess we absolutely fail to see the political sagacity of the State's Legislature itself courting these outbreaks of the worst human passions. Besides, the frame of mind in which the Indian Moslems must constantly live under such anomalous laws is by no means conducive to peaceful subservience to State vagaries. For, to quote our correspondent, "this law means that the mothers of the Indian Moslems are branded as living unchaste lives. Their children are told that they have no legal or moral right upon their fathers, nor may they succeed to their estates should they die intestate." This virtual

expulsion of Indian Moslems does not possess even the saving grace of being based upon a mistaken, but at least well-meaning, conception of morality. For, as our correspondent points out, polygamous marriages among the Cape Malays Moslem immigrants and even among the natives of South Africa have always been recognised by custom, and no objection has hitherto been raised to these customary usages by the high priests of the legislative order. This state of affairs is in the highest degree reprehensible, and we cannot condemn it in too strong a language. We would like to remind the South African Government that there is always a limit to what human flesh will bear and a line "unto which they may go but no further." We hope the Union States will still take time by the forelock and discontinue their present suicidal policy of blind persistence in creating for themselves a situation, scarcely much better than that of a desperado perched upon a barrel of well-dried gunpowder during a great thunderstorm.

RESOLUTIONS and proceedings of public bodies in India—they congresses, leagues or conferences—they are sometimes treated with scant attention by local Governments. As an instance, we would point out the manner in which the

Moslem Education in Madras.

Bombay Government has almost consistently disregarded the views of the Mussalmans, particularly on their educational requirements. Sir George Clarke and his advisers cannot do better than compare their own attitude towards Moslem opinion with that recently shown by the Madras Government in its treatment of the question of Moslem Education in Southern India. The Muhammadan Educational Conference of the province had made certain strong representations, calling for reform in several matters connected with Moslem education. Though all the demands of the conference have not been granted, we are glad to find that a great step forward has been taken by the Government in recognising some of the most pressing needs of the community. The Director of Public Instruction has been asked to permit the teaching of the Koran out of the regular school hours to all Moslem students who may bring the written permission of their guardians. Other matters satisfactorily dealt with in the Madras Government Order on the basis of the recommendations of the Muhammadan conference are the enhancement of the teaching grant for Moslem schools, the appointment of special Sub-Assistant Inspectors for the supervision of these schools and the provision for an adequate representation of Moslem interests on the committees appointed from time to time for the revision of the Educational rules and the Grant-in-aid Code. The need for the special treatment of the Moslem educational questions in other directions has also been recognised. The Government has ordered the payment of half fees by Muhammadan boys in aided schools, the other half being borne by the State. Hindustani classes are to be opened in the schools containing any considerable number of Moslem boys; while the request that Hindustani be recognised as a distinct vernacular has also been favourably received. We are glad the Madras Government has freely and sympathetically considered Moslem views on education and we trust that it will not be long before we will have the satisfaction of noticing the growth of such attitude in certain other quarters which have so far been conspicuous only for stiff-neckedness.

SOME TIME back we had occasion to notice in our columns the

Aligarh Boys and the Turkish Relief Fund

self-denying sacrifices of the Aligarh students in order to be able to contribute to the Turkish Relief Fund. On that occasion we had noted their resolve to give up their weekly *piece de resistance* of *pilau zarfa*, and *firnee* till the end of the Turko-Italian war. We are glad now to report that by this means the Aligarh boys have already sent no less than Rs. 6,500 to the Relief Fund. We also note with the greatest satisfaction the fresh resolve they have made "of contributing to the Relief Fund," as a correspondent informs us, "the sums of money which the successful candidates of the recent examinations would under normal circumstances have spent in giving dinners and parties to their friends and, also, the sums which will be saved by travelling in the Third Class instead of Intermediate or Second when they return to their homes for the long vacation." This truly Islamic example of mutual helpfulness does not require any comment from us. The latter sacrifice, particularly, is really heroic, and can only be properly appreciated by those who have personally experienced the tortures of Third Class railway travelling in India. Acts like these are a great moral asset of the community. There is every hope of better days for a people whose younger generation has learnt to exercise self-discipline and unselfish

WE ARE in receipt of a copy of the appeal which the authorities of the Muhammadan Orphanage at Calcutta are circulating broadcast for contributions towards the sum of a lakh of rupees, of which the Orphanage stands in dire need.

The Muhammadan Orphans.

After carefully scrutinising the records of the institution we are thoroughly convinced of the urgency of the call made upon the public on behalf of the poor Moslem orphans. We understand that this is the only institution of its kind in Bengal, Behar, Assam and Burma. It is a circumstance of the deepest regret, therefore, that, barring a few local grandees, the Moslem community is utterly indifferent to its needs and requirements. In particular, the attitude of the so-called cultured section of the local Muhammadans in this matter is reprehensible in the extreme. We cannot say that we are exactly lost in admiration for a culture which makes the local "children of new light" (or is it a new darkness?) fall away from that feeling of tender solicitude towards the orphans which has always been an outstanding trait of a true Moslem. Nor is the indifference of Mofussil public less deserving of blame. They fail to realise that only a microscopic minority of the orphans taken in are born in Calcutta, far the greater number of them being destitute children from the Mofussil who cannot find a living in the metropolis. The work done by the institution with the limited means, and the still more limited powers of organisation (for the educated Moslems keep studiously aloof) at its command, deserves the greatest encouragement. Provision is made for about 300 boys. And recently a girls' section has been opened which has now 15 girls as permanent inmates. But this provision can hardly be called adequate in view of the fact that this solitary institution has to serve the needs of the four big provinces. Additional provision of board and lodging for at least 200 more boys and 30 girls is an immediate and crying need. This is one of the items pointed out in the appeal and requires at least Rs. 25,000 for its fulfilment. But improvements are sadly needed in various other departments too. The school—a Middle English one—is anything but adequately financed and is capable of almost unlimited improvement. There are various classes for teaching printing, mechanical engineering, type-writing, motor-driving, tailoring, carpentry, etc., etc. But most of the implements are old and the machinery dilapidated. It badly requires a thorough overhauling. There is no compound or recreation ground attached to the institution. And those who know what life in the heart of Calcutta is, will painfully realise the urgency of acquiring land for this purpose. At least Rs. 35,000 must be forthcoming for this object. The girls' section has no house of its own. It is also in contemplation to open a public school for girls in connection with the girls' section of the Orphanage. At least Rs. 25,000 must, however, be collected before anything can be done. Altogether at the very lowest computation a lakh of rupees is most urgently wanted for the immediate needs of the institution. But besides this the whole financial arrangement of the orphanage requires to be placed on a sounder basis. For instance, last year there was a deficit of no less than Rs. 3,000 in the budget, in spite of the fact that there had been a windfall of Rs. 15,000 from very fluctuating and unreliable sources of income. As the institution now stands there is an urgent need of an addition of Rs. 18,000 to its permanent annual income. The Government grant has also remained stationary. We would strongly recommend its immediate enhancement. We earnestly appeal to the public—Moslem and non-Moslem—(and several Hindu benefactors are already contributing munificently)—to bestir itself and make ample amends for its past neglect of this institution. It does not redound very much to our credit that foreign missionaries should find an easy field of recruitment among our neglected orphans. It is high time that the public woke up to a sense of its responsibility to these helpless orphans.

وَدْنَعْ مَالَهُ عَلَى حَبِّهِ ذَرَى الْقَرَبَا وَالْتَمَى وَالْمَسَاكِينِ

وَأَنِ السَّيِّئِ

(Verily, he is the truly blessed that giveth away dear gold unto relatives, orphans, destitutes and poor wanderers.)

The Comrade.

The Situation in Turkey.

I.

THE resignation of the Turkish Cabinet brings to a head the internal crisis in the affairs of the Empire which includes in it some elements of unmistakable gravity. The retirement of Mahmoud Shevket Pasha was in itself a shock which only a strong Ministry could have survived even in normal conditions. But certain recent developments have rendered the internal situation far from normal. They manifestly led to a serious cleavage of opinion amongst the Ministers, and the Cabinet has fallen as a result of divided counsels. Those who know something of his high sense of duty and strength of character must naturally conclude that only some fundamental difference of policy or principle could have driven the War Minister to the extreme step of resigning office. The gossip of the certain Viennese circles, about the insurrectionary movement in Albania being irresistible, about depleted war-chest and about the methods of the Committee of Union and Progress—which the *Times* correspondent weekly retails with a strange access of prophetic emotion, must be dismissed as so much frantic twaddle. These factors, even if they were as formidable as they are declared to be, could only have the effect of inducing a Minister of the stamp of Mahmoud Shevket to hold on to his post of danger with all the greater courage and tenacity of purpose. The ministerial crisis is, in fact, due to far deeper causes, which the untoward events like the Monastir mutiny and Albanian disturbances have undoubtedly helped to accentuate. In order to disengage the real factors of the situation from the tangle of prejudice, facile prophecies and newspaper sensationalism, it would be necessary to subject it to a detailed analysis. That the situation is grave and complex will be readily conceded by those who have closely watched the course of affairs in the Ottoman Empire. The war in Tripoli, though not in itself a formidable military issue, may at any moment, in view of the recent Italian moves in the Aegean and the diplomatic manœuvring that is still going on behind the scenes, become a purely diplomatic tug-of-war and present Turkey with the *coup de main* of a European conference. The disturbances in Albania, the unrest in Macedonia, and the recent mutiny of a number of Albanian troops at Monastir, especially when international forces are silently moving to new and menacing combinations, may indirectly lead to grave results. Face to face with this situation a Turkish Government was naturally expected to be strong, united and resolutely engaged in the task of pulling the Empire safely out of internal shocks and the dangers that surround it. The resignation of the Cabinet at this critical stage of the Ottoman affairs cannot, therefore, be regarded without some anxiety and concern.

Without going into details, we may briefly refer to some of the causes that make the situation so grave and have incidentally led to the Ministerial crisis. It has been suggested in some quarters that the drain of the war has been heavier than is generally supposed, that the Government has been resorting to strange financial shifts and that Neil Bey, late Finance Minister, had to resign because he was not successful in his loan transactions with the Paris Bourse. There can be no doubt that the expenditure of the War Office has considerably mounted up owing to the necessity of keeping several Army Corps on a footing of war. But surely, such expenditure—at the highest a mere fraction of the ordinary military budget—cannot disorganise the finances of the Empire. The trade of the country has been, in spite of the Italian blockade, in a flourishing condition. The exports have been steadily expanding and the receipts of the last few months show a substantial increase over the budget estimate. But the most significant fact in this connection is the determined patriotism of the nation to cheerfully bear any extra burden that may be thrown upon it on account of the war. The measure sanctioning the imposition of a war tax, which was recently introduced in the Chamber of Deputies, has met with warm approval throughout the country. Voluntary contributions to the national war-chest have been flowing from every class of the people. It is, therefore, a perfect fatuity to talk of financial embarrassments paralysing the Ottoman Empire and leading to its disintegration. The war with Italy may drag on for years without seriously impairing the financial stability of Turkey; and we may safely assume, as a necessary corollary of the fact, that the hope for peace based on the hypothesis of the financial breakdown of Turkey is a pure moonshine. If the issue in Tripoli were merely a question of the comparative staying powers of the belligerents, the Turkish statesmen might well leave its solution to time. But it is exactly the fast-growing exhaustion of Italy and her desperate efforts to secure a favourable settlement through European intervention that is converting a military issue into a battle-ground for international diplomacy. And this constitutes a danger which

the Turkish Government could not ignore and which has perhaps in some measure effected its stability.

To understand how great this danger really is, we must take into account the forces that Italy has set in motion and the manner in which she has been playing her diplomatic cards. The dream of Empire that drove her into brigandage was soon shattered on the coasts of Tripoli. The spectre of Adowa rose, gaunt and grim, before the vision of her statesmen who, flushed with insolence and the heady wine of jingo nationalism, had set out on an ambitious scheme of conquest quite beyond the strength and the resources of their country. The blunder was to be retrieved somehow if Signor Giolitti was not to go howling into the depths, amidst the derisive laughter of the world. The best chance of Italy lay in stirring up European rivalries and inciting the dangerous elements in the Balkans to revolutionary activity. Her tentative approaches to Russia met with a warm reception, and the Muscovite hailed the opportunity to work for a free passage through the Dardanelles. The naval demonstration at the Strait was tacitly designed, with the approval of Russia, to test the strength of British and French feeling on the subject. The heated discussions to which the Italian *coup* gave rise in the European Press crystallised into one definite view of the situation—that the hostilities should be ended in the interest of the European peace. This much was a clear gain for Italy, for she knew well enough that any concerted action on the part of the Powers would be distinctly to her advantage. Whatever form the joint action might take, it would be nothing worse than an insistence on a compromise, and a compromise would mean for Turkey a definite renunciation of at least a substantial part of her rights over Tripoli. Immediately after, Italy began occupying a number of the small Turkish islands in the Aegean. Originally her intention was probably to hold them up for the final bargain, but evidently her intentions have been undergoing a change. It appears now that she would like to retain an island for a permanent naval base, while she has incited the Greek population of the Aegean to denounce Turkish rule and demand complete autonomy. An organisation of the islanders has already come into existence with a full programme for the creation of an autonomous "Aegean State." The nature and scope of this agitation for autonomy will be apparent from the following account furnished by the Athens correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*—

The Congress of Delegates from the Aegean Islands, which assembled at Patmos last week, elected a committee which will proceed to Rome for the purpose of expressing their gratitude to Italy for the liberation of the islands and invoking her aid in regard to the question of their political future. The resolutions passed by the Congress are published here to-day. They announce the firm determination of the islanders never to fall back under the Turkish yoke, and after expressing a wish for union with Greece, proclaim the complete autonomy of the islands based on verbal and written declarations by General Ameglio and other Italian officers as well as on the autonomous privileges acquired in past centuries and on the doctrine that no Christian people, once rescued, shall be allowed to relapse under Turkish domination. The Confederation of autonomous islands receives the name "The Aegean State." A decision in regard to the mode of election of the head of the State and of the legislative body is postponed. The flag of the Confederation will be blue with a white cross, and its emblem the sun god Apollo. The proclamation is dated 4th June and is signed by the representatives of 12 islands.

But even more remarkable than the inspired activities of the islanders is the rumour that credits British diplomacy with the desire to settle the future of the islands in consultation with the Powers. The Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in his despatch dated 21st June throws some light on the attitude of the European Chancelleries in regard to this question. He says:—

A telegram from Rome to the *Echo de Paris* states that England has opened negotiations with the Powers regarding the Aegean Islands now occupied by Italy. It is said that these negotiations were undertaken by Downing Street at the request of the Greek Premier, M. Venizelos. It now seems certain, according to this despatch, that the twelve islands now held by the Italians will never again revert to Turkey, although the Sultan may be allowed to maintain a nominal sovereignty over them. It is proposed, on the other hand, that these islands, together with Crete and Samos, shall form an autonomous confederation. While the Triple Entente and Triple Alliance Powers are discussing the matter Italy will refrain from any further action in the Aegean Sea, and it is believed that the negotiation now proceeding may be the prelude to the calling of a general conference for the purpose of discussing the termination of the war.

We need not say anything about the wisdom or justice of the suggested arrangements or the calculated Phariseism of the "doctrine that no Christian people, once rescued, shall be allowed to relapse under Turkish domination." We would simply point them out as an aspect of the danger that the Italian failure in Tripoli has helped to create by reacting on European diplomacy. The probable consequences of these developments could not have failed to affect the position of the Turkish Government.

The grave questions arising out of the Italian occupation of the Aegean Islands are, however, only a side-issue of the general problem that Italy has endeavoured to create for Turkey and the European Powers. Thanks to the ambitions and rivalries of some of the great Powers, the Balkans have always been the storm-centre of Europe. Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro are so many puppets whose strings are pulled from Vienna or St. Petersburg. The

European provinces of the Turkish Empire may not possess an ideal Government, but their chronic state of unrest is directly and obviously due to the ambitions of which they are the open objectives. The Serbs and the Bulgars of Macedonia and the Christians of Albania revolt to order and are revolutionary by design. No methods of government have yet been known to history that could succeed in a hot bed of anarchy promoted by foreign money and foreign intrigue. Let the Tsar of all the Russias withhold his approving nod from "the Tsar of the Bulgarians" and let Austria cease scheming for her "road to Salonica" but for once, and the Turk will know how to bring the brigands on his frontiers to their senses and keep order in his European possessions. But the shallow sentimentalists enthuse about "liberty" and gush over the tales of murders and bomb outrages perpetrated by the pet savages of Europe, as if they were heroic sacrifices at the altar of freedom. Kaiser Wilhelm threatened to deprive Alsace-Lorraine of their self-governing institutions in consequence of a petty difference about a railway official. Europe threatens to deprive Turkey of her rightful sovereignty because she deals drastically with a race of murderers and brigands. The moral indignation of pacifists of the armchair and the drawing-room is roused to white-heat just where the powers of retaliation are the weakest. Turkey had enough problems on hand before the race of Machiavellis started on the war-path. Since then the welter of intrigue in the Balkans has been eddying round Italian hopes and fears. Italian agents with large supplies of money, arms and ammunition have been scouring Albania or organising insurrectionary movements from across the frontiers of Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria. The Macedonian Revolutionary Committee has been financed into fresh activity. Some of the Albanian notables have been bought over to stir people to revolt. In Bulgaria, public meetings have been organised by the Italian agents in sympathy with Macedonian revolutionaries. The whole Press of Europe has been flooded from Sofia and Belgrade with tales of Turkish atrocities and of internal anarchy and chaos. The Kings of Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia have been manoeuvred through Russian help to move portentously about and pay dramatic visits to Vienna and Berlin. What these visits may portend is not easy to conjecture. According to a Vienna correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the following explanation meets with general credence:—

There is a secret understanding between Russia, Germany, Austria (and Italy as well) concerning the Balkans. In the first place all the three Emperors and the King of Italy will strive honestly to keep up the present *status quo* in the Balkans, combined with the preponderating economic and political influence of Russia in Bulgaria, of Austria in Serbia and Kosovo Vilayet (including the Novi Bazar Sanjak), and of the co-operating influence of Austria and Italy in Albania. In the second place, or I may say in the second article of the secret convention, the eventuality is foreseen that in the long run the preservation of the *status quo* may prove impossible. In such a case all the contracting Powers have bound themselves in advance to an absolute territorial "désintéressement," neither Russia, nor Austria, nor Italy would get a foot of Balkan territory for herself. But Russia's protégé, Bulgaria, would get Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro would divide between them the Sanjak and the Kosovo Vilayet, Albania would get her autonomy under the joint protectorate of Austria and Italy. Turkey in Europe would probably be reduced to Thracia and Constantinople, with free passage for the Russian men-of-war through the Dardanelles, which would practically mean the placing of the European remnant of Turkey under the protectorate of Russia.

The secret understanding may or may not exist; but the correspondent has made an admirable forecast of what may actually happen in certain eventualities, even if there existed no understanding on paper. The knowledge of these speculations, that have never ceased to be vocal in the clash of rival interests, must be an ever-present calculation in the efforts of Turkish statesmen. The situation created by Italy has turned these speculations into a problem full of considerable menace to the security of European Turkey. The danger of new developments in the Balkans and the necessity of preparing to meet that danger must have seriously engaged the consideration of the Turkish Government. We cannot speak with certainty about the attitude of the individual members of the late Cabinet, but it is not difficult to imagine the existence of serious differences of opinions among them in regard to the methods of solving so vast a problem.

The Albanian question, not very acute in itself, has nevertheless been bulking largely in the European press. And it is because Europe will not be satisfied unless every petty incident in Albania is brought under a microscope, that matters remain where they are. The ordinary troubles that every civilised government has to face while trying to impose orderly administration over half-nomadic and turbulent tribes have, in the case of Albania, become the pet exercises of every constitutional faddist in Europe. The problem has lost its true proportions in the infinity of the minds brought to its measure. The faddist, the visionary, the "liberty"-fanatic, the aggressive democrat at large, the imperialist of Austria, of Russia, of Italy, the financier, the trade-agent, the peddler in fancy-goods, have killed the Albanians and peopled the land with the monsters of their frenzied imaginations. The Turk who could rule over more turbulent races with perfect composure of mind, seems to be getting

nervous after all when he hears from every side shouts of disaster. The thing was always to him very simple,—it is thinking that has made it complex. One can hardly repress laughter when the good generous souls in Europe begin to apply the standards of Western democracy to the conditions of pastoral tribes. The Committee of Union and Progress is held up to indignation and scorn because it recommends the treatment of the Albanian question on lines which even the British did not disdain to adopt in India. The tribes are unruly and given to rioting and plunder. They must consequently be disarmed. A much more civilised and peaceful people were disarmed because the Empire-builders of England could not devise any other method of ensuring peace and order. Yet the Young Turks are accused of Chauvinism because they, too, have tried to enforce this elementary measure of good government. To talk of autonomy for a people who are still in a semi-civilised state, who are absolutely state-blind, whose political sense has not yet developed beyond the conception of brute force and whose ideas of freedom consist of confused mental pictures of the opportunities they have had to rob and kill and may have again, is surely the height of fatuity. It is said that the Committee of Union and Progress has forfeited the sympathies of Europe. That may be true, but, is it not because, in spite of its mistakes, it is the only power in the Ottoman Empire that means to keep the Empire free from future aggressions? As to what it has already achieved, the testimony of impartial observers is worth quoting. Sir Edwin Pears, after discussing the many sins of omission and commission that are laid at the door of the Committee of Union and Progress, says in a recent article in the *Contemporary Review*:—

They have kept the machine of government running. Destroy it and the country would be in anarchy. They have made several notable improvements, and have announced their intention to make more. They have allowed the country to develop itself. They have greatly strengthened the army, and have brought order into the financial administration. With a full recognition of all the faults of the Committee, the people of the country generally are agreed, so far as I can learn, that its condition has improved since the revolution. If the opinion of all the Europeans and Americans in the country could be taken, I believe that while disappointment would be generally expressed at the failure of the hopes aroused by the makers of the revolution, its voice would be unanimous, or nearly so, in declaring that the condition of the country is better than it was four years ago.

However, it appears that the outcry in the European press about the Albanian affairs has affected the nerves of the Turkish Government. The recent disturbances owe their origin, not so much to genuine grievances as, to the supposed sense of wrong that the Albanians have been encouraged to cherish about the withdrawal of the privileges they enjoyed under the Hamidian régime. The discontent has been kept alive by mischievous political wirepullers and by disappointed ex-deputies who have been freely receiving Italian money for their mean and cowardly treason to their Sovereign and Empire. The recent outbreak amongst Albanian troops is the work of these politicians who have been preaching against the Committee for their own selfish ends and have sowed seeds of disaffection in the army. These serious developments seem to have given rise to some apprehensions amongst the Ministers who perhaps differed violently about the policy that the Government should pursue for the pacification of Albania. The retirement of Mahmoud Shekret Pasha, whose attitude towards this question as well as to the question of peace is well known, was a strong indication of the fact that the Cabinet as a whole was becoming a prey to timorous counsels. We cannot as yet give any opinion as to what will be the ultimate policy of the new Cabinet until we know more about its composition and personnel. The question of peace may have become a matter of concern to some Turkish statesmen in view of the situation in Albania and the nature of the Monastir mutiny. We think, however, Turkish character is still strong and virile enough to tide over difficulties of this kind. Any undue desire for peace in terror of the internal situation will severely damage the Ottoman prestige which the gallant defenders of Tripoli have strengthened with their valour and their blood. The dangers that some of the Ottoman politicians may be seeking to avoid by concluding peace will become actual perils of fearful dimensions by the surrender of Ottoman rights. Peace at any price has never yet been bought in history. Those alone can enjoy quiet who know how to defend themselves. What should be the attitude of the new Government towards the many questions of internal peace and development and foreign relations will be discussed in our next.

The Moslem University.

WHATEVER hopes the promoters of the Moslem University project may have entertained of converting Aligarh into an instrument for the development and organisation of the right type of communal education, they have been for the time being shattered by the fiat of the Education Department. The official *communiqué* issued a few days ago on the subject runs as follows:—"It has been finally decided that the educational scope of a University at Aligarh or Benares should be limited to the locality in which it may be established." We cannot

presume to be aware of the reasons that have led to this amazing "decision," but we are absolutely certain that it will cause a deep and widespread disappointment throughout the country. Both the Hindus and the Mussalmans, who alone can realise the crippling effect of this arbitrary limitation, may be pardoned if they fail to accept its "finality." We cannot say with absolute certainty what the Hindu opinion may be in the matter, though the Hindu Press has, without exception, regarded the power of affiliation as necessary for the success of the University. But the Moslem view of the question has been, from the very outset, clear and unmistakable. For reasons which it would be unnecessary to repeat, they have always looked upon their scheme for a university as a practical and most important step towards the solution of their educational problem. They have made costly experiments in the field of education and they have, after enormous sacrifices and labour, evolved Aligarh which fixes for them the type of the institution they need. It is, however, a physical impossibility that Aligarh should suffice for the requirements of the whole community. The only way out of the difficulty would seem to be that new institutions should be reared wherever necessary with Aligarh as their model, and they should be linked to a common centre in order to maintain a high standard of efficiency and uniformity of type. The cant about the educational facilities provided by the State institutions, in which many "friends of India" indulge, is in this respect a sheer irrelevance. If it is inevitable that mankind should differentiate on racial, religious and political lines, if social groups are at all various in aim, in outlook, in modes of life, the needs of individual communities will continue to be different and as variously treated. We are at a loss, therefore, to understand why the Government of India have lightly ignored this vitally important aspect of the whole question of communal Universities. The decision they have announced through their Education Department robs the schemes at a stroke of much of their value and interest.

Perhaps the Government of India have been influenced far less by considerations of educational efficiency than by that occult sense which shapes the "reasons of State." It is incredible to think that our rulers, who have done so much for the spread of knowledge throughout the land, could ever feel the Russian horror of allowing education to thrive in a free atmosphere. To us it is unthinkable. The novelty of the experiment, it may be, has unnerved some of our educational "experts," and they have thought it "safe" to limit its scope and bring it well within the ken of the bureaucracy. Nothing could be more regrettable than that the new experiment in Indian education, which has its only justification in being a deliberate and studied departure from the existing ideals and methods, should be shorn of all its "novelty" and reduced to the common type as a concession to bureaucratic timidity and lack of imagination. The Moslem and the Hindu University Schemes are, it is sometimes strangely forgotten, a protest against existing educational systems, and their only value consists in their being something organically different from the common type. Yet the Schemes have been criticised because they differ in their essential features from the State Universities. We are afraid the Government, too, is beginning to show signs of the intellectual immobility that afflicts the newspaper critics of the Schemes. Is the experiment, stripped of its bold initiative, freedom and "novelty," at all worth living?

We have so often dealt with the question of affiliation being a part of the Moslem University Scheme, that we do not propose to embark on a fresh discussion. The broad fact remains that the Mussalmans want to evolve a certain type of education suited to their need and genius, and they want an All India organisation for the purpose. The proposed Moslem University was primarily designed to furnish that organisation. But if the University is to be deprived of the power of guiding Moslem education throughout India by a well planned system of affiliation, the main object underlying the Moslem University movement falls to the ground. It may be and, in fact, has been contended that such vast powers may, by an injudicious exercise, lead to inefficiency and lower the standard of education. None would deplore such a calamity more than the Mussalmans themselves, and they would welcome any reasonable limitation of the right of affiliation. Let the conditions for affiliation be as strict as official ingenuity can make them. As long as there would be a chance for several Aligarhs, so to speak, springing up in different centres of Moslem activity in the country, the Mussalmans would have no occasion to complain. But by an absolute denial of the right to the University, the Government has virtually barred the way to the growth of Aligarhs. This is bound to cause a bitter and genuine disappointment to the Mussalmans, for it knocks the bottom out of the educational programme which they have been maturing with steadfast hope and devotion for upwards of 30 years.

Now, the most practical question is: What should be the attitude of the Mussalmans to the maimed and dwarfed scheme for a Moslem University which the Education Department is dangling before their eyes? Responsible Moslem opinion on the question of the University is divided into three groups. There are those—and they form a microscopic minority—who will have nothing to do with a University that is not under the independent

and absolute control of the Mussalmans. However laudable their ideals may be, they are obviously impracticable under the present conditions. There are, again, others, equally few in number, who would have a University under any circumstances and with as many limitations as the Government might think fit to impose. But the bulk of the Mussalmans, whose voice is decisive in the counsels of the community, are willing to give all reasonable powers of supervision to the Government, but regard the freedom of affiliation to the University as the most vital part of the whole undertaking. It is they whose opinion will finally determine the issue. The Government *communiqué* has thrown their ideas into the melting-pot; and we are afraid they may come to decide to have no University at all under such conditions. We, on our part, frankly confess that the University Scheme will lose much of its utility by the recent decision of the Government. Still, however, we are equally of opinion that it is better to have a University with the hope of eventually emancipating it from the shackles that the Education Department has imposed, than not to have any University at all. But, at the same time, the Government should be requested to reconsider the decision recently announced. We cannot be expected to believe that the decision is "final" and if only the Mussalmans show the necessary energy and determination to bring home their point of view to the Government, the question may yet be settled in accordance with their wishes. For, their view-point is eminently reasonable and no Government interested in the spread and development of Moslem education can afford to ignore it lightly.



The McCormick Case.

(Continued from our last).

Mr. Hamlyn, continuing to read: "In the neighbourhood within a mile or two of the parents' village (this, as will be subsequently seen, is a somewhat important point in the case) lived a planter, a certain Captain McCormick. In stating the case we desire to avoid all personalities as far as possible, but the personality of McCormick is a most material factor in the matter. We have been at pains to get the opinions of several disinterested persons who have met him and who are in no way connected with the case under review, and they corroborate the information given us, that McCormick is just that type of man that any country—especially an Oriental one—is better without. An overbearing, violent-tempered man, intemperate in his habits, a loose liver, a boastful bully who has assaulted even Europeans, has thrashed the natives, has gone about armed with a revolver (this is a detail of some importance, as will be seen later,) and, in short, has terrorised the neighbourhood. As we say, we are most averse to any personalities; but it is essential to a right understanding of the case that our readers should know what manner of man McCormick is, as it is through that knowledge that much which would otherwise be obscure, will become plain." That is true: this first paragraph is true?

Yes.

Do you agree, Mr. Andrew, that McCormick is that type of man that any country, especially an Oriental one, is better without? Do you agree or do you disagree with this statement?

I disagree with it.

Do you agree that McCormick "is an overbearing violent-tempered man, intemperate in his habits, a loose liver, a boastful bully, who has assaulted even Europeans, has thrashed the natives, has gone about armed with a revolver and, in short, has terrorised the neighbourhood." Is the whole of that false?

I think this is a very unkind description of the man. I do not agree that it is true.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, you know something about his temperament and disposition. You have lived in his house?

I have visited him in his house.

And he has visited you in your house? He has lived in your house and you have lived in his house?

I lived in his house since August. I will not say that it was before the case. Up to the time of the case I had only seen McCormick once in Mergui.

Mr. Hamlyn: Victoria Point is, I believe, one hundred miles from Mergui?

Two hundred miles.

Mr. Hamlyn: McCormick was a concession hunter originally?

Witness: What do you mean by concession hunter?

Mr. Hamlyn: The term is surely plain enough; a man after land or mining rights.

Witness: He had no mining rights, but he did rubber planting.

Mr. Hamlyn: He was after rubber lands?

Yes.

And when you went to Mergui he had some rubber land, about 2,000 acres?

Not when I went to Mergui. He has now got about 2,000 acres.

When you went to Mergui, how much did he have?

About 600 acres, not his own. He is an agent for a Syndicate. I have seen his agreements in the course of business. What his share is I don't know.

And he is part proprietor? And how many grants have you given him?

I daresay three. I would not say for certain.

He has applied for a great many.

Yes.

And you told us that when you went to Mergui he had about 600 acres and now he has about 2,000.

Now it is about 2,000.

Witness: Where?

Will you swear it is not over 3,500? I have not seen the estate, Mr. Andrew. The land which he has been granted, what is it?

I think it is somewhere near 2,000 acres.

Not more?

No.

He gave a lot of trouble about the land?

How do you mean?

Did he not fence in land to which he was not entitled?

Yes.

Then he did give trouble?

Witness: In this way that he came too close to the road and telegraph lines.

Mr. Hamlyn: He fenced in a Government road?

Witness: He came too close to the road, I understand. You are supposed to leave 50 feet.

And you had trouble about it?

I think he was told to remove the fence and he did so. I don't think I passed a single order in that dispute. I simply remember the fact that there was trouble.

Did you get no intimation at all that Government land had had been enclosed by him?

I don't remember. (After a little hesitation). I remember the bare fact that there was some trouble with the telegraph people and himself. As far as I know, the Sub-divisional Officer dealt with that.

Did you not receive complaints from the Land Records Department about him?

I don't remember.

Mr. Buchanan, the Sub-Divisional Officer, was constantly complaining about Mr. McCormick's acts?

Yes. . . . No, I don't know whether it was that exactly. He used to write demi-official letters.

And Mr. Buchanan would not recommend him for any more land?

Mr. Buchanan, I think, wrote a letter to a third party that he would not recommend him. I do not think he ever wrote to me that he would not recommend McCormick for any more land.

On one occasion McCormick fenced in 40 acres of Government land?

I could not tell you. I don't remember anything beyond the fact that there was some trouble over the telegraph lines.

Did you not receive a communication from Mr. Buchanan on the 20th June 1911, complaining of these acts of McCormick's?

The witness: Have you got a copy?

Counsel: No, I have not.

Well, I don't remember.

You will acknowledge that McCormick gave some trouble?

Yes, but no trouble that could not be got over with a little tact.

Captain McCormick had a large number of fire arms in his house?

Yes.

He used invariably to go about with a revolver in his pocket?

I know nothing about that.

(To be continued.)

Persia.

News of the Week.

Britain's Policy in Persia.

During the debate on the Foreign Office vote in the House of Commons on the 10th July, Earl Ronaldshay said that though Sir Edward Grey had been at pains to show the sincerity of our good will to the other "Entente Powers," the latter had failed to reciprocate. France, he said, had insisted on her rights in Muscat, thus obstructing the suppression of gun running in the Gulf of Persia; and Russia had not shown her readiness to appreciate our position in Persia. She had shown that she was in no way as desirous of seeing an independent Persia as we were, though since the return of M. Sazonoff to the Russian Foreign Office, the Russian policy in Persia had seemed considerably modified. He invited Sir Edward Grey to define his Persian policy, as recently it did not seem to have been thought out and pre-determined. He pointed out that though the Government of India in December had submitted to Lord Crewe proposals for dealing with the situation, the Bluebook showed no answer from Sir Edward Grey. Earl Ronaldshay congratulated Sir Edward on the monetary advance in Persia but asked:—"Was his policy for protecting British interests in Persia confined to financing the Persian Government?" He urged that Sir Edward Grey should refuse to facilitate the prolongation of the Baghdad Railway to the Gulf. Earl Ronaldshay suggested that the Koweit Section be neither the Russian nor the Indian Gauge but the Standard Gauge.

Mr. Ponsonby regarded the Trans-Persian Railway with a deal of misgiving. He said it would deprive Persia of the last shred of independence.

Mr. Dillon charged Sir Edward Grey with weakly consenting to Russia's policy of obstructing and paralyzing the Persian Government with a view to its destruction.

Sir Edward Grey, replying to Earl Ronaldshay, said that Earl Ronaldshay's complaint that the Anglo-Russian Agreement was being worked mainly in Russia's interests was a counterpart to the criticism which the Russian Government had to meet in Russia, where it was argued that Russia had surrendered much and received extremely little. In judging the Anglo-Russian Agreement one must consider not whether it had led to a perfect state of things but whether it had resulted in a better or worse state than would have existed without it. Before the Agreement Russian influence in North Persia was supreme. But for the Agreement Russia might have practically annexed North Persia and pursued from there her policy of railways, etc., towards the Indian frontier. From that point of view, the Agreement had been a self-denying ordinance. Take the Afghan part of the Agreement. Sir Edward said that that part was not to come into force until the Amir had signed it, but Russia had waived that condition and loyally observed it. Unsatisfactory as the state of things in Persia was to-day, it was nothing compared to the suspicions and complications which would have arisen without the Anglo-Russian Agreement. Sir Edward reiterated that his policy was to avoid any intervention likely to be permanent. With regard to the question of a large loan, he said: "With things as they are, it is difficult to see how a large loan can be made on attractive terms." With regard to the Government of India's suggestions, Sir Edward thought the great difficulty of dealing with the tribes, as the Government of India suggested, was that it would add to the complications if dealt with except through the Persian Government. A blockade of the coast was another of the Government of India's suggestions. That was possible; but unless such a blockade were undertaken in support of measures taken internally it would not be likely to be hopeful. Dealing with the Trans-Persian Railway, Sir Edward said, that strategically it was not undesirable to have no railways in Persia; but the railways were bound to come if Persia was to become a developed and ordered State. They might be later than people supposed under the present conditions; but the moment an overland railway from Europe to Asia were possible, it would be constructed. To say we would always oppose it, would be neither a wise nor a practicable policy; but we were absolutely uncommitted. He had told the "Societe d'Etudes" that while we should under proper conditions favour the principle of railways we reserved freedom of action with regard to actual construction, management, alignment, board of representation, British interests, and rates and especially the break of gauge. Also he had said that there must first come an agreement with Russia with regard to branch lines, the control of lines in the British sphere, and an equality of treatments. Directly the "Societe d'Etudes" reported the practicability of the scheme, the House would be informed. The question was one of such great importance that though its leading aspects had been most carefully considered the authorities in India and the House should hear the conditions on which the Government was prepared to support any definite scheme before the

country was committed thereto. With regard to the internationalisation of the Mohammedan Line he has always contemplated that the Southern portion would be conceded to a British Company. He would examine closely any internationalisation to be applied to the Southern portion. Germany was aware that negotiations were in progress between Turkey and ourselves with regard to the railway below Baghdad. Directly German interests were affected we were ready to discuss the matter with Germany. "The great object we wish to secure," said Sir Edward, "is an Anglo-Turkish understanding, making it clear that we are not going to infringe Turkey's rights in the Gulf region, and that our special position in the Gulf will not be interfered with." Sir Edward Grey referred to the situation in the Mediterranean. He pointed out the necessity of having a sufficient margin of strength in Home waters without relying on Great Britain's foreign policy alone to protect the United Kingdom. The Japanese Alliance had been a great factor in the interests of peace and had prevented the disturbances in China from resulting in international complications. Sir Edward said it was not necessary for us to keep a force in the Mediterranean, able to hold our own at any moment against all other powers. Though there was no prospect of any quarrel in the Mediterranean, yet if we abandoned it altogether there might be a tendency for us to slip out of account and the diplomatic situation might become strained. We ought to keep a sufficient naval force in the Mediterranean available for use at any moment to enable us to be counted as one of the Mediterranean naval Powers. In view of the coming debate on the subject, however, he would not say any more. Our foreign policy remained unchanged. The starting point of any new development of our foreign policy in Europe was the maintenance of our friendship with France and Russia. He welcomed the meeting of the Tsar and the Kaiser recently.

Our relations with Germany were excellent. They were perfectly frank with each other on all questions of mutual interest. He believed that when questions came up for discussion, for instance, questions of our respective interests in Africa, or in the Baghdad Railway, both Germany and Great Britain would be convinced that their mutual interests could easily be reconciled. Sir Edward Grey emphasised that Great Britain's naval superiority to any possible combination in the Home waters must be maintained whatever their foreign policy was. But when we got further afield it was a different matter. For instance the relation of the Japanese Alliance to naval strategy in the Far East was most intimate. It was worth while considering that with all the instability in China and the difficult questions that arose there had been hitherto no international complications. The good working of the Alliance in recent years had been a great factor in this respect. The Alliance had not brought Great Britain or Japan worse relations with any other Power; on the contrary, the relations between Japan and Russia were exceedingly good. He believed that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was more than ever in the mutual interests of the two countries. They had worked it with great restraint and perfect loyalty to each other. It had been a great beneficent factor in keeping the peace in the Far East.

Continuing the debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Bonar Law criticised Sir Edward Grey's attitude towards the position in the Mediterranean where our naval force should be strong enough to overcome any probable combination.

Sir Edward Grey's speech in the House of Commons on the 10th instant, has produced an entirely favourable impression in Berlin. It is pointed out in official circles that the assurance that there is not a single question between the two countries and that their relations are excellent coincides with the German view which fully recognises that the friendship of Great Britain with France and Russia is the starting point of British policy. It is stated, further, that there is no disposition in Germany to object to Basra as the terminus for the railway.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—Persia has agreed to increase the Persian Cossack force at Tabriz to 700 with two additional Russian officers, upon the understanding that the Cossacks remain subordinate to the Ministry of War. The notification of Persia's assent expresses the hope that Russia will now withdraw her occupying force from Tabriz.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—Sardar Jeng has been appointed Governor of Belbehnan with full authority over the Bakhtiari country.

The Imperial Bank of Persia has advanced him £7,000 to enable him to maintain order.

The Burma Chamber of Commerce in reply to a letter from the Karachi Chamber, on the subject of the early construction of the Indo-European Trans-Persian Railway, are in full sympathy with the views of the Karachi Chamber and support the project.

The military correspondent of the *Times* in a long article on 14th July emphasises the military objections to the Trans-Persian Railway. He roundly declares that the Indian Army owing to the absence of power of expansion is unfit to bear the strain such a railway would impose upon it. Unfortunately, says

the writer, Lord Kitchener's reforms have been postponed or abandoned owing to Lord Hardinge's craze that the Anglo-Russian Convention and the millennium are convertible terms. Moreover in view of an extension of navies, it will be impossible to reinforce the Indian Army from Home at any definite time. The construction of the line would mean the end of our political independence. The correspondent calls attention to the Russian achievement in transporting troops to Manchuria and expresses the opinion that Great Britain will ultimately be obliged to follow Japan's example. The correspondent scouts the idea that the railway is inevitable. He is convinced that the sea will always remain the trade route to India. He urges the impartial investigation of the question by competent Britishers instead of international financiers.

The Shiahs of Caya at a special meeting of their Anjuman Imamia have passed a resolution of sorrow and indignation at the news of the bombardment of the mosque and the holy shrine at Meshed by the Russian soldiery. They submit that so far as the Moslems of India are concerned even the occupation of Teheran by the Russians would not have been so shocking to them as the destruction of their Imam's holy sepulchre. The Anjuman is anxiously waiting the result of Sir Edward Grey's assurance that His Majesty's Government have taken notice of the sacrilege and demands that the damaged mosque should be repaired and the looted treasured and sacred relics restored.

In the House of Lords on the 15th July Lord Curzon raised the subject of the Trans-Persian Railway. He declared that the Railway would alter the whole future position of our rule in India, and would necessitate the revision of India's defence. The Government had gone so far in supporting the scheme that it would be difficult for them to retreat. His Lordship emphasised that the strategical consequences might involve the sending of troops to Persia, the advancing of the Indian frontier and other complications. He demanded the publication of the views of the military experts.

Lord Morley replied on behalf of the Government. He said that after Sir Edward Grey's recent statement, it was difficult to understand Lord Curzon's attitude. The Government had in no way encouraged the "Société d'Etudes" beyond the negative encouragement of refusing to prohibit operations so far as could be done. Nothing had been said or done which could prevent us with diplomatic decency and consistency from withstanding the report of the "Société d'Etudes." Lord Morley in general repeated Sir Edward Grey's arguments and assurances especially with reference to the effect of the railways in promoting the tranquility of commerce. He concluded: "In retaining the option or asking for railway concessions, when the time comes, we have no design to exclude foreign enterprise. To do so would be disadvantageous to Persia, with no great advantage to ourselves."

Lord Morley continued: "We have no desire to make the railways at present ourselves, but we wish to guard against the possibility of suddenly finding that the Persians have placed concessions damaging to our political interest and strategically menacing to our frontier. We desire, therefore, the option of making such railways ourselves, but the Government hope that Lord Curzon will remember the strictly conditional situation in which the Government stand with respect to these proposals."

Lord Lamington said the scheme was full of danger and presented no advantages.

Lord Inchcape said he hoped no Indian money would be squandered upon the project. It was all wanted for railway development at home.

Lord Crewe said he was entirely in accord with Lord Inchcape. He had no desire to spend a single rupee of Indian money on such a project.

Lord Curzon, he said, had blamed the Government under a wrong impression with regard to their attitude.

The matter then dropped.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, June 10.

The discomfiture of the Salar-ed-Dowleh for the moment appears to be complete. The advantage gained by the Government forces at Shurijeh was wisely followed up. This is the first recorded instance during the Royalist rebellions that the enemy has, after being defeated, been kept on the run. A series of minor engagements, concluding with a final action at Bisutum, twenty miles to the east of Kermanshah, has resulted in the dispersal of the rebel forces and the re-occupation of the Kurdistan capital. The Salar-ed-Dowleh, who has never once led his troops into action, has retired to a safe distance in the direction of the Turkish frontier and is now reported to be at Maidasht on the Baghdad road. This move was carried out almost immediately after the fight at Shurijeh. No one seems to have any notion of what the plans of the Prince

are, but he is said to be in constant touch with Russian agents. The Firman Firma has now arrived in Kermanshah and is acting in the capacity of Governor of Kurdistan and Luristan, though his hold on the latter province can be but slight. He is receiving the submission of the Kurdish chiefs, many of whom have taken part in the recent rebellion.

The Government troops are now resting, but are expected to move out of Kermanshah again in the course of a few days with the object of securing the person of the rebel Prince. It is, however, too much to hope that they will be able to do more than control the direction of his flight.

The new Cabinet has now been formed and has settled down to work. Its constitution can, however, give little cause for satisfaction. It practically amounts to a redistribution of portfolios with the introduction of one new member. The Kawam-es-Sultaneh, who did really good work in the last Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, is not included in the present Ministry. He is too energetic; moreover, one somehow suspects that his dismissal is the price paid for the return of the Amir Muffakham. It will be remembered that the feud between the Kawam-es-Sultaneh and the Amir Muffakham originated in the discovery and subsequent arrest of the Amir's brother-in-law at a royalist secret meeting. The Amir at once demanded the release of his relative, and, on this being refused, the Kawam was seized and conveyed to the Bakhtiari chief's house, where he suffered considerable indignity. The forces of law and order, such as they are in this country, were set to work, and the Kawam was released. The Amir, fearing the consequences of his action, then hurriedly left the capital and retired to his lands at Kamarij near to Burujird. Whilst there he entered into negotiation with the Salar-ed-Dowleh and became a rebel and in this capacity he occupied Sultanabad. This was about a month ago, when the Salar's chances of ever reaching Teheran were rapidly diminishing. The Amir evidently decided that the game was up; for he was easily prevailed upon by his brother chiefs to return to the capital, where all would be forgiven. It is said that he stipulated for the dismissal of the Kawam-es-Sultaneh from the Ministry of the Interior, but whether this condition has anything to do with the fact that the latter is no longer in the Cabinet it is quite impossible to say definitely.

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, June 17.

A Tabriz telegram announces that a second German joint-stock company with a capital of 38,000 tomans in 1,000 toman shares, will shortly be formed. Of the 38 shares issued 23 has been taken up by Persians.

The *Nation* in its current number joins in the protest against the Indo-Russian railway. Criticising the policy followed by the Foreign Office, the journal says:—

"In secret, unobserved by the country and unchecked by information in Parliament, the reversal of a great traditional policy is allowed to proceed. The question is whether it is to be allowed to continue until protest will be too late. This is not a matter of details.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, June 21.

The centre of unrest in the South has shifted from Kerman to Yazd, which is now threatened by Arab tribes.

Teheran, June 24.

The Cabinet and the Diplomatic Corps were present to-day at an inspection of the *gendarmerie* under their Swedish officers. The *gendarmerie* school was only opened two months ago and great progress has been made in this short time.

M. Pokhitonoff, the Russian Consul-General, has been transferred to Ezorum. His successor, M. Lytken, has arrived.

Mr. Acland (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs) in reply to Mr. W. Mitchell-Thomson (U., North Down), said he had received no recent reports indicating any improvement in the state of the roads of Southern Persia, but a detachment of the newly organised *gendarmerie* under Swedish officers had now reached Shiraz and it might be hoped that the good effect of their presence would be felt immediately.

The Trans-Persian Railway Scheme.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Many of the arguments used by the opponents of the proposed Trans-Persian Railway are, I am told, held to resemble, though I think very superficially, those which I myself used about ten years ago in a series of articles published in the *Times* and subsequently in my "Middle Eastern Question," when Russia was believed to be aiming at the establishment of a naval base on the Persian Gulf connected with her trans-Caspian possessions by a railway running south through Khorassan and Seistan in close

proximity to the Afghan border. I shall therefore be glad if you will allow me to state briefly the reasons which induce me to-day to regard the arguments which I then used as for the most part inapplicable to the present case, and to hope that the very different scheme now under discussion will receive careful and not unfriendly consideration in this country.

I need hardly point out the essential difference between a railway of a purely strategical character, such as Russia was then believed to contemplate, which would have been a distinct menace to Afghanistan, and would have placed the Russians in command of the immense potential resources of Seistan at a time when Russia's policy throughout Asia bore a distinctly adventurous, if not aggressive, complexion, and a railway designed to provide, primarily at least, for pacific purposes, a rapid and easy means of communication between Europe and India and constructed *ex hypothesi* by the friendly co-operation of the two European Powers that have the greatest interests in Asia. Moreover, the whole situation in Asia has changed so enormously in the course of the last ten years that considerations which then carried great weight have ceased to do so in anything like the same measure. It would, no doubt, be unwise to assume that our political relations with Russia must necessarily and for all time remain as cordial as they now happily are, but I am convinced that the momentous trend of events in Asia which led Russia to approach, six years ago, in an entirely new spirit the problem of an Anglo-Russian agreement in regard to Asiatic questions has exercised an enduring influence upon Russian policy, and that, unless we ourselves go out of our way to revive the old antagonism, no responsible Russian statesman is likely ever again to encourage dreams of a Russian conquest of India.

If, on the other hand, it be contended that we have nothing to gain by lessening the isolation of the Indian peninsula, which is in itself a valuable guarantee of security, the question arises whether, with the growth of railway communications all over the world and not least in Asia itself during the last decade, it is possible for this country to maintain indefinitely an attitude of mere negation in regard to railway communication between India and Europe. In India itself things have changed very much of recent years, and if as we proceed to give our Indian fellow subjects a large voice in our councils, we wish to bring home to them also a larger appreciation of their responsibilities as an integral part of the Empire is it desirable to perpetuate the idea that India can go on living in a water-tight compartment shut off from the rest of the world? If once it be admitted, as I believe it must, that railway communication between India and Europe cannot be indefinitely postponed, is it not wiser to take the question in hand when we have an opportunity of exercising by friendly means a decisive influence upon the solution of the problem?

It is urged in some quarters that, in view of the opposition which British co-operation with the Baghdad Railway has encountered in this country, it would be absolutely illogical for us to co-operate in the Trans-Persian Railway. This objection appears to me more specious than real. There are many fundamental differences between the Baghdad and the Trans-Persian schemes upon which space does not allow me to dwell, but the chief weakness of the above argument is that neither in 1903 nor at any subsequent period did the British Government, as far as I know, decline in principle co-operation with Germany in regard to the Baghdad Railway, but solely because the terms formulated by Germany for British co-operation were deemed, and I think rightly deemed, inadequate. The German Government has always professed to regard the Baghdad Railway as a business proposition, and any one who cares to look up the statements made by British Ministers in Parliament can satisfy himself that they also dealt with it merely as a business proposition when they declined to encourage British capital to take part in it. Indeed, if there were any substantial justification for talking of British opposition, in a wider sense, to the Baghdad Railway, I might well use the undeniable fact that Germany has shown herself clearly able to carry out the scheme without our co-operation as an argument to show that British opposition to the Trans-Persian scheme would not necessarily avail to defeat its execution, at any rate up to a point at which it would already produce some of the consequences which its critics affect to dread. Great Britain, for instance, would not be in a position to prevent the construction of a railway from Russia to the southern limits of the Russian sphere in Persia, and, both from a commercial and political point of view, we could hardly contemplate with satisfaction the purposes for which that railway, controlled in a hostile spirit, might be used.

It appears to me to be quite premature to discuss at present the details of the proposed scheme. The data for such a discussion are not yet available. All the estimates hitherto put forward as to the cost of construction and the commercial possibilities of the line are purely speculative, and there are various alternative *traces*, as to the relative merits of which much has yet to be learnt. It is to provide the necessary data that the *Société d'Etudes* has been formed, and I see no reason why we should not welcome its formation without committing ourselves definitely to any ultimate course of action.

Eventually one of the most difficult corners to turn will be the equitable distribution of powers for the management and control of an "international" line. But this point can only arise at a much later stage. For the present I will only express the hope that our unfortunate experiences in China will at least teach us to avoid the pitfalls into which we have floundered there.

There is one other aspect of the question upon which I should like to add a word. It is quite unintelligible to me that the Trans-Persian Railway should meet with so much uncompromising opposition from those who constitute themselves the special champions of Persian interests. What Persia suffers from most at the present time is the weakness, however caused, of the central Government, which has aggravated the anarchical conditions that have been always apt to prevail in the outlying, and especially in the southern and eastern provinces of the kingdom. The construction of a great line of railway from the north-west to the extreme south-east of Persia must clearly serve both to strengthen the central authority and to pacify, by its civilizing influence, the turbulent regions through which it will pass. From the British point of view the restoration of orderly conditions in southern and south-eastern Persia is a very vital question, for it can alone permanently remove the danger of our being forced into measures of active intervention which are on all grounds to be deprecated. This is, indeed, perhaps the one consideration that might justify us in assuming any financial obligations in connexion with a Trans-Persian Railway, i.e., as an insurance against the far more costly alternative of military expeditions. The construction of the Trans-Persian Railway would also, it must be remembered, bring a large amount of foreign capital into Persia, and thereby help to restore economic prosperity to the country. It would not, I believe, in any way preclude, but rather promote, railway enterprise in other parts of Persia; for I assume that one of the conditions of any British support to be ultimately given to the Trans-Persian Railway would be that the construction of the railway from the head of the Persian Gulf northwards through western Persia, for which the British Government have already applied for a concession at Teheran, should meet with no obstruction.

All I now plead for is that public opinion in this country should not be induced to prejudice the case against the proposed Trans-Persian Railway. The case in favour of it has, I admit, yet to be made out, but I hold very strongly that no *prima facie* case against it can yet be established. In conclusion, whilst I can understand that some soldiers, approaching the question from a purely professional point of view, should be vehemently opposed to any railway connecting India with the outside world, it seems to me passing strange that the military arguments against this scheme should be suddenly endorsed with such unexpected fervour by extreme Radicals who only a few years ago, when the relations between Great Britain and Russia were none too friendly, denounced and derided the expression of any apprehension as to the consequences of the Russian advance in Central Asia as an altogether foolish and timorous form of Russophobia unworthy of Englishmen.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

VALENTINE CHIROL

June 20

The "Times."

SIR EDWARD GREY had very little to tell the House of Commons yesterday about the projected Trans-Persian line, but his statement of policy was clear. In principle, he considers, we neither can, nor should, oppose; in practice, our acceptance must depend on terms. The project is no longer in the clouds. The Société d'Etudes, which is to arrange for the final surveys, has been formed from representatives of three nationalities—Great Britain, Russia and France; and it was stated in our columns more than a fortnight ago that, after some preliminary difficulties, an arrangement is now accepted by all sides which will provide for absolute equality of control between the British, Russian and French promoters of the scheme. The president of the Société is M. Raimbre, a French diplomatist of standing; and there are two vice-presidents, Sir William Garstin and M. Horvickoff, the ex-President of the Russian Duma. Mr. Ackland has already told us that the representation upon the Société of the three Powers interested has been accepted as satisfactory by the British Government; and the announcement that the Société has been formally constituted may be expected any day. It will proceed to work at once, and it cannot be many months before the preliminary investigations and negotiations entrusted to it are complete. Till that time comes the project will remain, of course, too vague for adequate criticism except in very general terms, but it is passing rapidly from the academic stage into one of practical and pressing interest, and British opinion of all sorts, political, military and commercial, should follow its development from now onwards with a careful eye to all its probable effects.

Eighteen months ago, when this scheme was first outlined, we stated that, on general grounds, a project for linking India and Europe by a trans-Persian line would have our support. We maintain that view to-day. Railways are perhaps the most effective of all the civilizing influences which can be brought to bear on

backward portions of the globe, and they have a power quite unparalleled by ships of bringing different civilizations and distant peoples into touch with each other and the world. The history of India has hitherto been an isolated history, broken only by periodical waves of invasion across the inhospitable passes of the north, or, in later days, by the thin but constant stream of soldiers, administrators, and merchants from the "dark waters" of the sea. Deeply as we, like other conquerors, have set our mark on India, we have as yet done little more than they to break down the isolation which, from the beginnings of her history and for all her wealth of races and types, has given India a special character and life of her own. As one of the world's progressive Powers, we cannot but support in principle the weaving of such links between peoples and lands as great trunk railways forge. Still more strongly are we bound, as the Power responsible for India, to wish a project well which must rouse in her awakening mind a clearer consciousness of her position amongst other Powers and peoples—a position whose only security within calculable time must be allegiance to the British Raj. Persia, moreover, has always been the country through which India, so far as she was conscious of other lands at all, looked forth on the outer world. The integrity of Persia is of great importance to our hold on India, and it presents at this moment a problem of a peculiarly difficult kind. How are we to further the pacification and development of the provinces which immediately concern ourselves without undermining the authority, such as it is, of the existing Government, prejudicing its chances in the north as well as the south, and making it for ever impossible to re-establish and consolidate its control? A railway is, we believe, the only practical means in view. We can point from recent experience on the North-West Frontier to the strangely potent influence exerted by the double line of rails upon warlike and intractable tribes. Is it not reasonable to hope, in Southern Persia, for similar results? The arguments from strategy, whether it be the strategy of peace or the strategy of war, are not, of course, all on one side. Our Military Correspondent called attention to this aspect of the question in the letter which we recently published, and we may say at once that the public will insist upon the fullest consultation of military opinion, in India as well as here, before committing itself to support of the line. Sir Edward Grey's answer in the House of Commons yesterday to a question on this point was far too vague to be satisfactory, and some more ample and definite statement will certainly be called for before long. But, pending fuller information, we are strongly inclined to agree with the broad argument advanced by Sir Valentine Chirol in our columns to-day that, since railway communication between Europe and India cannot be indefinitely postponed, we shall do well to take the question in hand at once, when we can solve it, by friendly agreement, in the manner best suited to our military needs.

The general principles which we have stated dictate, in our opinion, a friendly, though not uncritical, attitude towards the scheme; but general principles will not build the line and a final decision upon its merits must obviously depend upon many questions which the Société d'Etudes has yet to elucidate. We shall want much fuller information than is yet available upon its probable cost, its prospects in the matter of freight, and the return which it may reasonably be expected to give on the total capital charge. The prospects of local freight in Southern Persia will certainly be small for many years to come. Is it reasonable to hope that they will ever materially improve? If they will not, is there an adequate promise of through freight sufficiently light in bulk to enable the railway to compete with the sea route to Europe and to the head of the Gulf? And even if such freight may be expected, will it be possible, given the probable cost of construction, to carry it at rates which the sea route will not put out of court? These, and many similar questions, will have to be answered before any final opinion is formed upon the scheme. One thing may, in our opinion, be regarded as certain—that the line will not prove feasible without Government guarantees, and that in the southern sections a guarantee will be asked from the Indian Government. The materials for a decision on this point do not at present exist; but, when they have been furnished by the Société d'Etudes, we shall hope to see them examined by the Indian Government with an eye to future profit and influence as well as to immediate expense. The prospect may prove shadowy or substantial—we do not anticipate. We only hope that when the moment comes for sifting them, they will be judged with greater foresight than was shown by British Governments in the case of the Suez Canal; fortune may not again enable us to redeem the folly of narrow views. One other consideration, of great importance, remains. It is manifest that the Trans-Persian must not stand in the way of other railway projects in Persia which have better immediate prospects of success. Chief of these from the British point of view is, of course, the projected line from Khor Musa, at the head of the Gulf, to Khoramabad. That railway has long been a subject of interest to British Governments, and the reasons for pressing it have only increased with time. Our claim to the concession is unassailable, since the Russian concession for a line between Baghdad and Khanikin brings into force the Receipt, issued by the Shah Nasr-ed-Din and confirmed by his successors under

which, when other Powers are permitted to build railways in the north of Persia, Great Britain is conceded a similar right in the south. Lord Morley stated in the House of Lords last year that the British Government regarded this Receipt as "a very important deliverance," and it must obviously play a leading part in any agreement regarding Persian railways between Russia and ourselves. It is impossible, moreover, to discuss the general question of railway concessions in Persia without raising some other frontier issues in which the Indian Government is closely concerned; and we consider that a general agreement on the whole subject will be an essential preliminary to any special arrangement regarding an international Trans-Persian line.

The "Manchester Guardian."

We make no apology for returning to the Indian railway project, for the defence of India is our greatest interest abroad, and the official policy of silence is, we believe, dangerous to the country. Yesterday the silence was broken, for Sir Valentine Chirol, the foreign editor of the *Times*, who is sometimes in touch with the Foreign Office, made in the columns of the *Times* the first defence that we have seen of it. Able as the writer is, it is an apology rather than a defence. The whole case against the Foreign Office for neglecting to take responsible military advice on the policy of the line and for evading the rights of Parliament is left untouched. He pleads for an open mind. He agrees that no case has yet been made out for the line and is content to urge some reasons for thinking that neither has there been made out a case against the line. Two reasons which he gives are that we are no longer at enmity with Russia, but friends, and that it is not good for India to think that she can go on living in a watertight compartment for ever shut off from the rest of the world. But England is not yet in railway communication with the rest of the world, and why this watertightness should be a fault in India and a boast in England we cannot imagine. Every argument that Sir Valentine Chirol uses for the railway would be an argument for filling up the North Sea between Grimsby and Hamburg. Our friendship with Russia is even less an argument for destroying India's natural frontiers than our friendship with France would be for the Channel Tunnel. For you may make a tunnel and still have the sea frontier, but a railway destroys the barriers of a desert. The "open mind" for which Sir Valentine Chirol pleads is a mind divested of a proper preference for a strong to a weak frontier. Nor when an international company is studying possible routes for a railway with the encouragement of the British Government can we pretend that the question is an open one. Agree to discuss this railway as though no more were involved than the choice between this gauge or that, between an inland route and a sea coast route, and the lines of defence against the project are hopelessly turned. Other arguments of Sir Valentine Chirol need closer examination. He makes much of the good that the railway would do to Persia, especially in helping the central government to put down disorders. That is neither the motive of the line nor would it be the result, or Russia would not be interested in it. When a military Power like Turkey builds railways, we know that she is adding to her strength; but to a weak country like Persia a railway constructed by three Powers who have yet to prove their friendship might easily destroy such liberties as she had left. Afghanistan was tough and formidable by comparison with Persia, yet her late Amir described the railway from Quetta to New Chaman—only a little way over the frontier—as a dagger thrust in his vitals. Let the Powers propose to drive a railway from Russia to India across Afghanistan if they want to hear what Persia would say about this new scheme for her regeneration if only she dared. But even if we believed in this new zeal of Russia for Persian liberties, it would be no reason for extending the railway beyond the Persian frontier across the British protectorate of Baluchistan to India; and one might concede everything that is said about the advantages of the railway to Persia without having a single objection removed to through communication with India. But the truth is that if the object were to benefit Persia, or even to develop her trade, this idea of a through railway to India across Persia is the very last that would have occurred to anyone. Sir Valentine Chirol, in order to develop his idea, that a through railway would do good to Persia, has to argue that its construction would not prevent the construction of branch lines from the head of the Gulf. Is it not clear that if it was Persia's development that we were thinking of these lines would be the first to be built? That they should be mentioned as an afterthought shows that the whole idea of benefiting Persia is an afterthought and has no relevancy to the project of through communication with India. So much for the argument that in opposing this railway to India we are inconsistent with our policy of trying to help Persia. Sir Valentine Chirol is no more successful in another charge of inconsistency that he brings against Liberals who oppose the railway. "It seems to me passing strange," he writes, "that the military arguments should be suddenly endorsed with such unexpected fervour by extreme Radicals who only a few years ago, when the

relations between Great Britain and Russia were none too friendly, denounced and derided the expression of any apprehension as to the consequences of the Russian advance in Central Asia as an altogether foolish and timorous form of Russophobia unworthy of Englishmen." The policy of good Liberals has been consistent throughout, and their zeal for the sound principles of Indian defence is not an affair of weeks but of nearly half a century. Their aim has been to avoid a continuous frontier with Russia in Asia. With that object the Marquis of Hartington, as he then was, evacuated Kandahar, and two generations of Liberals have persistently combated the so-called forward policy on the Indian frontier. A generation ago Liberals had to resist the policy of rushing forward to meet Russia across Afghanistan and to confine Indian defence within its natural frontiers. Now it is one more proposed to meet Russia by crossing the deserts of Baluchistan. The Liberal policy is still the same—to resist these forward rushes whether they are made in an unreasoning war-panic or secretly arranged at a board table.



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Amount received during the fortnight	520 7 0
Amount previously acknowledged	19,656 1 6
Total	20,176 8 6

Morocco.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Paris, June 17.

A telegram from Fez of yesterday's date states that General Dalbiez was attacked on Friday night at the camp of Sidi Abd-es-Salam by a body of disaffected Beni M'Tir tribesmen, supported by men of the Ait Youssi and Tregrushen tribes. General Dalbiez made a brilliant sortie, driving back the enemy, who left several dead on the field. The French had four killed and 6 wounded.

An official message from Fez dated yesterday states that General Gouraud left camp on Saturday morning, crossed to the opposite bank of the Irawen, and dispersed strong parties of the Hayana tribe after sharp skirmishes in which the French lost two killed and thirteen wounded, including two officers.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 21.

The column under General Gouraud, which is operating between Fez and Taza, has been engaged in desultory fighting on the banks of the Inaouen. The rebel tribesmen are careful to avoid a pitched battle, and content themselves with harrassing the French troops. A small body of men who were taking horses down to water about half a mile from the camp were attacked by rebel cavalry. Major Rivière came up with reinforcements, and after an engagement lasting three hours succeeded in beating back the enemy with severe loss. The French losses were 12 killed, including one lieutenant and two French non-commissioned officers, and ten wounded. General Gouraud has ordered the villages and crops to be burned as the only way of bringing the refractory tribesmen to their senses. The prevalent sirocco is an additional source of discomfort to the French Troops.

The column under General Dalbiez, which is conducting a campaign similar to that of General Gouraud to the south of Mekinez, encamped at El Hedjeb.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 23.

The column under General Gouraud, which is operating between Fez and Taza, forced an engagement with a party of malcontent tribesmen near Azib Mulai Ismail on 19th June. The fighting lasted about three hours and resulted in the complete rout of the enemy. The French losses were 3 killed and 11 wounded. Two days later General Gouraud sent a strong detachment of the Foreign Legion under Major Geralt to prevent the defeated tribesmen from rallying in the vicinity of the camp. Major Geralt's troops, with the assistance of artillery, inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and drove them back in disorder.

The column commanded by General Dalbiez, which has been engaged in clearing the country south of Fez, came into contact with a number of rebel Beni M'Tirs on 19th and 20th June, and drove them back with heavy loss. The French losses were 5 killed, including Captain Desfrères, commanding the 7th Company of the 1st Tirailleurs, and 16 wounded.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, June 24.

It is doubtful if the real importance of the question of the internationalization of Tangier is fully realized in England. Tangier is destined to become a great port. Its climate, its geographical position, the facilities with which the port can be constructed, and its excellent situation as a winter resort, guarantee its future. It seems clear, also, that the coaling trade at Gibraltar will migrate here as soon as facilities are arranged, and already many great lines of steamers, including the principal lines between America and the Mediterranean, intend to make it a port of call. Not only on commercial grounds must the neutrality of Tangier be guaranteed, but also because of its political and strategic position at the very doors of the Mediterranean. For Great Britain the neutrality of Tangier is a vital question, and it is her bounden duty to see that this neutrality is securely and permanently guaranteed.

The local Press publishes to-day the demands of the Spanish Government on the question of Tangier and its international sphere. These demands, obviously, are extremely exaggerated. There is no doubt that it is the British Government programme of internationalization which will eventually be adopted, for England desires neutrality in the largest sense of the word, seeks no advantages for

herself, and must allow none to others. Such interests as she has in Tangier she is prepared to share and share alike with other nations, and, not unnaturally, expects the same terms of equity and courtesy from others.

As to the limits of the international zones there is only one practical solution—namely the limits of the Fahs Tribeland region, slightly in excess of the 15 kilometres proposed. The Fahs Territory is bounded by excellent natural limits, and its adoption would avoid the splitting up of one tribe into the two zones—always a most undesirable thing and one which, wherever possible, has been avoided in all negotiations in Morocco in the past.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 24.

The rebel tribesmen, on the night of 21st June, made an attack on General Dalbiez's column, which was encamped at Ifran Sidi Abd-es-Salam, to the south of Fez. The French troops made a sortie from the camp and routed the enemy with heavy loss. The French losses were 4 killed and 6 wounded.

The latest despatches from General Gouraud announce that he advanced on 22nd June against a *harka* intrenched in the hills on the right bank of the River Innawen. After a stubborn engagement the French troops succeeded in dislodging and routing the rebels. The French losses were 2 killed and 13 wounded, including two officers.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Reuter's Agency is informed that the main points in the prolonged negotiations between France and Spain with regard to Morocco may be regarded as settled. This does not, however, necessarily mean that a complete arrangement is imminent. From the first many technical and legal difficulties have been encountered, and details of this nature, though of secondary importance, are still outstanding. A week or two ago the outlook was less promising, but thanks to the invaluable assistance given by the British Ambassador in Madrid, obstacles have been overcome, and there is no anxiety as to the eventual issue. The British, French and Spanish negotiations at Madrid are now occupied with the momentous matter of the internationalization of Tangier. It is a question beset with difficulty, but the doubt is entertained in diplomatic quarters of an eventual settlement. The negotiations have in view the creation of a municipal constitution in which representatives of the various Powers on the one side and of the community of Tangier on the other will be represented. Legal stumbling-blocks are many. On the whole considerable progress is to be recorded and a satisfactory, if not an immediate, solution of the whole question is to be hoped for.

To-day and To-morrow!

TO THE EDITOR OF "AL-MOCHREB AL-AKSA."

SIR,—As a very humble, and I trust modest, newspaper man, I venture to commend to your consideration the following head lines, which may come in handy during the next few months—or years.

EXIST PACIFIC PENETRATION.

GUERRA AL CUCHILLO!

GRAVE UNREST THROUGHOUT MOROCCO

OR

"HELL, WITH THE LID OFF!"

(An American suggestion).

PROGRES DE LA CIVILISATION.

"NOS HEROS DE FEZ."

INSOLENT ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTHERN PRETENDER.

BRILLIANT BOMBARDMENT OF AGADIR.

CONTEMPLATED OCCUPATION OF SOOS PROVINCES.

CONQUEST OF THE GREAT ATLAS DECIDED UPON.

DITTO THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS.

QUARTER OF A MILLION TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM FRANCE.

GERMAN JEALOUSY.

THE KAISER'S SPEECH.

GENERAL MOBILISATION IN EUROPE.

ARMAGEDDON.

For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind.

The crisp statement of Hosea: chap. viii. verse 7: seems to fit in appropriately with the state of things in Morocco.

Your obedient servant,
HISTORICUS.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

The Italians have captured the position of Sidi Ali, situated midway between Tripoli and the Tunisian frontier. The enemy on arrival of reinforcement, thereupon, delivered a fierce assault but were repulsed with enormous losses, the fighting lasting six hours.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—Nazim Pasha, former Governor of Baghdad, has declined the portfolio of War except on sweeping conditions, including the abolition of martial law and the dissolution of the Chamber. The Government has rejected these conditions. The Cabinet is tottering and its resignation is possible.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—The Chamber has passed a vote of confidence in the Government by 194 to 4. Speeches were made by the Grand Vizier and the Foreign Minister dwelling on the relations of Turkey with the Powers, which, it was stated with emphasis, were generally good. The speeches expressed especial gratification at the renewal of Great Britain's warm friendship, which was a guarantee for the future.

It is reported that Mahmud Mukhtar has accepted the portfolio of War.

Reuter wires from Rome:—It is officially stated that the Italians lost sixteen killed and seventy-three wounded at the battle of Sidi Ali recently. It is further stated that several hundred bodies of Turks were found after the fight.

Reuter wire: from Constantinople:—The situation here is regarded as serious owing to the strong opposition against the Union Committee which is struggling against heavy odds. The most serious element in the opposition is a sort of military league which is rapidly growing. It has already become impossible to enforce a Bill penalising officers for taking part in politics in many provincial centres.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on July 18.—The Cabinet has resigned.—The resignation of the Cabinet is largely due to the insistence of Mahmud Mukhtar, who was recently reported to have accepted the portfolio of War, on the withdrawal of the troops from Albania and the adoption of a policy of trust in the Albanians as a condition of his assumption of the portfolio of War.

Tewfik Pasha, Turkish Ambassador in London, has been appointed Grand Vizier, and it is expected that Nazim Pasha will be Minister for War.

Reuter wires from Constantinople.—The Cabinet has decided to despatch a peace mission to Albania, composed of three prominent Albanian Senators. Four battalions of Turkish troops were surrounded near Diakovo last week. Three hundred men were disarmed and carried off by the Albanians. The remainder succeeded in retreating to Diakovo.

The situation in Turkey is complex and confused. It is hoped that Tewfik Pasha will form a neutral Cabinet excluding the members of the Committee of Union and Progress with a view to conciliating Albania and Macedonia but then no attempt will be made to repress the Committees the organisation of which is still very strong.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, June 19.

The unexpected revival of trouble in the Mirdite district is apparently due to the circumstance that large supplies of arms have lately found their way into the hands of the mountaineers. At the beginning of this year the Mirdites had about 2,000 rifles, but it is stated that they are now in possession of 10,000. Some mystery still exists with regard to the provenance of these weapons. According to the Vienna Press they have been brought from Italy, but the statement cannot be accepted without reserve.

The proposed application of the new Turkish Military Law requiring service in the army of all men under 45 years has given a great impulse to emigration in Macedonia and hundreds of young men are daily escaping over the frontiers into the neighbouring States. Two hundred and fifty are stated to have arrived yesterday in Thessaly. The movement is peculiarly unfortunate in view of the approach of the harvest, which, this year, will be reaped in many districts by women and old men. Desertions of Albanian, Greek and Bulgarian soldiers from the army are also frequent. On Sunday 15 Moslem Albanian deserters arrived in Corfu.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Smyrna Chamber of Commerce has, according to the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, submitted to all the Consuls General there, for transmission to their

respective Governments, a memorandum pointing out that the flourishing commerce of Smyrna and the province is almost entirely in European hands, that the next three months will see the chief export of local produce, consisting of dry fruit, wine, figs and grapes, to the value of £2,000,000, as well as oil, corn, opium, minerals and carpets to a similar amount, and that all this business will stop and the whole district will be ruined if the Italian navy attacks the port. The memorandum asks for measures warding off this danger and is signed by the secretary of the Chamber and a committee of merchants. The correspondent adds that out of twelve signatures six are British.

According to the *Morning Post*, Germany has just sold two flying machines to the Ottoman Government, and two German pilots have placed themselves at the disposal of the military authorities, one of them, Herr Leutnant Jahnow (a Prussian of the Imperial type) joining the Turkish Army as an officer. It is stated, moreover, that several German firms are at present negotiating with the Turkish Government for the sale of flying machines.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 20.

Within a few days the modification of Article 35 of the Turkish Constitution will be discussed by the Chamber of Deputies. It will be remembered that the failure of Said Pasha's last Cabinet to obtain a sufficient majority for the modification brought about the dissolution of Parliament and a General Election from which the Committee majority emerged victorious. The Cabinet recently submitted a further amendment of the article in question to the leaders of the Committee Parliamentary Party, by which the Government, after dissolving Parliament in consequence of a difference of opinion, was entitled to order a fresh dissolution should the new Parliament adopt the same attitude as its predecessor over the question at issue. The Commission for the reform of the Constitution and a great majority of the Committee Party supported the original modification of the article, which obliged the Government to accept the decision of the new Parliament. After considerable discussion, which appears to have become decidedly heated at times, the Government gave way.

On 11th June the Committee Party decided to support the Government's proposals for the modification of Articles 7 and 43 of the Constitution, as follows:—

"Article 7 (Original text).—The Sultan has the power . . . to open or close Parliamentary sessions, to convoke the National Assembly in special circumstances as an extraordinary measure, to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies with the assent of the Senate in conformity with Article 35 on condition that new general elections be held and a new Parliament convoked within three months' time. (Modified text).—The Sultan has the power . . . to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies in conformity with Article 35 and to suspend or adjourn its session, on condition that the said suspension or adjournment should not exceed in duration one half of the duration of the annual session and that the said session should be completed within the (official) year.

"Article 43 (Original text).—The two Chambers forming the National Assembly meet without being convoked on 1st November (O.S.) of each year. The session shall be opened by Imperial Iradeh. The closure on the following 1st May (O.S.) shall also be decreed by the Imperial Iradeh. Neither of the two Chambers shall meet when the other is not in session. (Modified text).—The two Parliamentary Assemblies shall meet annually on 1st November (O.S.), and should the session have been adjourned shall meet, without being convoked at the termination of the period of adjournment by Imperial Iradeh. The session shall be of six months' duration, after the expiration of which time it shall be closed by Imperial decree and neither of the two Assemblies shall sit without the other. Should the Chamber of Deputies be dissolved, the session of the new Chamber, which shall meet four months after the dissolution, shall be an extraordinary session of two months' duration which may be prolonged, but may not be adjourned. The four years during which the Legislature shall sit, according to Article 60, shall be reckoned from the following 1st November (O.S.)."

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 24.

The *Tanin* to-day publishes an important declaration made by Hadji Adil Bey to one of its representatives concerning the employment of foreign specialists in the Ministry of the Interior. After expressing the conviction that the internal administration could not follow a normal course without effective inspection and control, the Minister of the Interior remarked that there was a great difference between the ideas which he formerly evolved at an office desk in a Government Department and those with which he returned from

his journey in Albania and Macedonia after a first-hand study of local conditions. He was convinced that the country would benefit by the assistance of foreign specialists in the proposed form of an inspectorate under the direction of a foreign inspector-general. Independent civil inspectors corresponding directly with headquarters would eventually be appointed for every province.

The knowledge of the excellent work done by the corps of inspectors attached to the Ministry of Finance under the control of the French Inspector-General, M. Joly, confirmed his belief that the Ministry of the Interior required the services of a similar body of officials. He proposed to offer the post of Inspector-General to a British official possessing an extensive knowledge of the Turkish Empire. The friendly sentiments of the British people towards Turkey were well known and he admired the continuity and methods which marked British administrative policy. He intended to submit his proposals to the Chamber of Deputies during the debate on the Budget of his Ministry.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 20.

The *Tanin* to-day gives special prominence to a discussion of the question of Anglo-Turkish friendship. It publishes translations of a letter from the Secretary of the Oriental Questions Committee and an article in the *Review of Reviews* in which warm approval is expressed of the idea of inviting foreign advisers to aid Turkish administrative reform.

In a leading article Hussein Jahid Bey discusses the possibility of the renewal of the close friendship between Turkey and England. After remarking that all Turks gratefully remember the part played by England in the Crimean War and in the revision of the Treaty of San Stefano, Jahid Bey points out that English sympathies for Turkey cooled owing to the maladministration prevailing in the Ottoman Empire. The only way to win back English sympathy, he adds, is to engage earnestly in the work of reform, and the most effective proof of Turkish earnestness would be an invitation to foreign specialists to assist in this work.

Constantinople, June 23.

After a short and uninteresting debate the Chamber yesterday voted by 210 to 15 a modification of Article 35 of the Constitution authorizing the Sultan to dissolve the Chamber without consulting the Senate or to declare the Chamber suspended for a period not exceeding three months.—*Reuter*.

(FROM A "DAILY TELEGRAPH" CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, June 21.

According to this evening's news, a serious pan-Turkish or pan-Islamic propaganda has been discovered among the young Tartar population of South-Eastern Russia, in consequence of which special investigators are being sent to the provinces of Viatka, Kazan and Astrakhan, while in the latter region all the private Muhammadan schools have just been closed by administrative order.

(FROM "THE NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 21.

Something—no one seems to know what—has happened to the Turkish Naval Staff. As far as one can judge from the multitudes of contradictory reports now current, the publication of a rather derisive article concerning the inaction of the fleet by the *Hakk*, an extremist journal, caused a movement among the officers of the squadron now at the Dardanelles. Some of them were for going out with at least the torpedo craft and coming to a glorious end. Others, more cautious, threatened to resign the commissions if the Government gave any such orders. Quarrels ensued, and finally there was something very like mutiny. The Commodore, Tahir Bey, so it is averred, was obliged to quiet some of the more ardent spirits among the junior officers by felling them with a chair. However this may be, it is certain that there were scenes of a character not conducive to naval discipline. The Minister of Marine paid a visit to the Fleet, and ordered a court-martial to try certain officers. The court-martial presently resigned, and was replaced by another court presided over by a military officer. Rassim Pasha replaced Tahir Bey, and a Lieutenant-Colonel was appointed Chief of the Staff of the Fleet. As for the sentences passed by the court-martial rumour has it that they were very severe.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 27.

The time limit of a week for the submission of new tenders by the firms of Messrs. Pearson and Sir John Jackson for irrigation works in Mesopotamia expired to-day, when the representatives of the competing firms informed the Minister of Public Works that they were unable to tender for the proposed works on account of the onerous nature of the conditions which the Government sought to impose upon them.

Athens, June 21.

According to a telegram to the journal *Hestia*, a long conference took place to-day at Cana between the British Consul and M. Koundouros, a member of the proposed Cretan Directorate. It

appears that one or more of the Powers have raised a difficulty with regard to the admission into the new Government of General Limbritis, who is a Greek subject and was formerly Greek Minister of War. M. Koundouros expressed the hope that the objection would be withdrawn, otherwise the remaining members of the Government would resign and anarchy would follow.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

According to the *Sabah*, the great Powers have not taken into consideration the memoirs presented by the Hellenic colonies in Egypt and other countries demanding an autonomy for the Aegean islands. Our contemporary adds that a communication to that effect has been made to the Ottoman Ambassadors accredited to the Powers.

The same journal learns from Athens that the leaders of political parties have asked the Greek Government to take steps with the Powers in view of the annexation of the islands to Greece. The Government is said to have replied that the annexation of the islands is impossible and to have pointed out that even Crete of which the population has made every sacrifice in view of annexation to Greece has not been annexed.

The London correspondent of the *Jeune Turc* telegraphs that he learns from a diplomatic source that the British Government has approached the other Powers on the subject of a proposal it is preparing for the solution of the Italo-Turkish conflict. The correspondent learns that the principal points of the proposal are as follows:—

1. Tripoli to be annexed to Italy with the maintenance of the Religious Sovereignty of the Sultan.
2. Cyrenaica to remain an Ottoman province and Italy to evacuate the ports she has occupied there.
3. Evacuation by the Italians of the islands they have occupied against an indemnity to be paid by Turkey and to be equivalent to the cost of the Italian operations in the Aegean.
4. Payment of an indemnity by Italy to Turkey for the Wakis and State domains in Tripoli.

News from Turkish Sources.

(SPECIALLY TRANSLATED FOR THE COMRADE.)

THE first presidents of the Central Red Crescent Society of Egypt, Dr. Ahmed Bey-Hilmi and Dr. Izzat Bey, returned safely from Tripoli to Cairo on the 24th June with two of the members of the Society, Dr. Monier Bey and Dr. Mohammed Effendi Joudat. The whole of the Turkish and Arab officers have been acknowledging in their despatches the signal services rendered by this Society. And particular mention is made of Dr. Izzat Bey, who was not only industrious in medical attendance on the wounded, but also fought with great courage in several battles.

Almoayyed received the following telegram on 20th June:—Italian forces have been landed at Samas—which is a port in Egypt midway between Rirsi Ratrooh and Sidi Brani—to take water. The inhabitants are greatly disturbed and are asking for reinforcements to oppose the Italians.

The *Nile* (Cairo) correspondent wires from Derna:—On the night of 19th June a battalion of 100 Turkish soldiers marched out of the Turkish Camp at Benghazi towards the west. At dawn five Italian aeroplanes made their appearance, which fired off five rockets on spying the enemy, to warn the Italian Camps. Thereupon two companies of Italians at once marched out fully armed and a brisk fight ensued. The Turks had sent for reinforcements; but before the reinforcements arrived the Italians fled in utter disorder, leaving behind one hundred dead and many implements of war on the field. The Turks also secured a most valuable charger of an Italian Officer. The Turks had three wounded.

Almoayyed (Cairo) has received a wire from the field of battle at Tripoli, dated Benghazi, 24th June:—Nine regiments of Italians landed on the coast of Rissat and tried to attack the Kast-i-Ahmed. But the Arab inhabitants opposed and routed them with severe loss and pursued them to the coast.

The Italians bombarded Sosa—a small village inhabited by refugees from Crete—from the river, but not one man even was injured. They returned disappointed after damaging a water-mill. Rustafi Kamal Bey, commander of Derna, has gone to Sosa to remove the inhabitants to some distance from the shore.

Some men from Benghazi have joined our camp. They inform us that 2,000 Italian soldiers have openly mutinied and refuse to obey their officers. This mutiny is in addition to that already reported. When the officers tried to pass orders the soldiers retired into the churches and laid down their arms. The General in command is greatly perturbed and is anxious to send them back to Italy as soon as possible.

News has just reached us that three Italian officers have suddenly gone mad and nine have committed suicide. The officers are trying to encourage their soldiers by spreading all sorts of false reports, but it is of no avail.

The Jews of Benghazi, who had so long been using hats out of fear of being massacred by Italians, have again resumed Turkish caps.

The Albanian Mutiny.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 24.

A BODY of Albanian troops at Monastir has mutinied, it is believed as a protest against the action of the authorities in the recent elections, and has taken to the mountains, accompanied by several officers. According to the latest news, the mutineers are making for the Kolonia district, on the eastern flank of the Pindus range.

Various estimates, many of which are evidently exaggerated, are given of their strength, but it would seem that the number of those who actually revolted does not exceed five officers and 50 men. It is not known whether they have received any reinforcements.

Unless the mutiny should prove to be but a prelude to a widespread military movement, of which no sign is discerned here, or should obtain strong local support, there is no reason to anticipate that the authorities will have much difficulty in crushing it. At the same time, the recollection of the fact that the revolution of 1908 began in the same district and in similar fashion has naturally caused a certain amount of anxiety in official circles.

LATER.

An official *communiqué* announces that only 50 soldiers, all Albanian, from the Dibra, Monastir, and Prilip districts, and several officers, among whom are the captain and nine lieutenants, have "joined the insurgents." Two officers and two men are reported to have been captured by detachments sent in pursuit.

Salonica, June 25.

History bids fair to repeat itself in Monastir, where, within a month of the fourth anniversary of the raising of the standard of revolt against the absolutism of Abdul Hamid by a handful of Ottoman troops, a battalion of the 49th Regiment, including the officers, has mutinied against constitutional authority, and, having appropriated all the arms, ammunition, and money on which it could lay hands, has fallen back on Kolonia, in the Grammos mountains, south of Koritza. For some little time past there have been indications that all was not well with the Monastir Army Corps. Discontent has been openly expressed, and a condition bordering on complete disorganization has been set up. The suggested causes of this discontent are twofold. The time-expired men in the ranks have been chafing against their retention with the colours, and at the same time there was another movement, affecting the officers more than the men, born of animosity against the Committee and all its works. The mutiny may therefore, have been organized by anti-Committee officers supported by time-expired soldiers. A further possibility lies in the suggestion that the revolted troops are Albanians who desire to assist their brethren in the present revolution. Both explanations receive support from the fact that the mutineers are said to have demanded the dismissal of Talaat and Djavid Beys and fresh elections to the Chamber of deputies, threatening, in the event of a refusal, to proclaim a general insurrection.

Meanwhile, the authorities are faced by another serious outbreak in Western Albania, where the Malissori have taken up arms. After what seems to have been heavy fighting at Alessio, the rebels, who are said to be massed in great force and to have sent their families and herds into Mirditia, have cut the telegraphic communications with Skutari and are threatening the depot of arms. Reinforcements have been hurried from Dibra and Ellassona.

Constantinople, June 25.

There is reason to believe that the Monastir mutineers are not all Albanians. While the official report states that their leaders accuse the Government of reactionary tendencies, letters recently received from Macedonia and Albania reveal the extensive existence of considerably hostile feelings towards Talaat Bey among certain officers of Albanian Particularist or "Union and Liberty" sympathies, who complain of that Minister's interference in the elections. Yet there is no evidence that the bulk of the officers of the Army are at all affected by such considerations.

The Agence Ottomane publishes the following *communiqué* from the War Office:—"On the night of the 22nd instant 12 officers and 71 Albanian soldiers deserted with their arms from the garrisons of Monastir, Prilip and Dibra. Detachments were sent in pursuit. Two officers and two soldiers have been captured and 19 soldiers have surrendered. The pursuit continues and is being pushed with the utmost activity."

At a meeting of Ministers held to-day to discuss the Albanian situation it was decided to strengthen the posts on the Montenegrin frontier in order to prevent the smuggling of arms and the passage of sympathizers with the bands in Kossovo province.

Vienna, June 25.

The reports that a battalion of Turkish soldiers have mutinied at Monastir with their officers and joined the Albanian insurgents with arms and baggage are regarded here as a reminder that the situation in the Ottoman Empire ought seriously to engage European attention. A further report that the Mutessarif of Ipek, who recently defended the town against the insurgents, has likewise gone over to

them with 150 men is not yet confirmed, but is not dismissed as incredible. The importance of the Monastir mutiny seems to lie for the moment rather in its political than in its military aspect. The mutineers are alleged to demand the dissolution of the Chamber and an honest general election, the dismissal of Djavid Bey and Talaat Bey from office, and the removal of Eyub Sabri from the Young Turkish Central Committee. Such demands would point to a revolt of part of the Army against the Committee, or at least against its most characteristic members. If this be the case the effect of such a revolt upon the Balkan situation and upon the Powers most immediately interested in the Near East might be incalculable.

Vienna, June 26.

A number of messages tending to minimize the importance of the Monastir mutiny have been received here in the course of the day. One such message says that the occurrences at Monastir are severely condemned in military circles at Salonika, where they are regarded as an impudent manifestation against the Government. The latest message from Constantinople bears yesterday's date and is less satisfactory. It admits that more than 200 Albanian soldiers deserted. The senior of the deserted officers is Captain Tajar Bey, also an Albanian. He left behind him a letter addressed to the military commander of Monastir stating that the movement was not directed against the Empire but against the Committee. The deserters, who are alleged to have a number of Maxims, are reported to be in the hills near Demir Hissar, about 20 miles north of Resna (near the headquarters of Major Niazi at the beginning of the Young Turkish revolution). Further desertions were expected last night. Two battalions have been despatched to keep the deserters under observation.

Salonica, June 26.

The Monastir mutineers would appear to be meeting with abundant passive if, for the present, no active support from their fellows of the Monastir Army Corps. Exactly how many men have deserted is unknown, but the number certainly includes Tajar Bey, the ringleader, and seven other officers. The men, mostly Albanians, have been reinforced by some Anatolian Mussalmans.

The situation in Monastir is stationary. The mutineers have shown no sign of further activity and the military authorities have made no attempt at pursuit. Delay would seem to favour an extension of the trouble, as the officers of the garrison are greatly excited.

In a Monastir *café* yesterday a captain shot dead a lieutenant who had expressed approval of the desertion of Tajar Bey and his troops. Discontent is rife also at Prilip, whence two officers and nine soldiers fully armed have deserted and joined the mutineers at Resna. Reports from Argyrocastro describe the situation there as very threatening.

Eyub Sabri, Secretary-General of the Committee, whose resignation is demanded by the deserters, has since his arrival here yesterday been holding a series of conferences with the object of getting together a mission of officers and influential persons to go to Monastir and reason with the mutineers. I have every reason to believe that the dismissal of Talaat and Djavid Beys from the cabinet will at any rate be promised if the mutinous troops consent to return to barracks.

The position of the Government has been rendered increasingly serious by the inability of the military authorities to rely upon the loyalty of the Salonika and Uskub Army Corps. Discontent with the Committee and the Government has been growing apace at Salonika, where conservative estimates put the number of anti-Committee officers at 300 out of an approximate effective of 800. It is understood that an open demonstration of disaffection was to be made here on the anniversary of the Constitution, but events at Monastir may serve to bring the movement to a head immediately. In any case it may be accepted that the outbreak will meet with lively sympathy from both the neighbouring army corps.

Constantinople, June 27.

The censorship of all news from the Monastir district continues to be strictly applied. Ministers and army leaders are silent and the capital has had no further information bearing on the mutiny for the last 36 hours.

The mutineers are believed in well-informed circles to have demanded:—

- (1) The impeachment of Hakki Pasha and certain members of the Cabinet.
- (2) The resignation of Said Pasha and several of his colleagues.
- (3) The recognition of the individual responsibility of Ministers.
- (4) The cessation of all Committee interference with the Executive.
- (5) The holding of new elections.
- (6) A general amnesty.

Vienna, June 27.

"Grave anxiety prevails in Government circles concerning events at Monastir," runs an official telegram from Constantinople

to-day. A later private telegram explains the anxiety by reporting that at Monastir 12 battalions have already mutinied and that four of them have joined the deserters in the mountains. The Vali and the commandant of Monastir are stated to have been taken prisoners. The mutiny is extending also around its other centres, Prilip and Dibra.

One message suggests that the Vali of Salonika, Hussein Kiazim, is the soul of the movement. If so, the movement has a gifted and a determined leader—in fact, the only man in Turkey who has of late had the courage publicly to censure the Committee and its works. Another sign that the mutiny is not a local outburst may be found in an open letter addressed on Wednesday through an Italian journal to the Turkish Government and to the Committee by a Turkish officer, formerly a friend of Said Pasha and of Mahmud Shevket Pasha, declaring the re-awakening of the Ottoman people and the hour of its revenge upon the Committee to be at hand.

Said Pasha, the Grand Vizier, is said to have informed the members of his Cabinet that he would resign as soon as proof was forthcoming that the country was dissatisfied with the Government. Hadji Adil Bey, Minister of the Interior, thereupon accused him of being ready to make common cause with the revolution. The Cabinet then met without the Grand Vizier and sat for seven hours to discuss the evil tidings of the military revolt.

In official quarters here the situation is considered very disquieting. The semi-official *Politische Correspondenz* confirms the statement that no action has been or could be taken against the mutineers, and that the army inspector, Zekki Pasha, is now convinced that any attempt at reprisals would lead to deplorable complications.

The *Politische Correspondenz* reports further that the ammunition and arms which were being sent under escort from Dibra to Alessio have been captured by the Albanian insurgents. The escort lost a major, a lieutenant, ten soldiers and a gendarme killed. Fahi Pasha now urges the proclamation of an amnesty extending even to Hussan Bey and Isa Boletinat.

Balkan Dangers.

(FROM THE "WESTMINSTER GAZETTE" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, June 8.

THE diplomatic conditions are not favourable to any combined Italian and Balkan raid. The Austrian Government is here more Conservative than ever. The Berlin Foreign Office is solid with it; and in addition is just now in an extremely bad temper with Italy. A week ago the official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* published a declaration against an Italian occupation of Mytilene. For Germany, with her practice of issuing non-committal *Communiqués*, this declaration was very precise. Yesterday the same official newspaper appeared with a sharp rebuke to the Roman Government for not officially denying the charge that the German Consul at Smyrna had invoked Turkish police to expel from his office troublesome Italians. Nearly every Berlin newspaper comments upon the emphasis of this rebuke. German sentiment remains strongly anti-Italian; and the change of Foreign Office sentiment—supposed to be the result of negotiations with Austria—is welcomed. A factor here is that from the first England and France have been suspected of being behind Italy—and some Germans seriously believe that in not more actively helping the Turks the Empire is unconsciously playing an Anglo-French game.

The attitude of the Russian Government towards a Balkan outbreak is not so plain. Officially St. Petersburg has every reason for peace; but Russian diplomacy is not homogeneous; and the main stream of diplomatic action is always being crossed by dangerous currents from insubordinate juniors, influential amateurs, and—in Balkan affairs—Slavonic idealists. Well-informed Russians give the very best accounts of M. Sazonoff, the present Foreign Minister, and praise him for real knowledge of affairs and an instinct for realities; but he is criticised for leaving details too confidently to underlings, who have not his qualifications. Moreover, the whole St. Petersburg executive is likely soon to be shifted. M. Kokovtseff wants to come to Berlin. It was his ambition to become President of the Council of Ministers after M. Stolypin, but he is entirely out of sympathy with the violent Nationalism which he took over and has been obliged to continue. The Minister of the Interior, M. Makaroff, will also probably go. The cause is the dissatisfaction of governors and other high officials, who are used to the Russian tradition of a Minister of the Interior who is a personality, and who impresses a definite policy on the whole internal machinery. A possible successor of M. Kokovtseff, as Premier is M. Schtcheglovitoff at present Minister of Justice. M. Schtcheglovitoff has increased his reputation at Court by the emphasis with which he lately defended his Department against Duma criticism; and he has no hampering doubts about Nationalism or anything else.

(FROM A "PALL MALL GAZETTE" CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, June 10.

The visits of the King of Bulgaria to Vienna and Berlin, of the King of Montenegro to Vienna and the announced visit of King Peter of Serbia to Vienna and Berlin in September next exercise the curiosity of the Continental Press and even the curiosity of certain diplomatic circles. Have those visits a political character, and, if so, what do they really mean?

It is not surprising that in Vienna, Berlin, Sofia, Cettinje and Belgrade, the official commentators characterise them as simply visits of courtesy. But it is at once evident that this unusual Balkanic courtesy to Austria and Germany is a glaring discourtesy to Turkey in her present circumstances, and that, therefore, it is very political indeed. It is well known that all three Kings have patriotic intentions about Turkish territories.

The cordial reception of "the Tsar of the Bulgarians" in Vienna and Berlin will undoubtedly encourage the national aspirations of the Bulgarians to see Macedonia at least autonomous, if not annexed to Bulgaria. And the not less cordial reception of King Nicholas of Montenegro in Vienna will encourage, at least indirectly if not directly, his aspirations to re-establish the entire kingdom of Zetta under his own sceptre.

Even in his toast to the Emperor he significantly mentioned the renewal of the Royal dignity to Montenegro. That country never had the Royal dignity for itself, but it was a part of the kingdom of Zetta, which in the twelfth century (so far back!) comprised, besides the present Montenegro, North Albania and a part of Herzegovina. It is that kingdom which King Nicholas aspires to renew and unite under his own sceptre. And his cordial reception in Vienna will be interpreted by his people, and by the turbulent Albanians their neighbours, as an encouragement on the part of Austria to King Nicholas's aspirations.

Only the three Emperors—the Russian, German and Austrian—and their most intimate advisers know what the visits of three Balkan Kings to Vienna and Berlin really mean. Ordinary Ambassadors and Ministers are left to their own conjectures.

The explanation, which finds more acceptance than any other, is the following:—

There is a secret understanding between Russia, Germany, Austria (and Italy as well) concerning the Balkans. In the first place all the three Emperors and the King of Italy will strive honestly to keep up the present *status quo* in the Balkans, combined with the preponderating economic and political influence of Russia in Bulgaria, of Austria in Serbia and Kossovo Vilayet (including the Novi Bazar Sandjak), and of the co-operating influence of Austria and Italy in Albania.

In the second place, or I may say in the second article of the secret convention, the eventuality is foreseen that in the long run the preservation of the *status quo* may prove impossible.

In such a case all the contracting Powers have bound themselves in advance to an absolute territorial "désintéressement"; neither Russia, nor Austria, nor Italy would get a foot of Balkan territory for herself. But Russia's protégée, Bulgaria, would get Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro would divide between them the Sandjak and the Kossovo Vilayet, Albania would get her autonomy under the joint protectorate of Austria and Italy.

Turkey in Europe would probably be reduced to Thracia and Constantinople, with free passage for the Russian men-of-war through the Dardanelles, which would practically mean the placing of the European remnant of Turkey under the Protectorate of Russia.

One thing is certain: Austria is highly unpopular among the Balkan Slavs. And another fact is not less certain: Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro are at present under the exclusive influence of the Russian Foreign Office. Neither "the Tsar of the Bulgarians" nor the Kings of Montenegro and Serbia are making their pilgrimage to Vienna and Berlin from their own free initiative independently of what Russia may think of it.

I have reason to believe that what precedes is the real explanation of the visits of the Balkanic Kings to the Emperors of Austria and Germany. The immediate future will confirm the truth of the statement. With the prospect of receiving satisfaction of their claims in a not too distant future, the Balkan Kings will for the present help to keep up the *status quo* in the Balkans.

The Ægean Islands.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, June 21.

A TELEGRAM from Rome to the *Écho de Paris* states that England has opened negotiations with the Powers regarding the Ægean Islands now occupied by Italy. It is said that these negotiations were undertaken by Downing Street at the request of the Greek Premier, M. Venizelos.

It now seems certain, according to this despatch, that the twelve islands now held by the Italians will never again revert to Turkey although the Sultan may be allowed to maintain a nominal sovereignty

over them. It is proposed, on the other hand, that these islands, together with Crete and Samos, shall form an autonomous confederation. While the Triple Entente and Triple Alliance Powers are discussing the matter Italy will refrain from any further action in the Aegean Sea, and it is believed that the negotiation now proceeding may be the prelude to the calling of a general conference for the purpose of discussing the termination of the war.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Chios, June 21.

The Italian Fleet is still believed to be in Chian waters, but has not shown itself again by day. In pursuance of the proclamation of martial law search has been made for concealed firearms in the villages and a few houses in Chios Town. The Turkish soldiers quartered in the interior continue to behave with self-restraint.

Reports from Kalymnos and other Southern Aegean Islands show that the Italians after occupation have withdrawn all troops except small detachments for police purposes. No Italian flag is shown, and the inhabitants are ignorant to whom they own allegiance.

Athens, June 23.

The Committee of Aegean Islanders yesterday presented a memorandum to the Italian Legation here. The document, after alluding to the desire of the islanders for union with Greece, expresses the hope that if this desire cannot be realized the autonomy of the islands may be assured. The memorial so far has not been presented to the other Legations.

Whatever may be the view which diplomacy may take of this question, it is certain that the islanders will be entirely within their rights in demanding the restoration of the ancient privileges accorded to them by successive Sultans and enjoyed for several centuries and only suppressed within recent years.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, June 23.

The Congress of Delegates from the Aegean Islands which assembled at Patmos last week elected a committee which will proceed to Rome for the purpose of expressing their gratitude to Italy for the liberation of the islands and invoking her aid in regard to the question of their political future. The resolutions passed by the Congress are published here to-day. They announce the firm determination of the islanders never to fall back under the Turkish yoke, and, after expressing a pious wish for union with Greece, proclaim the complete autonomy of the islands, based on verbal and written declarations by General Ameglio and other Italian officers as well as on the autonomous privileges acquired in past centuries and on the doctrine that no Christian people, once rescued, shall be allowed to relapse under Turkish domination. The Confederation of autonomous islands receives the name "The Aegean State." A decision in regard to the mode of election of the head of the State and of the legislative body is postponed. The flag of the Confederation will be blue with a white cross, and its emblem the sun god Apollo.

The proclamation is dated 4th June and is signed by the representatives of 12 islands.

M. Ralli, ex-Premier, has been elected to the Greek Chamber as Deputy for Arcadia. The seat was vacated in his favour by a member of his party.

Affairs in Tripoli.

THE *Berliner Tageszeitung* publishes from its Tripoli correspondent some interesting information concerning recent military operations and the situation in the town of Tripoli. With regard to the engagement at Zanzur, the correspondent confirms the report that the repeated counter-attacks by the Turks were each time successfully repelled with the bayonet and by the "murderous bombardment of the three warships lying in the vicinity." He adds, however: "Nevertheless Zanzur was not captured by the Italians and the Italians did not take a single prisoner. The losses on each side were comparatively great, especially among the Turks and Arabs. The Italians, according to official estimate, have lost 30 killed and 200 wounded, including 10 Askari killed and 60 Askari wounded. These losses of the two Askari battalions merit attention, for the Askari draw upon themselves the special hatred of the Arabs, who regard them as traitors. Officially the losses of the enemy (the Turks) is put down at over 1,000. It was difficult, however, to make an exact count. The 20,000 Italians had against them not more than 4,000 Turks and Arabs. Moreover, while the former had at their disposal the most up-to-date machinery of war, the latter had neither sufficient artillery nor sufficient cavalry. The more astonishing for these facts is the persistence with which the Arabs attacked again and again."

Still more interesting is the correspondent's description of the state of affairs in the town of Tripoli itself. He writes: "The inhabitants of Tripoli continue to lead a light-hearted—one is almost

tempted to say light-minded—life. People are dining, souping, dancing, feting, while the enemy is only a few kilometres away. Stores, restaurants, fashionable shops are opening one after the other. As the trade of the interior has completely stopped and there is no production whatsoever all articles of consumption have to be imported. The consumers are almost exclusively Italians, or those who live by them. The profits, however, flow mainly into the pockets of the native Jewish and Arab or the Maltese and Greek traders who have immigrated. The soldiers are spending their money right and left. The trade in ostrich feathers is especially flourishing, but the feathers no longer come from the British Cape Colony. According to the official figures of the Customs administration, the imports during the first three months of the present year amounted to 4,835,204 francs. . . . So long as troops and their camp followers are here business will continue to flourish. But after? To the Turks their Tripoli possession only cost 2,000,000 francs per year and Tripoli remained a small neglected port whose charm to foreigners consisted in its Oriental character and cheap living. The Italians are transforming Tripoli into a more modern city, which will make upon its inhabitants claims of a totally different kind. The sacrifices which the Italians are making are enormous. In the interests of civilisation this side of the Italian enterprise deserves the highest appreciation of the educated world. But is the land really worth these sacrifices?"

Turkey and Europe.

L'Opinion of the 15th instant contains an article, "La Vraie Question d'Orient," from the pen of M. Georges Gaulis. The writer thinks that the summoning of a conference with a view to settling the differences between Turkey and Italy would be attended by considerable risk; it would probably lead to an opening up of the entire Eastern Question; and Turkey and her friends know that the era of annexation begins, not at the hour of fighting, but with the meeting of congresses and conferences. The events of the past eight months are not calculated to inspire hope or confidence in any conference of the Powers. Perhaps the most interesting part of the article is that in which the writer defends Turkey against the charges brought against her of failing to put her house in order, and declares that such failure is due to the action of Europe, the jealousy of the Powers, rather than to the lack of endeavour on the part of the Turks themselves:—

Avez-vous bien considéré ce qui se passe en Turquie? Faites-le à loisir de peur d'être dupé par la grande intrigue qui règne sur l'Europe depuis 1908 et qui, depuis 1908, prépare le congrès où nous irons demain peut-être où l'on tentera de disséquer l'empire ottoman. L'intrigue a célébré la révolution à pleins poumons et le paradis de civilisation qui allait s'ouvrir sous la lumière du Croissant. Elle vous a préparé au miracle et comme le miracle ne s'est pas produit vous tenez que la Jeune-Turquie n'a rien fait de ses dix doigts. Prenez du loisir, je vous le répète, et allez-y voir. Vous mesurerez l'effort et vous verrez dans quel chaos de contradictions il s'est accompli. Ce chaos c'est l'Europe tutélaire et tyrannique qui l'a savamment créé en Turquie.

Turkey has been blamed (he continues) for her heavy expenditure on her army, but she has been forced into it by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, by her Cretan manoeuvres, by Montenegrin and Italian machinations in Albania, by Russian agitation amongst the Kurds. She withdrew her troops from Tripoli and Cyrenaica, coveted by Italy, in order to cope with the situation forced upon her by Europe. Germany advised her to this action, thus furnishing her with a kind of guarantee against a *coup de main* on the part of Italy. . . . Turkey has not defended her islands. To defend them a naval force was necessary, and when Turkey wished to increase her navy all Europe was profoundly displeased: it would be a useless extravagance; for who would attack Turkey by sea? And behold Italy mistress of the Turkish Archipelago!

One cannot help feeling that M. Gaulis is justified in his observations.

Powers and Turkey.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris,

I TELEGRAPHED the other day the official French statement that there was "less than ever any question of European mediation or of a European Conference." That remains true to this moment; but only for the present moment. It is more certain than ever, on the contrary, that at a future date the Powers will be irresistibly led to call a Conference. Whether that future is near or distant none can tell. What essential, dangerous, and vital questions the Conference, when it comes, may not stir up is just as uncertain, and every diplomatist is torn between two conflicting arguments.

A European Conference on the one hand seems inevitable. But, on the other, may it not be better to bear "the ills we have?" Your contributor, "A Diplomatist," foreshadows to-day, if not the ills, at least the problems "that we know not of." I may say at once that French official diplomacy refuses for the time being to look so far ahead. In particular the question bluntly put, "The possibility or impossibility of reconciling a friendly understanding with Germany in Asia with a friendly understanding with France in Europe," is one to which France can give no answer. She asks for no alliance and it was not she who thought of proposing one to us, as M. Poincaré plainly said to anyone who read between the lines of his speech; but France and her government adhere loyally to the entente with England.

Were England to conclude that, it was impossible to agree with Germany in Asia and with France in Europe simultaneously and to choose the former course, the disappointment and the resentment felt in this country would be deep and lasting. Our diplomacy must always bear in mind that the nucleus of a party, chiefly a financial party, still exists in this country, which would openly prefer a Franco-German Alliance against us to an Anglo-French Alliance against Germany, as being a far more formidable, perhaps an irresistible, coalition.

Opinion upon the immediate results of a European Conference among unofficial but competent French judges is divided into two widely divergent currents. I find Baron Denys Cochin advocating some such Tripoli Entente policy as the following: "With the help of the Powers Italy must retain several of the Aegean Isles, the others to form a Hellenic group under the guarantee of those Powers. Latin hegemony in the Mediterranean will serve the Triple Entente better than any other command of that sea," and the *Echo de Paris* expressly disclaims responsibility for its contributors' opinions. On the other hand, M. Georges Goulis, one of the Frenchmen and Europeans who know the Near East best, is vehement in the opposite sense: "If we go to a Conference, let us pray it will be after a strict understanding, binding all concerned to a disinterested resolve to baulk any attempt at partition. It is imperatively necessary to place Turkey under the aegis of some such guarantee as Gambetta eloquently evoked for us after our disasters of 1870, and woe to Europe if, at the beginning of the twentieth century, she offends immanent justice!" (*L'Opinion*.)

I am afraid the fear of imminent justice will not prevent Turkey from coming shorn out of a Conference. The above two diametrically opposed views represent competent French opinion equally well, and opinion outside this country is no more united. Hence the nerves of diplomacy.

Vienna, June 23.

A report emanating from Athens that, in the event of further Italian action in the Aegean Sea, England intends to adopt measures in Turkish interests has aroused keen attention in diplomatic and political circles here. The *Wiener Journal*, a paper which is always in active opposition to the Foreign Office, seizes the opportunity sharply to attack the Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold. It observes that Count Berchtold ought not to be blind to the example presented by England and France, which notwithstanding their traditional warm relations to Italy, act as self-conscious States, whose first task must be to defend their own interests, and not to conceal their grave displeasure against the Italian action. The attitude of the Austrian Foreign Minister is that of quiet but very significant sympathy for Italy and the Minister sacrifices all sympathy for Turkey to the phantom of the Triple Alliance. The paper concludes by declaring that the "proceedings of England not only put Austria to shame, but may have very serious consequences for the Monarchy, as the Balkan peoples would not forget that if they obtained possible autonomy it would be England to whom their thanks would be due."

Britain and Turkey.

IN AN interesting message to his journal, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* states that England is regaining her political authority in Turkey in a most remarkable way indeed; and "one must go back to the time of Sir William White's Embassy to find a similar state of things." Every word coming from London is "regarded as a revelation, and the Turkish statesmen and their journals simply hang on Sir Edward Grey's lips." The latter's recent statements in the House of Commons on the subject of the *status quo* in Asiatic Turkey and on the pilgrimage to Mecca have been received at Constantinople with the utmost satisfaction; and to judge from the quiet tone with which the Italian occupation of the Sporadis is being discussed in the semi-official Turkish journals one is justified in surmising that the Porte has received reassuring promises from the British Foreign Office. The correspondent, however, is careful to warn his readers against too hasty interpretations of this latest mood of the Young Turks. "More than once,"

he says, "in the course of recent years German diplomacy took occasion to point out to Turkish statesmen the necessity of maintaining good relations with England. One may add without committing an indiscretion that on the occasion of the visit to Berlin, nearly two years ago, of the former Grand Vizier Hussein Hilmi Pasha no other than the Kaiser himself, in the course of an audience granted to the Turkish statesman, strongly emphasised the importance of good relations between Turkey and England. Hilmi Pasha on returning home reported this in detail to the Council of Ministers. These facts," the writer adds, "are only mentioned with a view to disposing in advance of the erroneous inference that a *rapprochement* between Turkey and England must necessarily be accompanied by an estrangement between Turkey and Germany."

Position in the Near East.

IN AN article devoted to the consideration of the present phase of the Italo-Turkish war the *Journal des Débats* welcomes the tendency towards a calmer mood which is noticeable in the diplomatic world, where the only disturbance is the anxiety of Russia and England on the subject of the Dardanelles. "Turkey, however," it says, "need not fear the two Powers so long as she persists in her wise decision not to close the Straits. On the other hand, Italy cannot lose sight of the fact that if complete liberty of action is guaranteed to her in Tripoli and the adjoining waters her agreements with the other Governments do not at all extend to the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and that she must in consequence take full account of the European interests in that portion of the theatre of war. It is true that a state of the war exists between Italy and Turkey and that it justifies all acts of war. At the same time this war, in view of the condition in which it broke out without the least provocation on the part of Turkey, cannot be allowed to have for its effect the ruin of the interests of the other Powers outside Tripoli, or the displacement of the equilibrium in the Aegean Sea. The Rome Cabinet ought to recognise by now that it would have been infinitely wiser on its part to have confined its action to Tripoli, to have concentrated there all its efforts, and to have installed itself there as best it could without seeking to obtain from the Porte an impossible capitulation."

As for France, the journal adds, she would be ever prepared to act in a conciliatory manner as between the two belligerents, but for that "it is necessary that she should not be called upon to do anything incompatible with her traditional warm friendship with Turkey. At this moment less than ever could France enter any combination which is directed against the Ottoman Empire. It is only too obvious what she would lose by such a policy. One would seek in vain to find what she could gain by it."

Unemployment in Italy.

AMID the paeans of victory with which the operations at Zannir has been hailed by the Chauvinist press of Italy,—operations which have resulted simply in the reoccupation of a position already held by the Italian troops as far back as December last—an appeal published in the *Secolo* emphasises what war means to those on whom the chief burden falls. The Italian Government, having to find money for the war in Tripoli, is applying the screw in every direction, and has so haggled over the prices to be paid for certain repairs to the rolling stock of the State railways that a large firm of Government contractors in Milan (the *Officine Elettro-Ferrovie*) has been compelled to discharge a further batch of workmen, 400 of whom have signed an appeal for help to the leading Radical organ of Italy.

The signatories declare that their grievous case is common to other industries in Milan, and that of 1,500 men normally employed at the Officine there only 600 now remain at work; they raise a solemn protest in the name of the hunger that awaits them against these discharges of workmen *en masse*, and ask if money exists in Italy only for the War Office.

Arabic Influence in Turkey.

DURING the last few days it has been rumoured in some quarters that the situation created by the Turco-Italian war was about to undergo an important development, that the Powers of the Triple Entente would take steps to bring about a solution of the crisis, and that Turkey, anxious to recover the Islands in the Aegean, would give way in Tripoli. After inquiries conducted in well-informed quarters, I have failed to obtain confirmation of this news.

Of course, exchanges of views have taken place, and are still taking place, between London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, but so far no result likely to advance the cause of peace has been obtained.

and no definite concerted action in Oriental affairs has been arranged for.

As to the Turkish Government, its point of view has not been altered in consequence of the seizure of the islands. It may seem surprising to many that the recovery of the African vilayets being beyond hope, the Porte does not display any anxiety to retain at least its Aegean possessions.

Such is the explanation of the situation as given to me from an authoritative source. It makes clear at the same time the present position of affairs—a very serious one indeed.

The Arab-speaking populations in the Ottoman Empire are numerically predominant, and the day when they will be politically predominant in the Parliament is not so remote as some imagine, so that the Turkish Cabinet is bound not to make light of the Arabic feelings and wishes. They are decidedly in favour of pushing forward the energetic campaign now carried on in Tripoli—essentially an Arabian land. Among the Arabs, any recognition by Turkey of the Treaty of Annexation voted in the Italian Parliament, would be considered as an act of treason, and would not be obeyed by the combatants themselves.

In short, the day where the peace would be signed by Turkey at the price of Tripoli would see the beginning of a general secession from Constantinople of all Arabic elements. It would spell the disruption of the Turkish Empire.

As a matter of fact, important as the Aegean Islands may be to Turkey, they are of little value compared to what the retention of Arab loyalty means for the statesmen on the Bosphorus.

In one circumstance only will the Turkish Ministers agree even to consider the abandonment of Tripoli to its fate—if, through the action of Italy, or of any other Power, a situation likely to lead directly to the break up of the Empire occurred.—*The Pall Mall Gazette*.

Austrian Advice to Italy.

UNDER the title of "Die Aktien Italiens," *Danzers Armee Zeitung*, in its issue of 20th June, discusses the military situation at some length:—

Nearly nine months (observes its contributor, F. L.) have passed since those days of suspense in September last when Italy translated into military action that lust for expansion which has been hers since the eighties. And yet, in spite of creditable performances on the part of her troops, she has not got much further as to these African provinces than she was at the beginning of the war. Turkey has once again proved herself most surprisingly tough—in fact, there is no blinking the fact that an appeal from the Caliph to war still carries with it its wonted and irresistible power, and Italy is forced again and again to acknowledge that Tripoli and Cyrenaica must continue to exact their toll of life and money as long as the defensive is maintained or until organised Turkey and the Caliph are forced to bow to Italy's will. The munitions of war flow in an uninterrupted stream through Tunis and Egypt into the debated country. Nor is Italy in a position to avert this; and it is becoming always more evident that what was said in the early days of this campaign as to the advantages to the enemy in that these African territories lie afar off and would therefore be more easily detached from the main Government, has not proved to be the case. Turkey, in fact, has not received any mortal blow, while, on the other hand, strength may be said to flow to her unhindered from the Muhammadan lands close by.

The writer then alludes to Italy's change of tactics, to the renewed activity in the matter of bombarding Tripoli, to the action in the Red Sea which raised the ire of the independent tribes inhabiting those regions, and finally to the system of pin-pricks instituted about the Dardanelles and the cannonade of Beyrout.

All these little methods were collectively intended not only to exasperate Turkey, but also to draw others into difficulties; and yet, in face of the unshaken calm of the Sublime Porte, these means have signally failed. Even the last threat—the occupation of Rhodes and the other islands—has been without effect, and must continue to be so, seeing that less than ever can Turkey now give way unless she be resolved to yield up her position as the foremost Power of Islam, as the valorous defender of Allah on Africa's burning soil. And would she not endanger her prestige in the Balkans, to say nothing of her many other more loosely attached subjects, who in the loss of Tripoli would read the fall from power of the Caliphate upon the African continent. And what about the great neutral Powers who with all their divergent interests, are ever ready to interfere in the affairs of Turkey?

Referring to the loud complaints now heard in commercial quarters touching local hindrances to trade, he observes with some significance that "there are many roads which lead to Constantinople." "F. L." is, indeed, of opinion that both Italy and Turkey are more obstinately intent than ever on pursuing their quarrel, and observes that what began in the first place as a purely colonial campaign has developed into a war between two strong military states. Where and in what way, therefore, might Italy be able to take a really decisive step? Further action on land about Tripoli, he declares to be worse than useless, for here Turkey can always count on reinforcements; while operations among the islands would necessitate strong reinforcements for Italy. Therefore, he is of opinion that their only remaining "card" now is to concentrate their attention upon the Dardanelles—"that small, much-debated and undermined portion of European Turkey which separates her from that great reservoir of her strength, Turkey in Asia." Nor does the writer prescribe this measure in the form of a merely passing action.

Only the permanent hold in the narrow ways leading from the entrance to the Dardanelles on to Constantinople, the actual severance from Asia of European Turkey which would leave her in a strongly exposed situation, is the *coup* likely to bring the Sublime Porte into the fatal position of necessary surrender.

Whether Italy be in a position to do this is a question upon which opinions appear to differ, although the strange and culpable neglect Turkey has shown as to her navy as well as her coastal defences would seem in her enemy's favour. Nevertheless this desultory campaign and the prolonged waiting for some easier solution has but served to make the soldiers' task a more arduous one.

Italy, concludes the article, is having the game to herself this time, without any allies, for the situation is totally different from what it was in 1859 and in 1866—she will have to make some blow of energy, for her international reputation is at stake.

Sultan's Friday Prayers.

("EXPRESS" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 7.

THE present Sultan has re-established the imperial residence on the shore of the Bosphorus which Abdul Hamid deserted in the fear of meeting the same fate as one of his predecessors, who was awakened one morning by the bombarding of his palace by the guns of his own fleet.

Leaving the ancient dwelling of the Sultans on the Pointe du Serail—the scene of many a sanguinary tragedy—his father, Abdul-Medjid, installed himself in the spacious and beautiful palace erected by his architect, Garabed Balian, on a site on the seashore called Dolma-Baghtché. His successor lived there even after he had built the palace of Tchiragan, situated a little higher up.

But the suspicious nature of Abdul Hamid forbade him to feel comfortable between the sea and street, and exposed in consequence to all sorts of eventualities, and he isolated himself on the height of Yildiz, in a situation accessible from one side only and protected by the large park which surrounds it.

Dolma-Baghtché, of all existing Turkish palaces, is the only one, with the exception of Beylerbey, on the Asiatic shore, which justifies its name. It is the only imperial Turkish residence where grand ceremonies can be held, for it is the only one that possesses a throne-room capable of accommodating a large assembly.

With the beginning of the present régime Dolma-Baghtché was thoroughly overhauled, and it badly needed repairs, since for half a century the vast edifice had hardly ever been touched. A little west of the palace, and also on the shore, is situated the mosque called Validé, where the weekly ceremony of the Selamlık generally takes place.

A square planted with trees and ornamented with a clock tower separates the palace from the mosque. It sometimes happens, of course, that the Sultan offers his Friday prayers elsewhere, but the proximity of Validé to Dolma-Baghtché gives it the privilege of receiving the Padishah most regularly.

When the Sultan is about to leave the palace for the mosque, all the approaches are occupied by battalions of infantry and squadrons of cavalry. The traffic is not entirely held up, as was the case under the old régime and the people are allowed to pass between the military lines until the sharp sounds of a bugle announce that the Commander of the Faithful is taking his place in his carriage. The troops present arms, and the crowd is held back behind the hedge of bayonets.

Another bugle blast and the battalions drawn up nearest the entrance to the palace shout the old Ottoman cry, wishing long life

to their Sovereign—"Padishahim tchuk Yacha!" Then one sees the large victoria drawn by four white horses with long tails almost touching the ground, advancing at a slow and dignified trot.

Mehmed the Fifth, who is always alone in his carriage, salutes the troops with a long and emphatic gesture. He is often smiling, especially now that the war in Africa has taken a better turn. Last autumn his face ordinarily appeared sad and worried, for the Sultan is a man of nervous sensibility, and he is acutely affected by passing events. His whole appearance is in striking contrast with the impassible mask of Abdul Hamid, who remained unmoved alike by the delirious acclamations of the crowd in July 1908 and during his own journey of Canossa, to St. Sophia, several weeks later.

If it be true that the countenance is the mirror of the soul, it is particularly with Oriental sovereigns that one seeks for indication of character in their manner and expression.

The grand orchestra of the palace is taking its place in the courtyard of the mosque, and it begins to play the Imperial March while the Sultan is still some distance off. Three shouts from the troops interrupt its repetition as his Imperial Majesty makes his entrance into the mosque, where he has been preceded by several of the ladies of his harem. His Ministers have awaited him at the door, and the spectacle is assuredly not without interest and significance. The solemn silence that used to announce the dreaded approach of Abdul Hamid no longer marks these Friday ceremonies, but they none the less possess that character of solemnity which always impresses an Oriental crowd.

Outside the mosque, when the Sultan is taking his place, the crowd, which had remained strangely still during the passing of the Sultan, once more becomes animated.

The prayers are finished, and the Sultan receives the Ministers who are present and questions them on public affairs. With Abdul Hamid it was the foreign Ambassadors who had access to him immediately after the Friday Selamluk ceremony. They had generally many things to say, for he personally directed the foreign policy of the empire, and often without consulting his Ministers. To-day the Diplomatic Corps has nothing to do directly with this constitutional Sovereign. It is only just to remember, however, that the British Embassy always made it a point of honour to address itself on current affairs only to the Sublime Porte—the Turkish Foreign Office—not departing from this principle even when it could quite well have negotiated direct with the Sovereign.

The conversations finished, the Sultan again takes his place in his carriage to the shrill strains of the orchestra, and returns to the palace by the same road.

In the Wake of the War.

ISLAND after island in the Aegean Sea is being occupied by the Italians, writes a correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette*. There is no resistance from the Turks, but a rumour is heard that the Dardanelles may be again closed, and this alone seems to cause any interest in this interminable war. A few weeks ago I started from Athens to reach Constantinople, though strongly advised not to make the attempt, for the Dardanelles were then closed and mines were freely scattered about the harbour at Smyrna, where we first landed. It was early evening when we passed out of the Bay of Athens and rounded Cape Colonna. The white marble pillars of the temple of Neptune at Sunium stood out clearly and impressively in the twilight—for many centuries now these pillars have been the first glimpse of the homeland to the roving Greek. At dawn next day we were coasting along the shore of Chios, now called Scio, and the bare hills of the island were lit up by the morning sun. Nearly all these Aegean islands have this bare look from the sea, for the mountains conceal the fertile valleys where vineyards, olive groves and cornfields flourish, and here little villages are found in which people can dream away their existence in one of the most delightful climates of the world. Scio has its tragic memories of the awful massacre of 1822 during the war for Greek independence. The Turks were let loose on this prosperous island by the Sultan's command, and all the dregs of the population of Smyrna were allowed to pillage and loot here. Out of 60,000 inhabitants only 5,000 remained, and a multitude of women and children were sold into slavery. The horrors of that time have never been forgotten and a Greek on board brought the tale to my recollection.

After passing Scio we soon reached the great Gulf of Smyrna, which is certainly a rival to the Bay of Naples in beauty. The Italian Fleet was expected and the blockade of Smyrna was hourly looked for. Here was the danger zone, and we began to stream along much more slowly, for a look-out was being kept for the harbour tug to guide us through the region of the deadly mines.

The harbour was four miles in width at this point, and when the pilot boat arrived we had to follow her very slowly and with the greatest care on a thread-like course. Her movement seemed very mysterious, and one realised the impossibility of finding the passage without this guide, yet on all sides the sea stretched in absolute tranquillity, hiding all trace of the machinery of death beneath her surface. Some people on board insisted that there were no mines, that the whole business was a farce to deceive the Italians and to gain the 200 francs which is the fee for taking a ship through this part of the gulf. But the very next day the awful experience of the *Texas* showed the reality of the danger, for this ship, on coming out from Smyrna with her load of pilgrims, was blown up and a hundred lives were lost, through carelessness in not following the exact course marked out, although guns from the fort had boomed out their warning.

When we reached the safe waters the little steamer glided away to the left with a shrill whistle, and soon we were passing the fort and entering the inner harbour. Across the entrance were the huge hulks of seven disabled ships ready to be sunk here on the approach of the enemy's fleet. The narrow passage would then have been effectually blocked. We anchored near the quay, and a multitude of boats darted out and surrounded the vessel, and the decks were soon crowded with a host of people with all the usual noise, confusion, and bustle that marks an Eastern port.

How curiously indifferent the Turks are to the war is shown by the fact that our captain was an Italian! In Smyrna there was no trace of excitement—the bazaars were just as crowded, the whole life of the town was in its normal condition. Italians were to be seen in the streets, the churches were open, and Sisters of Mercy and priests were unmolested. At this time we heard there was no prospect of the Dardanelles being opened, though hundreds of ships were waiting in the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora. The tremendous expense of this delay and the loss of perishable goods seemed to be the only inconvenience caused by the war, and this fell chiefly on the trade of other nations.

Before noon we left the harbour and passed up the gulf with the same ceremonies as in the morning. We had shipped a large number of passengers who had been waiting for a chance of reaching Constantinople, for the train journey is a wearisome round and takes at least three days. It was almost dark when we entered the port of Mitylene. The island of Sapho veiled her beauties, but the mountains rose to a grander height in the gloom, and the air was sweet with a thousand scents on that calm evening. Lights circled the whole of the bay and gleamed in hundreds amid the dark mass of trees, houses were outlined in living flame, rockets were shooting up into the sky, and a military band was playing. It was the Accession Day of the Sultan and the whole town was *en fête*.

After an hour at Mitylene we steamed away towards the north, and soon the outline of the island disappeared in the darkness of the night. I had a long talk with a Turkish pasha who was on board, and naturally I wished to hear his views of the war. The courtesy of the Turk is proverbial, and one remembers the saying of some statesman at the time of the Crimean War that the Turk was the only gentleman left in Europe. The attitude of my friend towards the war was one of amusement at the futile efforts of the Italians. "A great Western Power," he said, "whom we have been taught to look upon with awe and respect, has succeeded in taking Tripoli, and has got no further. Our regular troops are not there, and only a handful of our Arabs oppose them." I suggested that they might land on the mainland. "Ah, we wish for nothing better, for our soldiers *can* fight, but they will not come." I mentioned the enormous cost of the war. "It is costing us very little," he said, "but poor Italy is spending her millions; their only hope is in the interference of the Powers." The policy of procrastination which Turkey adopts recalls to me the phrase of the old Hebrew prophet: "Her strength is to sit still." Whatever happens will be met with that curious fatalism, which is strongest characteristic of the East—a lesson it has learnt all too thoroughly from its religion, for it strikes at the root of any strenuous effort. A Greek comic paper which I bought at Smyrna and showed to my friend had an amusing commentary on the war. Victor Emmanuel had just sat down in a comfortable armchair marked "Tripoli," he is jumping up again in a great hurry, having found an enormous spike hidden in the seat of the chair!

Early next morning we anchored in the roadstead off Dedeagatch. In the distance there was a fine view of the snow mountains of Samothrace, rising from the mist which completely hid the lower part of the island and gave one the effect of a mysterious cloudland. Dedeagatch is a small Macedonian port which suddenly leaped into prominence during the closing of the Dardanelles, for steamers landed their passengers and cargoes here. A wearisome railway journey of twelve hours brings one to Constantinople.

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The Week.

British Navy.

In the House of Commons of July 22nd Mr. Churchill introduced the supplementary Naval Estimates. He said the direct cause thereof was the new German Navy Law which he proceeded to examine in detail. Its main feature, he said, was increase in the striking force of the ships. All classes were immediately available. Its general effect was the maintenance of four-fifths of the German Navy in full permanent commission, which meant that it was constantly and instantly ready for war. Such preparation, said Mr. Churchill, was remarkable, and so far as he was aware, found no example in the previous practice of modern Naval Powers. The German plans involved a remarkable expansion of strength and efficiency. Discussing the general question of the growth of modern navies Mr. Churchill said that cool study and methodical preparation prolonged over successive years could alone raise a margin of naval power. It was useless flinging money about on the impulse of the moment. The strain ~~we~~ should have to bear would be long and slow. No relief could be gained from impulsive erratic action. We should learn from our German neighbours the way a policy marches unswervingly to its goal. We must have an ample margin of strength instantly ready. There must be steady systematic development of our naval forces, untiringly directed and pursued over a number of years. Mr. Churchill

turned to the steps necessary on our part. The new construction referred to in the Supplementary Estimates, he said, was not extensive but the number of ships we should have to build in the next few years would have to be raised from the figures at which he had hoped it might stand. Provision was made for additional submarines and it had been found convenient to accelerate the construction of light cruisers. The main feature of the New German Navy Law would be increased fighting power, which their Fleet would possess. That involved the reorganisation of British forces in order that we might maintain the necessary margin of safety. Mr. Churchill proposed to raise the number of battleships in full commission from twenty-eight to thirty-three. There would also be a Second Fleet consisting of eight vessels. We should have from 1914 onwards five battleship squadrons comprising forty-one battleships of which four squadrons would be in full commission. There would thus be thirty-three of our ships against the German twenty-nine. This might not perhaps be considered a very satisfactory proportion, but having regard to the character of the vessels the arrangement proposed would in the opinion of the Admiralty be adequate to the needs of 1914-15. Mr. Churchill dwelt exhaustively on the question of manning of ships, declaring that it would be necessary to make large additions to the *personnel* for the next four years. He foreshadowed an increase in pay, and promised to make definite proposals in this connection in the autumn. He said a Royal Commission under Lord Fisher would be appointed to enquire into the question of fuel for ships in commission. This, however, implied no sudden extensive change in the subject of naval construction. Turning to the Mediterranean question, Mr. Churchill pointed out that the naval position there was about to undergo very important changes in view of the advent of the Italian and Austrian Dreadnoughts. He demurred altogether to the assumption that those two Powers whose past history was not altogether free from differences, who had never had a quarrel with us and with whom we had long been upon most friendly and most cordial terms, were likely to combine together for the purpose of attacking us. He also demurred to the suggestion that we ought to maintain, apart from our general supremacy, apart from our margin in home waters, a local superiority in the Mediterranean over the combined fleets of those Powers. We were determined to withdraw six of the older battleships from the Mediterranean and to replace them by four battle-cruisers of the *Invincible* type. The *Invincibles* would go out in the winter. Further the armoured cruiser squadron would be replaced by more powerful armoured cruisers. A torpedo station would be established at Alexandria. Referring to Mr. Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, who was in the gallery Mr. Churchill paid a tribute to the efforts of the Canadian Ministers but declared that no announcement would be made until Mr. Borden and the other Ministers who had been in conference with the Admiralty, had returned and consulted their colleagues.

Continuing the debate on the Navy Estimates, Mr. Balfour said, he would defer criticism on the question of strategy. Although we might groan at the magnitude of this expenditure, we should have anyhow the consolation that we were not building for ambition. We were building for peace, and so long as we were building for peace and security, so long should we have the support of the opinion of the great Dominions and the

smaller States of Europe and the enlightened approval of mankind. A Royal Commission under Lord Fisher was about to be appointed to enquire regarding the application of oil fuel to warships. The enquiry would be a long business and did not portend any sudden or extensive changes in the methods of naval construction.

The following is a more complete version of some passages of Mr. Churchill's speech which demand fuller reporting. Mr. Churchill said:—"The Supplementary Estimate is, of course, only the first and smallest instalment of extra expenditure which the new German Law entails upon us. The number of ships we shall have to build during the next five years to maintain the 69 per cent. standard will have to be raised from the figure at which we hoped we would stand, namely, the three next years, and four and three alternately in succeeding years to five next year and four in each succeeding year. The Germans are spending about a million a year on submarines and we cannot allow our lead in submarines to be diminished. The estimates include £160,000 for a Fleet repair ship to be attached to the third battle squadron. Four Mediterranean battleships now stationed at Gibraltar replacing the old Atlantic Fleet will be raised to eight in two years, including the two powerful vessels ready in 1913, and they will be provided with a subsidiary base at Malta enabling them to operate in the Mediterranean, if necessary. All the movements of the Gibraltar squadron will be regulated by the main situation, but its existence and position must not be overlooked, when I deal with arrangements for the Mediterranean. It will be necessary to provide two extra destroyer flotillas, one this year and one the year after next." Dealing with the question of manning, Mr. Churchill announced that the first batch of officers from the lower deck were now being selected and their names would be announced shortly. In regard to the Mediterranean, he said that the maintenance of local supremacy there, apart from general supremacy, would mean a three-power standard plus an additional 60 over the strongest naval power and would impose a burden not justified by any vital or fundamental needs. The command of the Mediterranean could not be treated as something wholly separated from the general command of the sea. Any attempt to confine naval supremacy to a particular water was false strategy and bad politics. He did not propose to indicate naval dispositions which we should adopt to meet various contingencies which might arise. It was clear however that the force least suited to war in the Mediterranean would be the comparatively old vessels recently representing the Mediterranean fleet which would become an easy prey to a few ships. The right way to maintain British interests in the Mediterranean was to employ the smallest number of modern ships good enough for the work they would have to do. Even without the Gibraltar Battle Squadron, the Malta Squadron would be most formidable and unapproachable in speed by any vessels of equal power being built or projected. The Mediterranean combination of speed and gunpower offered the highest advantages, specially for trade protection, and in conjunction with the French Navy it would be superior to all possible combinations. These vessels could be spared from home owing to our great margin of powerful cruisers over the next strongest naval power.

Mr. Churchill continued:—"It is not unlikely that the Mediterranean Squadron will require reinforcing at the end of 1915-16, and if so, steps will be taken in due time. The Admiralty has received information indicating that one of the Mediterranean Powers is contemplating another considerable naval programme. If this be correct, it will constitute a new fact requiring prompt attention and it is not included in the forecasts I have given of future naval construction. The task of maintaining the naval power of the Empire under existing conditions is a heavy one. All the world is arming as never before, and we have to protect the dominions and territories scattered over every continent and ocean. There is an earnest desire on the part of the dominions to assist in the common defence of the Empire and the time has come to make that disposition effective. Apart altogether from material aid, the effect of the arrival on the blue waters of these new nations of the British Empire cannot be measured." In conclusion Mr. Churchill ridiculed the pictures which had been drawn of imperialist and economist sections of the Cabinet waging savage and perpetual war which was only suspended from time to time by unsatisfactory and unnatural compromise. The questions with which they had been dealing were not such in which compromise could easily enter. "It is easy to change a minister but it is not easy to change facts. They are unavoidable and have to be dealt with, however unpleasant the consequences. The policy I have submitted is the policy of the Admiralty. On behalf of the Admiralty I ask nothing which is not necessary, and I have not asked anything that I have not got." United British Empire means the safety of the British Empire and probably also the peace of the world. If we are told that the beginnings of co-operation in difference must be accompanied by the beginnings of association in policy, then I say that both measured by defence and by the policy of co-operation of the dominions with the United

Kingdom would be of inestimable benefit and strength Empire in general and the cause of peace. If, he added, we could secure even at that sacrifice peace we should have done great things.

After referring to the visit of the Canadian Minister in similar terms to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Asquith in the course of his speech said:—"Side by side with growing participation in the active burdens of the Empire on the part of the dominions, there rests with us undoubtedly the duty of making such response as we can to their obviously reasonable appeal to be heard in the determination of the Empire's policy and the direction of its affairs." Arrangements to this end cannot be made in a day. They must be the result of very mature deliberations and will probably have to be developed from time to time. But without committing ourselves to any particular form of arrangement, we share with the great Dominions their feelings which as years have passed have become more and more conscious and articulate that we have a common heritage and interests, and that in the enjoyment of that heritage and discharge of duties which those interests involve we are more and more conscious partners one with the other."

The Supplementary Estimate for 1,500 men was subsequently adopted by 291 votes to 42.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Charles Beresford, Mr. Arthur Lee and other critics of Government declared that the Ministers were making war inevitable, Mr. MacDonald's argument being that Government was building in a panic and assuming the worst, while the Conservatives based their contention on the discrepancy between Mr. Churchill's alarmist talk and Government's lack of preparation.

There was an interesting passage between Mr. Balfour and Lord Charles Beresford.

The former said it was improbable that Britain would engage singlehanded the Triple Alliance in the event of war.

Lord Charles Beresford entirely disagreed. He said that Russia and France would not help much for the next two years.

He and his friends were astonished at Mr. Balfour praising Mr. Churchill. One bright spot in the outlook was the promised aid of the Colonies.

Dr. Macnamara mentioned that concessions regarding the wages of dockyard workers amounted to £41,000 yearly. He hoped to be able before Parliament reassembled to announce proposals to improve the condition of bluejackets.

The *Times*, *Standard* and *Daily Mail* criticise Mr. Churchill's speech on the lines of the arguments employed by the Conservative Members on the 22nd July debate. The *Morning Post* says the nation would have been pleased if Mr. Churchill had announced the laying down of a squadron of eight battleships corresponding to the cruisers in the Mediterranean. The *Daily Chronicle* welcomes the manifestations of Colonial aid, but says that relief from the burden can only be obtained by improvement in relation with Germany. The *Times* concludes its criticisms by pointing out that the debate is memorable for Mr. Asquith's recognition of the right of the dominions to be heard in determining Imperial policy, and says that Mr. Borden must have realised that the moral effect of his visit is already a considerable addition to the prestige of the Empire. The *Daily Telegraph* writes in whole-hearted praise of Mr. Churchill. It says a new page was turned yesterday in the history of the Empire with the announcement of Canada's offer to share the burden and the right of the dominions to be called to the Councils of the Empire.

The *Daily News* asks if it is impossible to turn 'back on the fatal path of the Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian friendships. The supreme task of liberal government ought to be to secure Anglo-German friendship.

Mr. Borden, speaking at the banquet given by the London Chamber of Commerce, said:—"We have been received here in the most cordial spirits and I earnestly believe that some good has been effected by our mission. We return with a message of friendship and co-operation and the determination on the part of the people of the Motherland that they with the citizens of the Dominions are not afraid of the responsibilities of the Empire."

In the House of Lords on July 23rd Lord Selborne called attention to the gravity of the situation revealed in Mr. Churchill's statement on July 22nd with which he dealt in detail. His Lordship said that the Government's proposals, especially with regard to the Mediterranean, were mere temporary make-shifts, which proved conclusively that we were at least eight battle-ships short. He heartily endorsed Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Asquith's reference to the Dominions as marking an evolution in the history of the Empire.

Lord Crewe in reply admitted the gravity of the position and laid emphasis on the assurance that there were no divisions of opinion in the Cabinet on the subject. To announce a great programme, he said, would simply be to spur on others and thus defeat their own object. He welcomed the participation of the Dominions which, he said, must mean the representation of their interests in the Council of the Empire. Our best powers should be used to consider how best this might be achieved.

Lord Haldane agreed that in the absence of sufficient sea-power, the garrisons in the Mediterranean were ludicrously inadequate. With adequate sea-power, however, no attack on them could be sustained. So far as the position existed at present, he declared, we were giving the garrisons the protection of adequate sea-power. "I am far from wishing to speak in a tone of easy optimism," continued Lord Haldane, "on the contrary, the country is face to face with one of the most trying naval situations. The Government has made up its mind that Great Britain's position depends on her sea-power. We told the only Power that is our rival, in the friendliest fashion, that that was our view and that whatever efforts they put forth they must reckon on our making still greater efforts than theirs. We have said that we will do that not with any intention of aggression but because our sea-power is our life and that therein we intend to remain supreme. That is the view of the Government. That is the view to which we have pledged ourselves."

In the House of Commons on July 24th during the further debate on the Supplementary Naval Estimate, Mr. Churchill said it was incorrect to say that battleships were withdrawn from the Mediterranean because they were wanted in Home waters. They were withdrawn in the first place because they were useless where they were in the presence of the new ships of Austria and Italy, and, secondly, because their crews were wanted to man the more powerful ships of the *King Edward* class, which otherwise would have to be relegated to the reserve. Mr. Churchill denied that the transfer of the four battle-cruisers to Malta would reduce the fleet in the Home waters below what the Admiralty had hitherto considered the irreducible minimum. Mr. Churchill clearly intimated that if the naval strength of other Powers in the Mediterranean developed, we should increase our force, and, if necessary, create a Dreadnought battle-squadron there. Sufficient men would be available in 1915 to man three or four battle-ships above the fixed number. "We have the situation well in hand," said Mr. Churchill, "and there is no need for panic and alarm."

The House of Commons has adopted the supplementary naval estimates, rejecting a Radical motion for its reduction by 281 votes to 32.

Reuter wires from Paris:—The *Matin* affirms that Italy is about to lay down six super-dreadnoughts, the first two at the end of 1912, and Austria three. This is regarded as explaining Mr. Churchill's reference to a Mediterranean Power contemplating a considerable programme.

Home Rule.

In his speech at Dublin, 20th July, Mr. Asquith said:—The "Chaotic Opposition cannot wreck the Home Rule Bill, which will go to the Lords before Christmas whatever they do." They, however, could no longer override the judgment of the people. Home Rule was the first step in Imperial re-organisation, of which it was the only solution. He was in no way embarrassed by threats of civil war. He did not believe in the prospect thereof. The British people would not tolerate an attempt of the minority to frustrate the great international settlement in which Government had the sympathy of all the dominions.

Russo-Japanese Alliance.

Reuter wires from Tokio on 18th July:—The report published in the *Times* of 4th July of a Russo-Japanese Alliance is incorrect. There have been no negotiations for such a purpose and none are projected. Prince Katsura's tour is not connected with any specific political development. Most important notes, however, passed between the two capitals supplementing the agreements of 1907 and 1910, with the object of defining the respective spheres of interest of Russia in outer Mongolia and Northern Manchuria and Japan in inner Mongolia and southern Manchuria, inner Mongolia meaning that portion of Manchuria formerly so-called. The negotiations have resulted in the clearest understanding and the *entente* is of the greatest importance for the preservation of peace in the Far East, second only in importance to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

A message to the *Times* from St. Petersburg states that the Russo-Japanese Agreement includes the obligation for the joint defence of Manchuria and Mongolia in the event of either Power being attacked.

Sir Edward Grey replying to a question regarding the Russo-Japanese understanding relating to spheres of influence in Manchuria and Mongolia said, there was no reason to suppose that any agreement or understanding was contemplated which would adversely affect the principle of open door in regard to British commerce there. He drew attention to the Russo-Japanese Convention of 1907, recognising the independence and territorial integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity in commerce and industry for all.

The *Times* expresses satisfaction that Japan and Russia have arrived at a mutually satisfactory agreement. "Britain," the journal continues, "is united to Russia by friendship, which is of the utmost importance for the balance of power in Europe and is united to Japan by an Alliance the value of which not only to ourselves and Japan but to China and the whole world has been amply demonstrated during the past nine months. Sir Edward Grey's recent tribute to the beneficent effect of the Alliance was in no wise exaggerated, and the conversation which Prince Katsura

will have in St. Petersburg, London and elsewhere cannot fail to produce an even better understanding."

PRINCE KATSURA conferred for two hours on July 24th with M. Kokovtseff, Russian Minister, with regard to the position of Russia and Japan in Manchuria. It is stated that Russia is disinclined to enter into engagements which might conduce to complications with China. There will certainly be no written Treaty arrangement.

Afghanistan.

EARLY in this month a party of Mangals and Ghilzais, numbering with their families several thousand souls, crossed into the Kurram Valley from Khost. These tribesmen had been concerned in the recent rebellion and took refuge in British territory, when the rising collapsed. Their encampment was a large one and trouble might have arisen from their presence in the Borderland under the agreement between the British Government and the Kabul Durbar. Refugees or outlaws are allowed to remain in the vicinity of the frontier and the Political Agent at Kurram accordingly gave notice to these tribesmen that they must either return to their homes or submit to being disarmed and removed to a distance. A few days ago the whole encampment broke up and the party recrossed in Khost on the way to their own villages. They will probably not be molested by Afghan authorities.

The Kabul authorities have come to an arrangement with some of the principal traders in Eastern Afghanistan by which the Kafiristan route to Central Asia will be more extensively used. This route will be from Jellalabad through Asmar and over the Wanjan Pass to Badakhshan, whence some of the Kafilas will march north-west to Bokhara and others north-east to Awakhan and Kashgaria. Merchants in the Russian territory are said to have agreed to adopt this route when sending goods from the Khanates. This arrangement has been brought about as a result of the promise by the Amir's Government that armed escorts will be provided for all caravans.

China.

REUTER wires from Peking:—A fresh ministerial deadlock has occurred. The Assembly has vetoed all Yuanshikai's nominees to the Cabinet. The Premier alone remains, but he will resign immediately.

Private news received from Yunnan shows that the state of the province is still very unsatisfactory. There is laxity of control by the Republican authorities and a feeling of general insecurity prevails.

Tibet.

THE *Times* draws attention to the importance of Tibet's struggle for independence and considers that the restoration of Chinese authority is exceedingly unlikely, in view of China's state of disorganisation and lack of money and men. The time is possibly approaching, the journal says, when Great Britain will have to reconsider her position with regard to Tibetan questions. The Chinese Government having been ousted from Tibet by the Tibetans themselves, may never again be in a position to act as an intermediary in British and Russian negotiations with Tibet, as provided by the Anglo-Russian Convention. Moreover, the Chinese have deliberately ignored the Anglo-Russian and the Anglo-Chinese Conventions. Britain, the journal concludes, does not seek a single inch of Tibet, but the cause of the unfortunate Tibetans struggling for freedom deserves our sympathy.

Egypt.

FURTHER discoveries have been made in Egypt in connection with the plot against Lord Kitchener. The Cairo correspondent of the *Express* says that the suspicions of the police were aroused by visits paid by a number of individuals to a newly-built house at Shubra, three miles to the north of Cairo. Two young men were surprised there on Monday night, but declared that they had met merely to discuss politics. When a search of the building was made, most compromising documents were found and the two men were arrested. Two other young men were also searched and arrested. Compromising papers were discovered in their possession. A police visit was then paid to the offices of the Nationalist newspaper *El Lewa*. This led to further arrests and to the seizure of sixty-four bags of papers. The disclosures made by the correspondence seized led the police to pay visits and to make searches in fifteen other houses in Cairo and the neighbourhood. Letters seized show that one conspirator had gone to Alexandria to prepare the assassination of the Premier, but, finding that he was being watched, he returned to Cairo, where he conferred with his fellow-conspirators. Detectives disguised as peasants were set to watch four other persons, (adds the *Express* correspondent). They followed them in a train to Shubra village. On alighting the men were overheard discussing the proposed assassination of Lord Kitchener, and three of them were arrested. The fourth escaped, but was captured later in the day at Berketelab. A photograph of one of the men under arrest was shown to Captain Fitzgerald, who is attached to Lord Kitchener, who at once recognised it as that of the man who had followed Lord Kitchener about on two recent occasions.

In connection with the plot for the assassination of the Khedive, the Premier, and Lord Kitchener, it has been ascertained that last month four men swore over the tomb of Wardani (executed for the assassination of a former Premier) that they would destroy

the enemies of the Egyptian Nationalists. Three of them undertook to kill the Khedive, the Premier, and Lord Kitchener, and the fourth volunteered to take the place of any assassin who failed in his mission. Detectives shadowed the men and overheard the plot.

The Muslim University.

THE press *communiqué* that the scope of the University at Aligarh will be limited to the locality in which it may be established has created disappointment among Muhammadans at Lucknow and the feeling is growing that the Government should widen the scope of work of the Muslim University and the sphere of its control.

Public Service Commission.

It is understood that Lord Islington will be Chairman of the Royal Commission to enquire into the Public Services in India generally. He is resigning the Governorship of New Zealand for that purpose.

The *Times* on July 25th in a special article says that the Commission on the Indian Public Services will undoubtedly examine all the bearings of the question of the maintenance of a minimum of European officers in the higher posts. The journal adds that Indian politicians will press for its reduction, but the reasons advanced against this and the simultaneous examinations in 1893 and 1894 have not lost their force or cogency.

The following resolution was passed in the Council of the All-India Muslim League and wired to H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State: "That the Council of the All-India Muslim League welcomes the proposal to appoint a Royal Commission on the Public Service of India, but respectfully urges upon Government the necessity of appointing at least one representative Mussalman on the Commission, having regard specially to the grievances which have been repeatedly expressed by them with reference to their lamentable position in the public services of India as a whole."

Aligarh College.

At a special meeting of the College trustees on July 21st, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk's resignation in consideration of his illness and physical weakness was accepted with great regret. Haji Mohammed Ishaq Khan was unanimously elected Honorary Secretary for three years. Khan Bahadur Nawab M. Mozammel-ullah Khan will perform the duties of Honorary Secretary till H. M. Ishaq Khan Sahib is permitted by the Government to retire.

The "Burma Critic."

IN the defamation case of Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner of Mergui *vs.* Channing Arnold, Editor of the *Burma Critic* which was committed to the Chief Court Sessions the Chief Judge has, on the perusal of the committal order, referred the case to a Full Bench which is to sit on July 31st to decide on the legality of the committal order.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale.

AN Indian reception was held on July 10th in honour of Mr. Gokhale, who is now in London. Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, presiding, announced that Mr. Gokhale was going to South Africa, where he hoped to discuss the affairs of Indians there with members of the Government.

Mr. Gokhale speaking at his reception said he never spoke with clearer vision of a bright future. Whatever interpretations were placed on paragraph 3 of the Government of India's despatch, they were determined to work for provincial autonomy. As the first stage of self-government, they must work for the diffusion of education among the masses.

The Late Khan Bahadur Shamsul Alam.

A Press *communiqué* issued by the Bengal Government states:—Khan Bahadur Shamsul Alam was murdered by an anarchist within the precincts of the High Court on 24th January 1910. He had served in the Police Department with credit and distinction for 34 years and his able, courageous and unsparing efforts in the detection and repression of anarchical crime had won for him the rank of Deputy Superintendent and the title of Khan Bahadur. Government announced immediately after the murder that arrangements would be made to confer a suitable grant of land on the widow and children and in the meantime a sum of money was handed over to them to provide for their immediate wants. The necessary formalities have now been completed and a *Sanad* has been presented to the widow conveying in perpetuity to her and to the male descendants in the male line of the late Khan Bahadur a *jagir*, the present rental of which is Rs. 5,373, comprising the villages of Chandabad *alias* Benipur, Mathuradanga *alias* Mathurapur Budha and Satnakh in thanas Asanpur and Nabagram in the district of Murshidabad. The *jagir* will be held revenue free during the lifetime of the widow and her eldest son, at half rates by the next holder and thereafter at full rates.

Calcutta Moslem Orphanage.

HER HIGHNESS the Begum of Bhopal has made a gracious response to the "Appeal" by the Calcutta Muhammadan Orphanage, which we noticed in our columns last week, by granting an annual donation of Rs. 1,200 to the Girls' section of the Orphanage. She has also been pleased to suggest practical improvements in the organisation of the institution, which are receiving the anxious consideration of the authorities.

TETE À TETE



THE Official Statement of the Progress of the Co-operative Credit Societies during the year 1910-11 has been on our table for some time. We regret that it is merely a mass of figures. We concede

that in such a case as the demonstration of the progress of the co-operative movement in India statistics should speak more cogently than any self-applauding rhetoric. But the fact still remains that "the man in the street" has seldom the time and never the inclination to plunge into a mass of dry statistics and draw his conclusions therefrom. He generally prefers for his ready reference a brief authentic official account written in plain readable English of the work done in the year and the prospects of the future. The statement, however, as it is, is proof positive of the firm hold the co-operative credit movement has established over India. The figures published show that the almost phenomenal progress made in previous years is being steadily maintained. During the year under review the total number of the Societies increased from 3,497 to 5,432 and their working capital was almost doubled, swelling from approximately 126 lakhs to 207 lakhs. The business done by them was also invariably successful—there being a total profit of over 7 lakhs out of the total expenditure of 281 lakhs. The only case recorded of a loss being a deficit of Rs. 1,541 in the Central Societies of Burma; but this is quite insignificant in view of the fact that there had been an enormous expansion in the working capital of these banks from approximately 23,000 to 7,00,000 of rupees. This uniform success is an ample demonstration of the growing confidence of the Indian masses in the Co-operative Societies as well as of a better comprehension of their management and organisation. Another most interesting fact, which incidentally emphasises the essentially agricultural character of the Indian social organisation, is that while Central and Rural Societies are making giant strides in progress, the condition of the Urban Societies all over India has remained almost stationary. The number of the Central Societies has increased from 34 to 60 during the year 1910-11, their membership from 3,741 to 5,724 and their working capital from 24 to nearly 50 lakhs. The progress made by the Rural Societies is almost equally remarkable and is an eloquent comment on the rapid emancipation of the Indian agriculturist from his merciless bondage to the wily *bramin*. The number of these societies increased from 3 to approximately 5 thousand and their working capital from 66½ lakhs to well over 1 crore. Taking the provinces separately, Madras is well ahead of them all in the progress shown by its co-operative societies. Its Central Societies with a working capital of 20 lakhs, have shown far the greatest progress in India, Panab coming second with 7 lakhs, closely followed by Burma which, however, must soon come to the front rank if it at all sustains its almost incredible increase during the last year. In each of the two former provinces the capital has almost doubled and in the last it has been multiplied nearly 30 times. In the Rural section of the co-operative movement also Madras is second only to the Panjab. But here also the progress shown by Burma has been proportionately the greatest. For, where as the membership of the Rural Societies increased from approximately 37 to 60 thousand in Madras and from 22 to 34 thousand in the Panjab, and their working capital from 15½ to 24 lakhs in the former and from 15 to 29 lakhs in the latter province, the increase in Burma was from 6 thousand to more than 11 thousand in membership and from approximately 6 lakhs to 13 lakhs in capital. But none of the provinces except the United Provinces seem to have taken very kindly to Urban Societies. The total number of these Societies is 415 with a membership of 69,399 as compared to nearly 5 thousand Rural Societies with a membership of much more than 2 lakhs. Comparatively very little progress has been made by the Urban Societies during the year under review—there being an increase of barely 12 per cent.

It is a well-known fact that for a long time the majority of the High Courts of India did not have a single Muhammadan judge, although more than a dozen Indians sat on the Bench. The famous Simla Deputation of the Mussalmans of India urged, among other things, the appointment of

The Additional Judicial Commissioner of Oudh.

Muhammadans to such posts, and when the Government was brought to consider an important question it found no difficulty in selecting several qualified Muhammadan judges for the Indian High Courts. One of these was the Hon. Mr. Justice Syed Karamat Husain, who has just retired from the bench of the N. W. P. High Court, and last year the Hon. Mr. Mohamed Rafiq was also appointed an Additional Judicial Commissioner for the neighbouring territory of Oudh. On the retirement of the former, Mr. Rafiq naturally secured a seat on the bench of the Allahabad High Court, but there is some fear of the post he vacated being lost to the Mussalmans. We have never desired that unqualified Muhammadans should disgrace themselves and humiliate their community by being pitchforked into high appointments; but we have not yet solved the mystery of that soothing word, "efficiency," which in the dictionary of the "Nationalist" Press and a timorous Government generally means Hinduism. We have had a recent example of this in the appointment of Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal to officiate as Second Additional Judicial Commissioner of Oudh. We know nothing against the gentleman, and for all we know he may be fully qualified for the post which is now offered to him. But we also happen to know a good deal in favour of Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan and Mr. Syed Mohamed Ali who are Statutory Civilian and District Judges of the second grade and we have every reason to believe that these gentlemen are eminently qualified for the post that has now gone to an Assistant Judge in the Provincial Service. It is true that the Rai Bahadur has recently been officiating as a Judge, but the other two gentlemen are permanent judges and have done splendid work. We do not know why these judges drawing Rs. 1,000 more as permanent pay than the Rai Bahadur, have been passed over in his favour when a post carrying a permanent salary about six times the amount of the Rai Bahadur's salary falls vacant. Our only consolation is that this appointment is gazetted only until further orders. We trust that this is only due to the fact that it was not certain at the time whether Nawab Mohamed Ishaq Khan would retire or not. As he is bound to do so now after his recent election as Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College, we hope that there will be no difficulty in the way of Mr. Syed Mohamed Ali, the grandson of the late Sir Syed Ahmed and one of the distinguished alumni of Aligarh. His record of service goes as far back as 1887, and for the last 13 years he has been working as District Judge. He has now very few years of active service before him, and if at this stage his claims are ignored, it is very unlikely that he would get another chance. We are confident that the Local Government would not be consciously unjust to him; but in these days nobody can guarantee the absence of an unconscious bias in favour of a community that knows how to force the hands of Imperial and Local Governments. We do not push forward the claims of Mr. Mohamed Ali as an individual. There are the interests of the community as well to consider, and when Muhammadans in his position are passed over in favour of their juniors, we do not know how to satisfy the Government that Muhammadans with proper qualifications are available for such appointments. Unfortunately, even conversion to Hinduism is not possible or some at least may try the expedient for a time.

We heartily endorse the lofty ideals which His Excellency Sir George Clarke set before the Bombay University "Living Universities". In the important communication which he has recently addressed to the Vice-Chancellor on the subject of the Government of India's recurring grant of Rs. 45,000 and a non-recurring grant of Rs. 3,00,000 to the Bombay University. The days of isolated colleges connected with the University only for purposes of examinations are over; and His Excellency rightly says that Indian colleges cannot any longer afford to maintain themselves as self-contained, separate teaching units. His Excellency broadly outlined reforms directed to secure corporate action among the colleges with a view to moving in the direction of wider and more vigorous life and the creating of an atmosphere in which culture and research in all the varied departments of human knowledge can grow and flourish, so that the colleges might become true centres of light and learning. These are lofty thoughts, happily expressed. But it remains to be seen how soon they will be followed by actual practice. The narrow scope of our colleges has long been a weak spot in the Indian educational system, and we strongly support His Excellency in his pioneer attempt "to move in that direction of a higher conception of the duties of a college," which, he said, did not by any means lapse after a student had graduated. We strongly recommend Sir G. Clarke's ideals for all India, and earnestly hope that the heads of other Provincial Administrations will not be long in emulating the Bombay Governor's solicitude for the improvement of higher education in India. We are glad to note that His Excellency suggests, what we have long desired, namely, the inviting of "brilliant European scholars of

accepted authority" to come out and deliver courses of lectures during the cold weather. The Indian Educational Service has not been very often distinguished in the matter of great scholarship and research, although on the whole it is, perhaps, the best paid educational service in the world. It has been content with teaching college students as if they were school-boys and with complaining of the school teaching, for which, too, it is partly responsible, because it constitutes the top-heavy system of inspection in the Department of Public Instruction. Under these circumstances it is necessary to seek in Europe for scholars and researchists to lecture in our Universities and raise their standard of teaching. The cold-weather tourist in India has not often been as useful a person as the lecturers Sir George Clarke wishes to invite, and the new variety is bound to have the best effect both on India and on Europe. We hope this may result in temporary Professorships also, and we suggest that Oxford and Cambridge should be invited to lend at least their junior "dons" for terms of three years to Indian Universities. What University Extension could be more productive and what Imperialism more beneficial? In course of time, we trust this would lead to a larger number of the best teachers of England accepting permanent service in India. An Oxford "don," who gets no more than £200 a year, is at present generally dissuaded from coming to India on a salary rising from £400 a year, by annual increments of £40, to £1,000 at least, partly by the lack of good libraries, and laboratories, and partly by the absence of a society of equally learned colleagues. The cold-weather tourist lecturing in India and the temporary Professors would, to a great extent, remove the want of learned colleagues, and then it would be possible to obtain better educationists even at a cheaper cost. That would indeed be a unique success, for at present the benign Government knows only one method of making the White Man's Burden attractive to him in India, and that is an increase of pay. Who was it who talked of "a nation of shop-keepers?"

ELSEWHERE we publish a lucid exposition of some aspects of "The Indian Problem in South Africa," sent to us by Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, whose disinterested and indefatigable efforts in a righteous cause have earned for him the undying

Moslems in South Africa.

gratitude of the Indian people. Mr. Polak invites the attention of the Indian Mussalmans, in particular, to the insulting and iniquitous treatment which is being meted out to their co-religionists in the Transvaal. As we pointed out the other day, the Supreme Court of the Colony has recently decided that "plural marriages contracted in India under the personal law of Indians do not hold good in the Transvaal and that, if a Muhammadan Indian has his second wife there with him and desires to bring from India his first wife, he may not do so as she is a prohibited immigrant." Another magisterial decision goes still further and lays down that "even a first and only wife, married under a law permitting of polygamy, is a prohibited immigrant, as such marriage is invalid." These decisions open an altogether new phase in the process of political hectoring and moral iniquity with which the Afrikaner is bringing home to every Indian the reality of his status as citizen of the British Empire. It is laying up a legacy of bitterness, distress and resentment that would some day become an imperial danger of a far greater magnitude than the wit and mentality of the fashionable imperialist can compass to day. The insolence of the spirit that exults in such peculiar acts of oppression against the Indian Moslems is equalled only by the indifference or the helplessness of the Imperial Government, which knows how to snk behind the cant of non-interference in the affairs of a self-governing colony. What does the Empire exist for, if its statesmen are powerless to enforce elementary conditions of freedom and justice within its limits? No Indian can be expected to go into raptures over the imperial destiny of his race when he is treated no better than a pariah or a serf in an integral part of the Empire. To hold up one's hands in despair and dolefully speak of the problem as "unfortunate" does not lessen its gravity or make its edge less raspy to Indian sentiment. The British statesman who shirks it lightly or fails to realise its magnitude has but an imperfect notion of his responsibilities. We think it is time the Indian Government emerged from its attitude of passive resignation and regret to tackle the question with logical consistency and courage. The Afrikaner has no more consideration for the Indian "coolie" than he has for his pick-axe and his plough. Be it so. Let the Government of India, as a measure of self-protection, abolish the system of "indentured" slavery and prohibit the entry of the colonials into this country. The African trader or the civil servant in India should be made to feel that he is "an undesirable alien" whose presence in this country shall be tolerated only on the conditions that South Africa has imposed on the Indian settlers. This would, of course, be a measure of retaliation pure and simple, and we have yet to know of a better and surer method of achieving equality of treatment in international relations. They in Africa have industriously sown the wind, let their brethren in this country reap the whirlwind. We trust the Government of India is alive to its duty in this respect and is fully aware of the strength of Indian feeling on the subject. In regard to the

particular decisions of the Transvaal courts affecting Moslem marriage laws, to which Mr. Polak calls pointed attention, we hope the Indian Mussalmans will lose no time in bringing their sense of the great wrong home to the Indian and the Imperial Governments. The matter should be taken up by the Moslem League and its branches throughout the country; and there should be no relaxation of organised efforts till the gross iniquity has been removed.

WE HAD occasion the other day to note the meagre results hitherto shown by the Prince of Wales School of Science at Aligarh and hoped that the Trustees of the College would institute a searching inquiry into the causes that led to such

Another White Elephant.

alarming inefficiency and waste. We trust the demand for inquiry will not be smothered by evasive apologies or killed by that most effective of weapons—silence. The Moslem public no less than ourselves must naturally be anxious to get from the custodians of the most important educational "trust" of the community an account of their stewardship. But while we wait with concern to know how they have been mismanaging the teaching of science at Aligarh, the recent publication of the Panjab University results discloses yet another disquieting state of affairs and deepens our concern still further in regard to Moslem education. The jurisdiction of the Panjab University, in addition to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, extends over three Provinces of north-western India, i.e., the Panjab, the N.W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Mussulmans dwell in large numbers in these extensive areas, their proportion in the total population being 54 per cent. in the Panjab, about 90 per cent. in the Frontier Province and Baluchistan and about 98 per cent. in Kashmir. The state of higher education amongst the Mussalmans of these provinces may best be judged from the figures recently published by the Panjab University. Out of the total number of 497 who passed the Intermediate Examination, the Mussalmans are 123. As regards the B.A., the number of the Moslem boys out of the 186 successful candidates is only 36! These results are startling no doubt, and, we must also plainly say, discreditable to those who profess to guide the educational affairs of the community. In this connection it would be instructive to note the performance of the Islamia College, Lahore, —another "white elephant" that costs the community over a lakh of rupees annually. This College contributes 23 to the pass total of the Moslem boys in F.A. and 7 in B.A.; while its general percentage in relation to the University results is the lowest! Here we have another subject for a thorough inquiry. We will deal with the general question of the organisation of Moslem education later on, but we must repeat what we have often said before that the future of the community depends on a right solution of this question. The educational needs of the Mussalmans are growing so various and urgent that they must naturally grudge every pie that is not well and usefully spent. The necessity to husband their very limited resources was never so pressing as it is to-day. Are the existing educational institutions, owned and controlled by Mussalmans, efficient and do they yield results commensurate with their expenditure? The soul of every successful undertaking, individual or corporate, is efficiency, i.e., a careful adaptation of means to ends. If the Moslem schools and colleges are merely costly luxuries, they might well be closed and the money, thus saved, applied more usefully.

AN ESTEEMED correspondent informs us that the Right Honourable Mr. Amir Ali and His Highness the Aga Khan are between them maturing a plan for establishing the Red-Crescent Society as a permanent Islamic institution, and would address the International Tribunal at Hague to extend to it the same universal recognition which has been extended to the Red-Cross Societies of all Christendom. It seems to be incredible in this advanced age, but it is none the less true that the European Powers, for all their vaunted civilisation, can yet tolerate the monstrosity of a Christian State refusing to recognise an institution which only differs from their own Society in that it has got the word crescent and not cross in its name. We earnestly appeal to the Muhammadan community and to all lovers of justice all over the world to organise a powerful agitation with a view to bring pressure to bear on the International Tribunal at Hague. We confidently look to the All-India Moslem League and to all of its Provincial branches unanimously to pass resolutions, strongly supporting the two great leaders of the Indian Mussalmans in their selfless endeavours in the cause of Islam. A united agitation by the Indian Moslem community is bound to produce a great effect on the British Foreign Office, which would considerably strengthen the hands of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amir Ali and H. H. the Aga Khan.

AFTER a long period of waiting it seems that, thanks to the energy of Sir Harcourt Butler, we are to have a fully manned Sanitary Department. It is hoped that, apart from the executive appointments which would necessarily go to Indians, some of the administrative

posts also should go to them. An Indian is not always likely to be as firm an officer in condemning insanitary localities as a European, but he is far more likely to be able to persuade the people responsible for such insanitary conditions, to alter them. In other words, he may not have such a passion for sanitation as a European, but he is more likely to effect improvements smoothly. The "experts" are a great force in this country, and woe betide the man who does not fall down and worship them. But "experts" have a tendency to divorce practical methods from theoretical pronouncements, and even at best their injunctions remain counsels of perfection possible to be acted upon only in another and more sanitary world, where presumably the need of the "expert" ceases to exist. But it is not always that expert injunctions stop here, having more than once been known to result in breaches of the peace and even riots of large dimensions. The earlier days of plague in Bombay and in the United Provinces bear testimony to the theoretical zeal of the "experts." There is, however, another aspect of the question. The European experts do not know what goes on within the four walls of Indian houses, and only an Indian is capable of discovering every insanitary nook and corner. We, therefore, hope that the posts of Deputy Sanitary Commissioners would practically be reserved for qualified Indians. We find that two such posts have already been given to Drs. Nehru and Panday in the United Provinces, and a Behar contemporary suggests, among others, the name of Dr. Varis, M.D., who is a well-known Behari practitioner of Lucknow and was Plague Medical Officer of the United provinces. We hope a man of Dr. Varis's qualifications would be induced to accept such a post in the interests of sanitation in his own Province. The new province is by no means in a very healthy condition, and some sacrifices must be made by all Beharis to build up various services of Behar.

WE have read with interest an article in the *Indian Review* on the new "library" gospel, which seems to have emanated from America and according to which public libraries form an integral part of public education. We must say that

Libraries and Mass Education.

we are absolutely at one with the writer in his enthusiastic praise of the American system of throwing open the portals of public libraries, not only to chosen scholars and research workers, but to all alike, "thus stimulating the enquiring spirit and broadening the minds of the common people." We received from a correspondent the other day the report of a meeting held recently at Baroda "in order to form a Library Club on the lines of the library associations and clubs of America." We quite agree with our correspondent, that it is quite in the fitness of things that in this as in many other matters Baroda should be the first State in India to strike out a new line of departure. "In fact, it is a most natural and necessary corollary of that system of compulsory education" which we have always held up as a sound model for the British Government to follow. "The whole work of a public library, whether recreational or educational," continues our correspondent "should be of a social nature; and hence by various methods of work e.g., by finding a reader for every book on its shelves and a book for every reader in the community, by popularising high-class literature—the libraries should co-operate with the educational and religious institutions as a triangular base of intellectual and moral progress." We heartily endorse every word of this view of the goal which public libraries should have in view, and we cannot too highly applaud the generosity and foresight of the Maharaja and his intense enthusiasm for the education of the masses of his subjects in establishing the Library Club. We wish the Club—which has been regularly formed—every success, and we sincerely hope that other Native States and the Indian Government will not be unnecessarily tardy in taking up for their own emulation a model so indisputably sound, and of such high public usefulness. We are quite certain that active steps in this direction might very profitably be taken at once, and that the authorities need not wait to "make it a corollary" to the passing of Mr. Gokhale's Bill into law.

EVEN after our repeated requests formal applications for the *Hamdard* Debentures have not been sent in by some of the gentlemen who had intimated their intention of purchasing certain number of Debentures long ago. We have had to bear all this time the extra expense of issuing reminders every now and then, but it would appear that some of the intending subscribers of February and March have no intention of making good their informal promises. Under the circumstances we cannot leave matters to hang on indefinitely; and we have decided to wait till the 10th of August, after which we will strike off the names of those whose formal applications have not reached us. We hope those who really intend to subscribe but have been delayed in sending in their applications by some chance or other will now take the trouble to do so before the expiry of the date we have been obliged to fix.

The Comrade.

The Situation in Turkey.

II.

GHAZI AHMED MUKHTAR PASHA, the new Grand Vizier, has formed his Cabinet, and the ministerial crisis is for the time being at an end. The most important feature of the new Ministry is, we need hardly say, the character of its *personnel*. With Kiamil Pasha as President of the Council of State, Nazim Pasha as Minister of War, and Husain Hilmi Pasha as Minister of the Interior, an essentially new set of ideals and methods will probably be applied to the governance of the Empire in its home and foreign affairs. The new statesmen differ from their predecessors in office in every cardinal conception of politics, in temperament, in outlook, in the spirit and principles of a coherent national policy. They formed their notions of statecraft in the School of Midhat: an echo of the Manchester Liberalism of the mid-Victorian era, with its vague humanitarianism, its dogmatism, its doctrinaire economics and its infatuation of the French revolutionary doctrines. They are old veterans no doubt, trained in affairs and fully competent to deal with large and complicated issues of empire. But the situation that confronts the Turkish Government to-day, both at home and abroad, derives its gravity from problems of a new texture and new factors of international politics. Democracy has ceased to be a fetish in its old cradle in Western Europe. The driving forces behind international affairs are new and make the few survivors of orthodox Liberalism gaze in helpless wonder. The new currents of diplomacy and aggressive imperialism that cosmopolitan finance has let loose have swept crashing through the old-world fabric, leaving behind tottering creeds and deserted temples. "The shattering, destroying, over-whelming force," which swam into Mr. Churchill's ken as the supreme measure of national existence, has altered the character and the scale of the *well-politic*. Such is the political climate of Europe, and the task of Turkish statesmanship is to make the State organism fit for vigorous life in the new environment. It is from the pressure of the new atmospheric conditions, so to speak, that the internal and external problems of Turkey have acquired their present proportion and character. The race of younger statesmen, whose aims and ideals have found expression through the programme of the Committee of Union and Progress, have on the whole a truer perspective of things. They have an unerring instinct for reality and a just sense of the needs of the Empire, though they may have the impatience of idealism and blundered through inexperience. But the new Ministers of the stamp of Kiamil Pasha, with all their experience of affairs, prestige and undoubted patriotism, have the immobility of age and the unconscious bias of an old-fashioned liberalism. Whether the old formulas can fit in with new facts may well be questioned.

The announcement of the new policy for Albania has about it an unfortunate ring of the melodrama. It tears to shreds with a flourish of trumpets the scheme of pacification elaborated by Hadji Adil Bey with immense labour and skill, which had met with warm approval everywhere throughout Europe and had barely yet been put to execution. We hope the surrender of the Prishtina garrison is not the first fruit of the new policy. We would not be surprised if it were, for peace at any price will never be purchased till Albania and Macedonia have got their autonomy and the Turk has departed bag and baggage from Europe. The attitude of the new Ministry towards Albania explains its fundamental difference of policy from Said Pasha's Cabinet. To make this difference clear and realise the magnitude of its effect on other grave issues in the Ottoman affairs, it would be necessary to briefly set forth the rival programmes in their main outlines and weigh their relative fitness and importance with reference to the realities of the situation. It must, however, be remembered that rival political organisations based on differences of policy and principle can scarcely yet be said to exist in Turkey. The Committee of Union and Progress is the only political body with definite aims and purpose that has so far presented the nation with a constructive platform. The so-called Union and Liberty politician is often a disappointed place-hunter or, at best, a visionary whose miscellaneous stock of good intentions has not yet crystallised into a practicable programme. The only reasoned departure from the Unionist principles exists in the ideas of a few statesmen of the old generation of liberals, who dreamed of French and English institutions while they served the despotism and caprice of Abdul Hamid. The Committee of Union and Progress has drawn almost every thinker, dreamer and patriot of the younger generation into its ranks. It represents on that account the most virile, purposeful, organised and inspiring body of opinion in Ottoman affairs.

The main planks in the programme of the Committee of Union and Progress are found in its name, *i.e.*, the Ottomanisation of the various races inhabiting the Empire and the development of

its internal resources. But before any progress could be made in these directions, it was necessary to keep the Empire immune from foreign aggressions. No internal progress could be worth an hour's purchase as long as the threat of a Russian or an Austrian invasion or the danger of Balkan complications weighed on the consciousness of Turkish statesmen. The supreme need of the Empire was, therefore, to organise its defences, to create an efficient army and navy that would free it from all possible dangers on its extensive frontiers and preserve its integrity and independence. The Committee had no great love for diplomatic finesse, but it believed in self-help and that defensive strength without which no nation can hope to be heard with respect in the counsels of Europe. Within the short space of four years it has created one of the best armies in the world; while the development of the Turkish navy—a far more expensive and laborious undertaking—was being pushed on with vigour before the Italian descent on Tripoli came to interrupt the work in that direction. The next most important need of the situation was the organisation of the finances of the Empire. The growth and spread of education, administrative reforms and the extensive schemes of irrigation, railways and other public works depend entirely on the financial prosperity of the country. The Committee statesmen consequently set themselves to evolve order out of the financial chaos, overhaul the whole Finance Department and introduce root and branch reforms in the incidence of taxation and the methods of collecting it. The revenues of the Empire have increased by one third within the last four years. Defensive strength and prosperous finance are the fundamental conditions of internal development. And, though every Chauvinist in Europe accused the Committee of Chauvinism, only the true Ottoman patriot can rightly estimate the great service it has rendered to the Empire. The problem of national unification is perhaps the most difficult with which Turkey has got to deal. Even if there were no Greeks, Bulgars, Serbs and Albanian Christians, the breath of whose nostrils is treason, the task would still have been a heavy charge on Turkish statesmanship. As it is, the problem of creating a unified national spirit and identity of aims and aspirations amongst the various races of the Empire is perhaps the most stupendous that any country has had to solve. There are only two courses open to the Turkish statesmen. Either Albania and Macedonia should be given complete autonomy, or the central authority of the Sublime Porte should be retained intact, the provinces being given limited powers of initiative in administrative matters with a view to conciliate reasonable local traditions and customs. In the former case, the Turks would have to give up the sponge after more than three hundred years and withdraw to Asia Minor, for the myth of suzerainty would not be worth the paper on which it might be written. In the latter case they would have to face a formidable campaign of intrigue and spasmodic insurrection, but may certainly overcome it by dint of perseverance, patience and courage and retain their hold on the European provinces of the Empire. The choice has long been as clear as the issues it involves. Those who think a middle course to be possible have yet to learn their alphabet of the Balkan politics. As long as the Bulgar dreams of another "Tsardom" in the Near East, the Serf of his mythical kings, the Albanian wants to retire within his shell and the Greek waits in devout self-forgetfulness for the advent of the empire of Constantine, autonomy for Macedonia and Albania would mean the end of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. The analogies from the European systems with which the Turks have been pestered for upwards of fifty years, are perpetrated by those who know enough history to mislead the world, or, more probably, are calculated efforts to frighten the Turks into surrender by the glib use of portentous formulas. The German system or the British Empire are held together by the strong forces of common culture, common religion, common aims and common blood. And even in their case it was after strong central authority had done its work and evolved ultimate unity of purpose that the stage of federalism was reached and the parts were allowed to individualise. Indeed, the complete identity of ultimate interests is a condition precedent to any devolution of power. The interests of the Christian races in European Turkey are avowedly and openly hostile to those of the ruling race. The talk of autonomy in this case is but a plain hint to the Turks to quit.

The Committee of Union and Progress has weighed the issues and taken its choice. It has resolved to keep intact at any cost the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Therefore the only course open to the Unionist statesmen has been to impress upon the Bulgar, the Serb and the Albanian that the Empire shall be held together, that they shall have to live as peaceful and loyal citizens, sharing in equal measure, its duties as well as its rights. It was on this principle that the policy of Said Pasha's Cabinet was based. Hadji Adil Bey framed his tolerant and liberal measures for pacification within the limits of this principle. Mahmoud Shevket Pasha took the necessary steps to maintain order and put down disturbances with this aim in view. The disturbances themselves have been artificially created by foreign intrigues. Yet the outcry engineered in the foreign press that ruthless military repression was being applied to a people groaning under the weight of oppressive wrongs,

found its echo in Constantinople. Meantime the mutiny broke out at Monastir, which appears to have been principally due to the discontent of certain officers who felt aggrieved in the matter of promotion and accused Mahmoud Shevket Pasha of favouritism. The "Military League" sprang into existence through the secret manipulations of the Albanian ex-deputies; and it framed its demands with an utter disregard of the Constitution. It was the first time in Ottoman history that the Sultan himself had to remind the representatives of the army what they owed to the nation and the Empire. Perhaps the significance of this reminder will not be lost on the ardent spirits who are blindly dancing to the tunes of a few self-seeking demagogues in their midst. We do not know if the position of the old Cabinet became utterly untenable after the monastir outbreak, but its resignation has thrown the Unionists, at any rate, for the time being into the background. The new Ministry has begun its career by a sudden, complete and almost ostentatious reversal of policy. Albania is to be pacified by entreaties and exhortations. Perhaps some scheme of devolution in provincial administration may follow on the heels of the announcement. Our only hope is that it may not reach throughout the length and breadth of the Empire and call forth all the parochial instincts and passions that yet await formulation. The dream of an Arab Empire with Cairo as its centre is known to have some fascination for certain chancellories in Europe; and though the best elements amongst the Arab population in Egypt, Syria and Arabia repudiate all such ideas with scorn, it must be confessed that Syed Idrises are not wholly wanting amongst them, nor are the Italian methods a special prerogative of Italy. Unification of the Empire is its first and its greatest need; and it should not be sacrificed to clamour and opportunism. We have nothing but the greatest admiration for some of the individual members of the Cabinet. The Grand Vizier is a military veteran with liberal ideas, devoted patriotism and a genuine desire for the strength and greatness of his country. Kiamil Pasha is one of the most experienced statesmen in modern Turkey, has a wide grasp of foreign affairs and commands great respect abroad. Nazim Pasha is one of the best Turkish generals, a strong administrator and sincere patriot. Husain Hilmi Pasha is one of the greatest administrators in the Empire. But their policy in internal affairs seems to be venturesome, if not decidedly dangerous, and it remains to be seen if it would be successful.

In foreign affairs, too, the policy of the new Cabinet is bound to undergo a change. The Unionist statesmen have not yet evolved any definite principles for the foreign policy of the Empire. They have been walking through the devious paths of European diplomacy by faith rather than by sight. They first leant on British friendship, but the grandmotherly tone of the British Press eventually drove them into the orbit of Germany. The Italian raid gave them the measure of German friendship; and since then the pendulum has again been swinging in the opposite direction. They have been learning through misadventure and picking up their threads of knowledge by sad experience. They were just beginning to emerge out of the opportunism of their early days and evolve certain well-defined aims in foreign affairs in accordance with the needs, the risks and the opportunities of the Empire. The new Ministry will have the advantage over the old in that it contains many veterans of affairs who are bound to pursue a definite foreign policy. With Kiamil Pasha and Husain Hilmi Pasha in the Cabinet, it may confidently be assumed that the keynote of its policy will be a conscious effort to bring about an Anglo-Turkish *entente* if not an alliance. Such an arrangement will, we are sure, be to the mutual advantage of both, for there are many points of contact between Turkish and British interests and very few of conflict. There is, however, one question that is bound to be dealt with in a more or less decisive way, if the relations between the two countries begin to move in the direction of a mutual understanding. We mean the anomalous position of Egypt. There have been persistent rumours in well-informed quarters that British policy has recently been busy creating a favourable situation for the formal annexation of the country. The conjuncture of events like the Italian raid, the appointment of Lord Kitchener, his forcing of neutrality on Egypt and the deliberate rigour with which he applied it against the Turks, lend weight to these rumours. Kiamil Pasha, too, has been credited by some to view the surrender of Egypt with no great dislike. Be that as it may, we trust British friendship will not be bought by the present Ministry by the surrender of Egypt. No friendship, however precious and desirable, can be worth buying at such a price. Leaving every other consideration aside, it would be a supreme act of treachery to the Egyptian people, and we presume no Turkish Government can afford to lose the sympathies of the Egyptians, the Syrians and the Arabs at this stage of the Empire's history.

The attitude of the new Ministry to the war will, we have every reason to think, be practically the same as that of its predecessor. The most prominent of the new Ministers have already expressed their opinion about the issues involved in the struggle and the unalterable resolve of the Ottoman nation to fight those issues to the finish. Kiamil Pasha had hit off the Italian parliamentary farce superbly when he said that "the decree of annexation was

quite worthy of the nation, which had produced so much comic opera." We have already dealt in our previous article with the several factors that have emerged on the scene and discussed their bearing on the course of the war. We had said that the danger of European intervention was daily growing imminent, that Italy's one chance lay in that direction, that without the possibilities of new complications and developments in the Balkans Turkey can have little anxiety about the military issue in Tripoli. If it could be possible to bind down Europe to an absolute pledge of non-intervention, the question will simply become one of comparative financial stability of the combatants. Manifestly the drain on Italian resources is enormous and it cannot continue at the present rate for another year without completely exhausting the country. That contingency Italy is trying to avoid by means of a desperate and unscrupulous diplomacy. The chances, therefore, of new complications arising out of the situation and making the intervention of the Powers inevitable are numerous and great. Dr. Dillon, whose remarkably lucid and thoughtful articles on the chances of peace we reproduce in full, thinks that financial exhaustion will eventually determine the issue, *provided* there is no change in the diplomatic situation. The proviso admittedly takes note of a contingency that is in our opinion most likely to happen. We trust the new Ministry will carefully take stock of the forces that Italy has been manoeuvring into the field of diplomacy and will carefully provide for all emergencies. By a peace treaty affecting her sovereign rights in Tripoli, Turkey has nothing to gain and everything to lose. Even if the Sublime Porte signed away the vilayets of Tripoli and Cyrenaica in a mood of impatience or fear it would make no difference in the military situation. We publish elsewhere an account of the Arab conference in Tripoli which would give some insight into the firm resolve that fires the gallant defenders of the land. No Turkish Government can afford to forfeit Arab loyalty and the sympathy of the Islamic world by hastening to accept any terms of peace that would be damaging to the prestige of the Empire, humiliating to Islam and would hand over a Moslem land with its people in perpetual bondage to its enemies.

Politics and History.

LORD MORLEY in his address as Chancellor of the Manchester University, delivered to a University audience on 28th June, took as his text the familiar theme of the scope and purpose of practical politics in relation to history. But, though the subject has been worn threadbare by discussion, it never fails to become a source of inexhaustible freshness and interest in the hands of a master. Lord Morley has in an ample measure the gift of making the commonplace bright and significant. He has all the moderation, the breadth of vision, the philosophical temperament and the fine literary expression which rescue any subject from the blight of triviality and invest it with life and meaning. Every word that he utters is pregnant and alive, the sentences that issue from the mint of his brain attain a universal currency as standard coin. They are the fruits of ripe and mellow thought.

The address that he delivered to the Manchester audience is a profound study of the modern tendencies in politics in the light of history and experience. The modern age is in that fluid stage which precedes every reconstruction in thought, politics, in the aims and purposes of social union. The period is full of anxiety, doubts and misgivings. As he says, any reflective observer can sketch the signs of the times in rather formidable outline. Political power is described as lying in the hands of a vast and mobile electorate with scanty regard for tradition and history. Democracy is going to write its own programme. The structure of executive organs is undergoing a change. To some, there is apparent a difference of attitude towards law as law, a decline in reverence for institution as institution. Old ideas and words are losing their significance, "yet we are apt to go on with our manful battles as if the flags and banners and vehement catchwords all stood for old causes. While intent, and with good reason, on the topics of the time—on strikes, aeroplanes, the gold reserve, the price of Consols, China, Persia, Mesopotamian railways—is it possible that we are somnambulists, only half awake to strong currents racing in full blast over our heads and under the ground at our feet, and sweeping through the world of white men, black men, brown men, yellow men?" The spirit of change that is coming over old formulas and battle cries and old conceptions of social and political well-being should not, however, be allowed to paralyse us with terror or puff us with undue elation. When new social ideas are slowly taking possession of a people, then is the time for all of us to remember the spirit of this passage from Spinoza:—"When I applied my mind to politics with the same precision of mind as we use for mathematics, I have taken my best pains not to laugh at the actions of mankind, not to grow over them, not to be angry with them, but to understand them."

The present is an era of intellectual unrest, of deep questioning into the truth and purpose of institutions, laws, ideals, political and religious creeds. This critical temper, much sharpened by the

discoveries of biology and cognate sciences, got its initial impulse from the ideas of the French Revolution. Rousseau, who began his "Social Contract" by proclaiming that "man is born free and everywhere he is in chains," summed up in a trumpet-call of revolt all the passions born of social misery and political injustice. "A score of books in political literature are acts, not books." With "Social Contract" the storm of the world-battle opened. It reached not politics only, but philosophy, art, letters, churches, education; for what strikes deep in politics, strikes deep all round. History on one side, Law of Nature and Rights of Man on the other. It is easy enough for a latter-day critic to riddle the book with "shot and shell of logic, doctrine, figures, history"; but the influence of a book of this nature depends on its fitness for occasion as occasions emerge. "It is not abstract or absolute strength in argument or conclusion, but the fact, half-accident, of its happening to supply an impressive, persuasive, exciting attack or defence, or some set of formulae that the passion, need, or curiosity of the hour demands." There can, however, be no doubt that many of the visions of the French Revolution have proved will o' the wisps. Wrong, oppression, misery still abound in a world where the absolute equality of democratic rights is as yet an aspiration. The Rights of Man have been effectively questioned and much ridicule has been poured by some modern thinkers on the assumption that sovereignty resides in the will of the people. People's will may be directed to wrong-doing, inspired by prejudices, ignorance, wild and wicked passions. The evolutionary sciences have added powerful streams of thought and feeling to human knowledge and political power is beginning to be wielded with new motives for new ends.

Still, however, history is one, long, continuous unfolding of the story of man. There are no periods, no pauses, no complete, rounded off happenings, beginning and ending by themselves. Is it possible to construct a science of human society in the light and with the guidance of past human experience? A race of "Sociologists" has come into existence in the wake of the great biological discoveries of the nineteenth century. Human personality is, however, a disturbing factor and it is doubtful if ever it will become susceptible of a complete analysis. As long as personality remains an incommensurable thing, elusive, dynamic, almost miraculous in its manifestations, the "laws" governing social development will remain as so many guesses. Much of the confusion of modern political thinking is due to the efforts of the politician to measure social and political phenomena in terms of biology. As Lord Morley observes, he may "borrow phrases from the biologist, and talk of embryos, germs, organisms, but surely those are right who insist that we have not come near to the definite erection of an inductive political science." That is, however, no reason why the politician should not reason, or the historian should not explore, with the methodical energy, caution, conscience, candour and determined love of truth that marked Darwin and the heroes of the natural sciences. The continuity of history is a truism which, nevertheless, often requires reiteration. The scientific enthusiast in search of "principles" is in the habit of isolating social phenomena for study, and is some times apt to forget that the roots of history reach back to the beginning of things and the chain of cause and effect stretches forth into infinity. "History never does stop short," says Lord Morley, "If you are of the school that insists on the event being its own justification, on fact and reason being the same thing, on the real and the rational being identical, on force and right being all one, at least be sure that you have the fact in full and the event in all its dimensions and its duration."

To practical statesmen concerned with immediate problems and questions of the hour historical parallels are a snare, because they are so convenient and make people feel sure of their ground. But, in spite of all that is said about the unity of history and the identity in the elements of human nature, the general body of a political case is never exactly the same. Machiavelli thought that the revolution of the wheel of human fortune brought past situations back to new points. A wiser school insist that history never repeats itself. It was perhaps Lord Acton who once said that in contemporary problems he saw old friends with new faces. Had he probed a little deeper he would have perhaps found new hearts, new minds and new blood coursing through the veins. After all, history in the making is a fresh chapter added to the story of man in which the characters play their part with courage and deliberation, or become a mere sport of blind forces they are unable to control and pass into silence. Lord Morley makes a pregnant observation on the subject:—

According to some scientific historians with a right to speak, history does not solve questions; it teaches us to examine. After a life of labour in examination, a great event, they say, is seldom fully understood by those who worked for it. Our vision is surer about the past; there we have the whole; we see the beginning and the end; we distinguish essential from accessory. To contemporaries events are confused, obscured by passing accidents, mixed with all sorts of foreign elements. Both contemporaries and historians, more often than they suppose, miss a vital point, because they do not know that intuitive instinct which often goes further in the statesman's mind than deliberate analysis in argument. A visitor of Bismarck's once reminded him that Schopenhauer used to sit with him at dinner every day in the hotel at Frankfurt. "I had no business with him, I had neither time nor inclination for philosophy," said Bismarck, "and I know nothing of Schopenhauer's system." It was summarily explained to

him as vesting the primacy of the will in self-consciousness. "I daresay that may be all right," he said, "for myself, at least, I have often noticed that my will had decided before my thinking was finished." Improvisation has more to do in politics than people think.

Is there any guiding thread in history? Are the movements of the world onward? asks Lord Morley. And he seems to hesitate before formulating a definite answer. "History in the great conceptive of it has often been compared to a mountain chain seen far off in a clear sky, where the peaks seem linked to one another, towards the higher crest of the group." Many people treat progress as if it were like the law of gravitation in the world of matter. We know more about nature in the world of matter, have more power over its energies; human race has multiplied; life is longer, vigour and endurance have waxed. But only a fraction of mankind has access to higher standards of comfort and well-being. "If an angel of the Lord," says Mommsen, "were to strike the balance whether the domain ruled by Severus Antonius was governed with the greater intelligence and the greater humanity then or now, whether civilisation and general prosperity have since then advanced or retrograded, it is very doubtful whether the decision would favour the present." New ideas, manners, customs, institutions follow one on the heels of the other in quick succession, and one is apt to lose sight of the few things that seem immutable and may endure for immeasurable time. Lord Morley sums up similar reflections in a characteristic passage:—

After all, it is well to measure the procession of changes that have marked culture, civilisation, and the modern world, against some stupendous fixities of human things. If we think, for example, of all that language means, of the unplumbed depths of mortal thought, mood, aim, appetite, right, duty, kindness, savagery, and yet how stable language is amidst the vortex and how immutably the tongues of leading stocks in the world seem to have struck their roots. And in the four great faiths—Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddha—in spite of reformation, counter reformation, internecine conflict within, displacements by fire and sword from without, yet how steadfastly the name, the rites, the practices, and traditions persist.

After giving a gentle hint to the ardent spirits, who are always ready to substitute aspiration and enthusiasm for reason, to cultivate a sense of proportion, Lord Morley winds up the theme with an earnest plea for clear thinking, deep study and sound reasoning, in short, all such habits of mind which lead to the formation of sound opinion. If democracy—popularly called government working through public opinion—is to be successful in the heavy tasks awaiting it in the present and the future, it must be endowed with trained habits of mind:—

The star of strength and greatness rises or sinks in a State according to the proportions in its numbers of men and women with courage, energy, will, and open, supple, teachable intelligence; and then, besides, on their power of making their qualities effectively felt. If we are in Carlyle's genial phrase so many millions mostly fools, and if those who are not fools are but as dumb dogs, then the case is desperate. But before losing heart, let us be sure that our political arithmetic and algebra are right.



The Indian Problem in South Africa.

(By MR. HENRY S. L. POLAK.)

It becomes increasingly important that Indians, regardless of sect or province, should study most carefully the problem presented by the condition of their brethren overseas, for, apart from the fact that, almost daily, it becomes worse, that problem is one most nearly touching the national *amour propre*. That being admitted, perhaps no section of the Indian people could have a greater interest in the problem, as it reveals itself in South Africa, than the followers of Islam. Apart from the fact that the bulk of the larger business interests of the South African Indian community are in the hands of Mussulmans, there exists specific anti Mussulman legislation in at least one province of the Union, which, too, has recently had the unique distinction of holding Islam up to public opprobrium in the Courts of Justice. For these, among other reasons, I am anxious to appeal to Mussulman India for something more effective than lip-sympathy and platonic interest.

There is, in South Africa, an Indian population of nearly 1½ lakh of which the greater proportion is composed of Indians of the labouring classes, mostly from the Madras Presidency, but amongst whom are to be found an appreciable number of Mussulmans from Eastern Bengal, Behar and the United Provinces. Their fate under Indenture has been so eloquently described by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council, last March, that any additional words from me will savour of supererogation. When any additional words have expired, the labourers have three choices open to them. They may avail themselves of their right to a free return passage to India; but as their average savings after five years are extremely small—something like Rs. 137, most of them are unwilling or unable to return. The second alternative is that they may re-indenture; but the Indian public will readily realise that this choice, if availed of, must normally be more or less a matter of economic compulsion. Lastly, they

may remain free in Natal, though, under the existing law of the province, they will not be allowed to acquire statutory domicile there until the expiry of another three years after the conclusion of their contracts. In Natal alone amongst territories flying the British flag, freedom has its monetary value, for the law provides that an indentured Indian who does not return to India immediately upon the termination of his indenture, or who fails at once to re-indenture himself, is permitted to breathe the free air of Natal, if a male over 16 years, and if a female over 13 years, at an annual cost of Rs. 45. The effect of the imposition of this iniquitous tax upon the poverty of the poor is that hundreds of women have been driven to sell their virtue, whilst men have been driven to crime or to desertion of their families. Failure to pay the tax, which falls due immediately the contract has expired, involves the debtor in liability to imprisonment with hard labour. The result of all this is that the self-owners of Natal have been able to congratulate themselves and the public upon the fact that, today, only 6 per cent. of the time expired labourers can afford the privilege of freedom, the remaining 94 per cent., almost in equal moieties, being obliged to re-indenture or to return to India in a destitute condition.

The trading section of the community have also deep cause for complaint. Before a man may open a store or even hawk goods, he has to obtain a licence, and his application must be made to an official, known as the licensing officer, who is the servant of a municipality or board, on which Indians are unrepresented, and whose members are mostly the Indian's trade rivals. Knowing his employer's policy, he makes a practice of refusing licences to Indians, whilst granting them to others. Appeal to the supreme court against such flagrant injustice lies only where the re-issue of a current licence is refused. There is no appeal against the refusal of a transfer or of a new licence, and even colonial born Indians have the utmost difficulty in procuring a licence. Much the same conditions obtain in Cape Colony. In the Orange Free State there is practically no Indian population.

The Transvaal has always been the worst offender against Indians generally and Muhammadans in particular. In 1885, on alleged grounds of sanitary requirements, a law was passed against "the native races of Asia, including the so-called coolies, Arabs, Malays, and Muhammadan subjects of the Turkish Dominion." The "coolies" were, of course, the Indians. The "Arabs" were the Muhammadan Indian traders. The "Malays" were the half-caste descendants of the old Malay slaves. The Turkish Muhammadans included, as the law has since been interpreted, Turks born in Europe. All these people were denied every franchise and the direct ownership of landed property. They were required to register if entering the Republic for purposes of trade, and were required, for sanitary reasons, to reside in insanitary locations. The policy of the Boer Government has been followed and developed by the succeeding British Administration. In 1907 a new Registration law was passed, repealing the above offensive definitions. In the same year an immigration law was passed, absolutely excluding all Asiatic immigration. The most distinguished Indians, such as the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amiceer Ali, the Hon. Sved Ali Imam and the Hon. Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Bag, were prohibited immigrants, and it was against this offensive racial and religious discrimination that the passive resistance struggle was directed that entailed so much intense hardship upon the Indian community and eventually resulted in the success of the movement last year, culminating in the provisional settlement, whereby it was agreed to introduce legislation repealing the Act of 1907 and removing the statutory racial bar as to immigration. Those who realise the strength of the forces arrayed against the Indians will realise the magnitude of this moral and material victory. The promised legislation, though introduced this year, has not passed, for a variety of reasons, but the Government are under promise to re-introduce it next year.

But the Transvaal Indians are labouring under many other grievances. Their future is most precarious as their very rights of residence are threatened under the Gold Law. Their right of indirect ownership of land (i.e., through a European nominee) has been taken away by regulation issued (it is believed, unlawfully) under the Township Acts. They still have no franchise and have restricted rights of locomotion. And now the Supreme Court has delivered a judgment that has come as a thunderbolt to the community. It has decided that plural marriages contracted in India under the personal law of Indians do not hold good in the Transvaal, and that, if a Muhammadan Indian has his second wife there with him and desires to bring from India his first wife, i.e. may not do so as she is a prohibited immigrant. A more recent magisterial decision, still to be confirmed, goes even further, and declares that even a first and only wife, married under a law permitting of polygamy, is a prohibited immigrant, as such a marriage is invalid. The insult to Islam is only equalled by the enormous moral issues involved in these decisions, compelling, as they do, either material ruin or the break-up of families. It is sincerely to be hoped that the Mussulmans of India will offer a strong protest against them and that they will demand the repeal of a law that asperses marriages contracted in India under the Islamic law.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	As.	P.
M. Wajid Ali, Esq., Aligarh	9	0	0
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Amount received during the week	320	12	0
Amount previously acknowledged	20,176	8	6
TOTAL	20,497	4	6



The McCormick Case.

(Continued from our last).

You never saw him with a revolver?

No, I never saw him with a revolver.

You never had complaints about his going about with a revolver?

Not to the best of my knowledge.

You never heard that he threatened natives with a revolver and terrorised them?

No.

He is an overbearing violent man?

I don't think I am qualified to give an opinion of Captain McCormick. I should not feel justified in saying that.

Did you never get any complaints from Mr. Sherard about him?

Not that I remember. I don't think I did.

I suppose you know that Mr. Sherard went to Victoria Point to enquire into this case, about the rape and abduction?

No, he was there already.

Mr. Hamlyn: He was sent from Victoria Point to Captain McCormick's plantation?

Witness: Yes.

To investigate this charge of abduction?

Yes.

You know that the investigation took place in Captain McCormick's house?

I have no knowledge of that fact.

Not even heard of it.

Well, there is some passage in one of the diaries about McCormick's case.

You say you don't know that the enquiry was held in Captain McCormick's house in the presence of Captain McCormick?

Witness: Do you mean the enquiry for abduction? I have not noticed it.

• Mr. Hamlyn: Yes, and I put it to you that Captain McCormick had the little girl on his knee all the time and a revolver in his pocket.

I don't know. I would like to see the Police Papers.

You know Mr. Sherard complained to Mr. Buchanan about it? I saw no official complaint.

Is it usual when making an enquiry against a person to go to the house of that person and hold an enquiry?

No, I should think not.

And to have the complainant on his knee must have struck you as very absurd?

It is not the right way to conduct an enquiry.

Did you take any action on that?

You will see various actions taken by Mr. Finnie, the D. S. P.

What did Mr. Finnie do?

I think Mr. Sherard was called upon for his explanation. That was a matter for the Inspector-General of Police.

Was there a shooting case on McCormick's estate, in or about the estate, in connection with McCormick and his servants?

The witness hesitated and the question was repeated.

Yes, that was about last October.

And a man was shot dead?

No, he received injuries from which he died afterwards.

And McCormick's servant got a month's jail?

I think he did.

What was his name?

I could not tell you his name.

To The Court: One of McCormick's servants, shot another of McCormick's servants.

Mr. Hamlyn: His name was Joseph?

I don't remember.

Is not this servant in your employ now?

No, that I know of.

Neither in your house nor in any official capacity?

Well, I don't know who shot the servant.

Where was this case tried, this shooting case?

Victoria Point.

Who tried it?

The Sub-Divisional Officer.

Can you give me his name.

Mr. Stevenson.

He is Mr. Buchanan's successor?

Yes.

McCormick used to import arms from Penang direct?

He tried to.

And Mr. Buchanan put a stop to it?

Very likely, I really don't know.

A stop was put to it?

Well, there was some dispute about 303 rifle, which was just coming to a termination before I came to the district. It was not allowed to be imported.

Do you say that the people around McCormick's estate were not living in terror of him?

Well, he had enemies there and he appears to have as many good friends—some very bitter enemies.

And why has he enemies there?

Well, that is going rather back. I will explain to you. He has taken up land that was formerly waste open land and maintained large herds of buffaloes. I mean open grazing land. He has taken this up to plant rubber and some of the people there have never forgiven him for that.

Mr. Hamlyn: Yes. Any other reason?

He has had quarrels with them about labour contracts and things of that sort. Some of them cut his nurseries.

Anything more?

I don't remember. Those are things which come up more or less officially.

Now we come back to where we started. I repeat to you again that McCormick is an over bearing, violent tempered man.

I say I am not prepared to endorse that description.

And intemperate in his habits. You have never seen him the worse for liquor?

No.

Counsel was here interrupted by Mr. Rutledge.

Mr. Hamlyn, addressing the Court: What I wish to prove, Your Honour, is that this man McCormick was a terror in the neighbourhood and a friend of the Deputy Commissioner.

The Court: You might pass on to another point.

Mr. Hamlyn. You say, Mr. Andrew, that McCormick never thrashed any of the natives?

The only case I ever heard of was one that happened, I fancy, soon after I went there—the son of Mohamed Din.

Mohamed Din was an ex-Thugyi?

An ex-Headman.

And McCormick lived with this Mohamed Din for 6 months?

That is known to him. I have never heard it before.

You have never heard that McCormick came here a most impecunious man?

No.

And you say he has not terrorised the neighbourhood?

I should say not. I might say this about him terrorising the neighbourhood. When I first went there I saw he did not get on well with the natives, that is, the Malays, and I spoke to him about it and told him he ought to make a point to get on much better with them.

Now we come to a very salient point in this article which affects yourself, and I would draw your attention to the fact that you have not included it in your complaint. You have taken various extracts from this article and put them in complaint, but you have left out this particular passage, that is "he has been, it appears, for a long time an intimate and apparently valued friend of Mr. G. P. Andrew, I. C. S., officiating Deputy Commissioner at Mergui since 29th October 1909." Is that true or false?

Literally speaking it is false because I never saw McCormick until after the 29th October, 1909.

Is that true or false?

It is false. He is not an intimate and valued friend of mine at all. He is a friend I meet in the Club, a man I invite to dinner.

You say he is not a friend; or will you say he is a friend?

I did not know what you mean by a friend. I say there are some thirty planters in the district and I do not know him as I know several others. A question like that is a matter of opinion. All I can say is that up to that time I had met him some half a dozen times—up to the time of his case.

Now in the month of April, 1911, Mr. Buchanan went on leave?

Yes, for a month.

That was before the abduction case?

Yes, that started in July.

And you went to Victoria Point and stayed there practically the whole month?

Yes, I took Buchanan's duties.

You practically remained there a whole month?

I was there nearly a month, not the whole of the month, some 23 days altogether.

And you saw McCormick pretty frequently?

I saw him on his way to Penang. I saw him when he came back. Yes, I saw him pretty frequently.

And during your stay at Victoria Point you resided on his estate in his house for many days?

For five days during his absence.

And during your visit to Victoria Point you dined with him and breakfasted with him frequently.

Not frequently. I returned from his house just before he came from Penang. I went and slept the night there on his return, as I had to show him alterations which he had to make in certain grants.

He had already gone to Penang before you went to the house?

Yes.

When he came back you were still in the house?

No.

You still say you are not a friend of his?

I leave you to judge.

During that visit at McCormick's place you saw this little girl Aniah?

I did not.

You mean to say that you did not know, while you were staying in that house, that her father and mother and relatives were making frantic endeavours to reach you?

I do not believe they were. I heard about it after this case.
 And that McCormick's servants prevented them?
 I do not believe they did.
 You have heard about it?
 I have seen it alleged in deposition.
 Why don't you believe it?
 Because if any body had made any efforts to see me at all, he could have done so.
 That is your reason.
 Yes.
 During your visit on that occasion to Victoria Point you inspected Mr. Buchanan's office?
 Yes.
 He had no notice of it?
 No, he was away.
 And whilst you were inspecting it McCormick was with you?
 No.
 Now recollect, Mr. Andrew?
 No.
 You swear it?
 I swear it. (After a pause.) You mean in the office?
 Whilst you were inspecting Mr. Buchanan's work was McCormick ever present?
 No, not to the best of my knowledge.
 Are you prepared to swear that he was never present, when you inspected Mr. Buchanan's work?
 On no occasion.
 And he was not urging you to get Mr. Buchanan transferred?
 He may have made some remarks, but he never asked me to have Mr. Buchanan transferred. He never pretended to like Mr. Buchanan.
 You say he never pretended to like Mr. Buchanan?
 Yes, I say for at least a year before he was transferred he never pretended to like Mr. Buchanan.
 And whilst you were in Victoria Point you complained to the Commissioner about Mr. Buchanan?
 Not necessarily. What do you mean by complaining about Mr. Buchanan? I sent my inspection report? I had to do that.
 And without being called upon to show cause or any explanation Mr. Buchanan was censured?
 Perhaps he was. If you have got the paper, put it in please. I cannot carry these things in my head.
 Was he censured or blained or condemned over your visit?
 I think he was.
 It appears that the child Aniah had attracted the attention of McCormick?
 I cannot tell you.
 "Evidence is available that he spoke of her as a beauty, and that he made some efforts to get her, young as she was. The woman MeSone, to whom Aniah was sent for a while by her parents, was the mistress of a Mr. Clarke, then assistant to Mr. McCormick, and she was then living in Mr. Clarke's house." You know Mr. Clarke?
 Yes.
 And you know MeSone?
 I know her relationship to Mr. Clarke.
 His Mistress.
 Yes.
 Mr. Clarke's house is in McCormick plantation?
 Yes.
 What position does Clarke hold?
 Assistant, I presume, to McCormick.
 Aniah is the daughter of one Fatima and the father is one Malassa?
 Yes.
 You agree that the mother Fatima entrusted the child to one MeSone?
 Yes from my enquiry.
 Mr. Hamlyn: "And one evening soon after she arrived McCormick called at Clarke's." I suppose you agree with that. Did that appear in the evidence before you when you enquired into this case?
 Witness: I agree with that statement from what I know of this case.
 Mr. Hamlyn: "Doubtless he had called before and knew the child was there. On this occasion he found the child playing with

another child in the compound and, according to the statement on oath of Aniah, he lifted her up in his arms and took her to his house." Is that a true allegation of facts?
 Witness: He never said that he took her in his arms, and took her away by force.
 Mr. Hamlyn: I want you to let us know whether the paragraph I have read is a correct statement of facts.
 Mr. Rutledge to the Court: Your Honour, I object to the question in the form it is. Everyone of the questions have been put to the witness as if they had been within his own knowledge.
 Mr. Hamlyn: Very well, I will put it this way. Is this a fair statement of the facts of the case? Is that a correct statement of facts?
 Witness: It was so alleged.
 Mr. Rutledge to the Court: Your Honour, I again object to the question in its present form.
 Mr. Hamlyn: Is it a correct statement of facts and proved?
 Witness: No. McCormick's house is two miles away. Aniah is a child nearly twelve years of age and I regard it as extremely improbable that he carried her all that way. It was not denied before me that McCormick took the child from Clarke's house.
 Mr. Hamlyn: You know that at the Police enquiry McCormick denied it *in toto*?
 Witness: I could not tell you from memory. It is here in the Police papers.
 Mr. Hamlyn: You know I take it, that after the enquiry held in McCormick's house the girl Aniah was subsequently examined by the Police, in Inspector Sherard's own house?
 Witness: Yes.
 Mr. Hamlyn: And after that McCormick called on Inspector Sherard and insisted upon reading the girl's statement?
 Witness: That is alleged.
 Mr. Hamlyn: That he intimidated Mr. Sherard with a revolver and compelled him to alter the statement. Has that been alleged at all? Is this the first time you have heard of it?
 Witness: That allegation has not been made to me that he terrorised Sherard into making alterations. This is the first time I have heard of it.
 Mr. Hamlyn: You agree that alterations have been made in McCormick's statement?
 Witness: Yes.
 Mr. Hamlyn: There were two witnesses of the actual abduction one Bedin and Sahut. Is that true?
 Witness: Yes.
 Mr. Hamlyn: Why did you not call them?
 Witness: Well, McCormick did not deny in my Court taking the child away. I did not call Sahut because his evidence was not necessary, because the taking away of the child was not denied in my Court.
 Mr. Hamlyn: This was a charge of abduction and it was necessary for you to know all the circumstances that made up the abduction?
 Witness: Yes, certainly, certainly.
 Mr. Hamlyn: And you did not ascertain those circumstances?
 Witness: I think I did.
 Mr. Hamlyn: Sahut was an eye-witness?
 Witness: Yes.
 Mr. Hamlyn: Bedin was an eye-witness.
 Witness: Yes. I shall have to refer to the Police papers. I cannot carry all this in my head. I did not take their evidence because the taking away of the child was not denied.
 Mr. Hamlyn: Did you not say that it was abduction in any case on account of the child's age, notwithstanding the circumstances?
 Witness: Yes.
 Mr. Hamlyn: The woman MeSone, as did McCormick himself, varied their statements regarding the circumstances surrounding the abduction. You agree that they did?
 Witness: Yes.
 Mr. Hamlyn: The child was kept from her parents for three months or thereabouts. Did you ascertain in the enquiry how long she was kept away from her parents?
 Witness: Up to the time of recovery of the child it was fully three months according to the allegations in my Court.
 Mr. Hamlyn: On the 14th July, 1911, when the child was recovered by the order of the Magistrate MeSone said that Aniah stayed in her house for two weeks. She then went and lived with Ma Pe Yin. She did not see her go away and she did not know how she did go?
 Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: It was alleged by McCormick and Ma Pe Yin that Me Sone, with the knowledge of the child's mother Fatima had sold the child to Ma Pe Yin. You have seen that on the Police record?

Witness: I don't remember. Who alleged it?

Counsel: Ma Pe Yin.

Witness: When? She alleged what?

Counsel: That MeSone and Fatima had sold the child to Ma Pe Yin. Will you admit that MeSone contradicted herself. Gave two versions (witness hesitated). Did she or did she not?

Witness: Give me the two versions.

Mr. Hamlyn: reading: "On the 14th July.....". This statement was made in the presence of McCormick, and on the 21st July MeSone gave another version (read).

The Court to the witness: Are you satisfied that there were variations in the statements given on the 14th July and on the 21st July?

Witness: I think that I have stated somewhere that all the witnesses for the defence made wild reckless statements. The witnesses certainly changed their statements.

Mr. Hamlyn: That a Police Officer was sent to McCormick's to bring the child, is that substantially true.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: McCormick terrorised the witnesses and, according to Mr. Sherard, shouting if they did not give evidence to please him. Did that come to your knowledge? Is it true or false as far as you know?

Witness: I do not know.

Mr. Hamlyn: You have not tried to ascertain whether this is a false or true statement?

Witness: No, I made no enquiries.

Mr. Hamlyn: It was a disgraceful thing if this sort of thing did happen?

Witness: Yes, I don't agree with that sort of thing.

Mr. Hamlyn: On that occasion McCormick stated "I do not know who brought her here," but he altered his statement to "I brought her here" on the 17th July. Is this a true statement on the part of Mr. Arnold or is it false? Have you taken the trouble to ascertain whether the statement in this article of which you are complaining is a true or false statement? I put it to you that he had seen the child's sworn statement and had altered his own statement. You did not take the trouble to see whether he altered it or not?

Witness: No, I did not make an enquiry to see why the accused had altered these statements.

Mr. Hamlyn: Surely you ought to have cross-examined the accused?

Witness: I know that he made two statements.

Mr. Hamlyn: There is a very serious conflict in the two statements. He denied the abduction in one of the statements in toto?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: I would commence with the 3rd column, Mr. Andrew. On the 22nd. he made a further statement, that is, McCormick made a further statement,—"I took her away to my house I took her to mine and I handed her to Ma Pe Yin" Did you know this had been made by McCormick?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: They made no impression on your mind?

Witness: They made no impression on my mind. Well, it is a common thing for accused persons to change their statements.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did it not have a very serious weight with you, this statement being in variance with the others?

Witness: It did not.

Mr. Hamlyn: You did not examine him on these three points. "Now, there is not a shadow of doubt that McCormick abducted the child and that he did so, as we allege, for the purpose of subsequently raping her, as he did a few days later according to the child's sworn statement....." What have you to say about that?

Witness: I say that is not proved by the evidence.

Mr. Hamlyn: You did not believe the little girl's story, that she was put across his knee?

Witness: No, I did not.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you agree that the girl had been ravished? Did you come to the conclusion that the girl had been ravished?

Witness: I think so.

Mr. Hamlyn: By whom?

Witness: I cannot tell you.

Mr. Hamlyn: Dr. Evers had been subpoenaed to give evidence by you?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: He was not present in your Court?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you subpoena the Assistant Surgeon in Victoria Point?

Witness: Yes, Dawlat Ram.

Mr. Hamlyn: He at first demurred to coming, not having got permission from his superior officer, Dr. Evers?

Witness: I don't think so. I don't remember that at all. I asked the Sub-divisional Magistrate at Victoria Point to bring all the witnesses up from that side and he included this Assistant Surgeon.

Mr. Hamlyn: And he made an objection that he dared not leave the place without permission from his superior officer, Dr. Evers.

Witness not having answered, Counsel continued.

Mr. Hamlyn: Was not a wire sent at your instance to this Assistant Surgeon?

Witness: I don't remember anything about that. I don't remember anything about the witnesses coming from Victoria Point.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you telegraphed that Dr. Evers had given permission?

Witness: I would rather say no, to the best of my knowledge. I do not remember anything about Dawlat Ram's appearance at all.

Mr. Hamlyn: Cannot you think?

Witness: To the very best of my knowledge I did not.

Mr. Hamlyn: You did not send a telegram in the name of Dr. Evers at all telling him to come?

Witness: I did not.

Mr. Hamlyn: Have you had any correspondence with Dr. Evers?

Witness: I will swear to the best of knowledge that I have not.

Counsel: Very well, I will take your answer. Continuing, Dr. Evers had been asked specially, to make an examination of the girl through the mother of the child asking, imploring, that she might be examined and she was sent to Dr. Evers to be examined by the Sub-divisional Officer?

Witness: She was examined by Dr. Evers.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you did not think it necessary to examine Dr. Evers?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you know that Dr. Evers was not in attendance in Court on the day you were enquiring into this matter?

Witness: I do not know.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you see the statement here that the child was under examination by the D. S. P. for five hours and she was not shaken at all? It is about a dozen lines down the third column.

Witness: I see it.

Mr. Hamlyn: I suppose you examined the Police papers when she gave evidence.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And her evidence in Court before you was supported by the D. S. P. that she was examined for five hours. The child's evidence was also corroborated by the mother's evidence?

Witness: That is a question I will have to refer to my proceedings before I could reply to (witness reads the proceedings).

Mr. Hamlyn: What do you refer to therein?

Witness: I refer to the rape therein, to the abduction. I refer later (witness reads again from the proceedings).

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you pay any heed or attention to the sworn statements made by the mother and the child before Mr. Buchanan?

Witness: Yes, there were very many discrepancies. Do you want to know one of them? [Witness] reads. "Aniah says, I did not tell my mother before I was taken to the hospital....." Fatima says that "when she was given back to me.....she was suffering from.....that she caught in Captain McCormick's house."

Mr. Hamlyn: Who had stated that?

Witness: Aniah

Mr. Hamlyn reading: "Leaving aside the charge of rape for the moment, what is the accused's explanation of his taking possession of the child? It is the most amazing and incredible explanation conceivable. We are sorry to be obliged to write plainly but the facts cannot be boggled. McCormick asserts that the child was suffering from gonorrhoea....." Do you believe that?

Witness: I consider that it was proved by the evidence in my Court. By her own relatives, there is Mr. Clarke, MeSone, Hajee Rahim.

(To be continued)

Persia.

News of the Week.

In the House of Lords, Lord Lamington called attention to the unsatisfactory situation in Persia and re-iterated the statements with reference to the diminishing of British prestige. He complained that Great Britain was too ready to sacrifice her Persian interests to Russian demands.

Lord Crewe defended the Anglo-Russian Convention using arguments similar to those put forward by Sir Edward Grey recently. Great Britain and Russia, he said, would do their best to help Persia financially. He emphatically declared that Great Britain would do her utmost to avoid anything like military occupation of Southern Persia. It would be folly from every standpoint to enlarge our responsibilities in that direction. The problem was most difficult but there were signs of improvement.

Lord Curzon said that the situation in Persia was most gloomy and our attitude was inevitably leading to British military occupation of Southern Persia. Dark clouds were rolling up pregnant with danger not only to our relations with Russia but to the Indian Empire. He thought that the Government should show a little more spirit and courage in its dealings with Russia and a determination to insist upon the maintenance of Persian integrity.

Sir Edward Grey replying to Sir George Robertson in the House of Commons on 16th July said he was aware of Russia's proposal to build a railway from Julfa to Tabriz, independently of the Trans-Persian Line. He did not know whether Persia had sanctioned the project, but he was already in communication with the British Minister in Teheran, with regard to the proposal of a British firm to construct a line in the South. If the concession for a railway were given in the North, we should claim a corresponding concession in the South, but the railway from Julfa to Tabriz was not a very extensive project.

No news of any kind is available regarding the Trans-Persian Railway, but beyond doubt the Home Government have been frequently in communication with the authorities in India on this question. Mr. Johns, the Chief Engineer, is still in Simla, and he will, it is presumed, resume survey work next cold weather, as usual.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, July 4

I am informed that the opposition to the Trans-Persian Railway project among Moscow merchants, led by M. Christoffnikoff, who is a very wealthy and influential export merchant to Persia, is growing in volume. The *Russkoe Slovo* is about to publish an article from its Teheran correspondent condemning the scheme as most damaging to Russian commerce.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Odessa, July 1.

It is semi-officially announced that the Council of Ministers has under consideration a tentative scheme for the construction of a railway from Djulfa to Tabriz. It may be recalled that when, about a decade ago, Russia came to the financial assistance of the Teheran Government, after England had un diplomatically declined to do so, one of the primary conditions of the Russian loan was that this country should have the first and exclusive option of building railways in Persia. It is, presumably, in virtue of that agreement that Russia now proposes to construct a Djulfa-Tabriz railway independently of the projected Trans-Persian line. It is possible that Russia is somewhat doubtful whether the Russo-Indian railway project will eventually be approved by England and the British-Indian Government. In the meantime she is not unreasonably desirous of securing for her own commerce and industry the important North Persian markets, and a line connecting her Caucasian system with the capital of Azerbaijan would, undoubtedly, give her the advantage she seeks; and, furthermore, it would materially help in the consolidation of what is already, practically, the Russian protectorate in the provinces of Azerbaijan and Urumiah. If the Djulfa-Tabriz Railway scheme be decided upon by the Council of Ministers, it will be submitted to the new Duma at its first session in the late autumn, and it may be safely assumed that that Assembly will readily agree to the Ministerial proposal and vote the necessary outlay. There are no physical difficulties in the way of the line's construction. The distance is, I believe, not more than eighty miles. Russia's commercial traffic between Djulfa and Tabriz has for some considerable time past been carried on by motor-wagon transport under Russian military escorts, and the trade is said to show a steady increase.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, July 2.

The ex-Shah's Treasurer and Private Secretary left Odessa some days ago for Vienna. Muhammad Ali himself is said to have either already left or to be about to leave for Europe. Carlsbad is announced as his destination. It will be remembered that a journey to Carlsbad was announced last July, when preparations for his return to Persia were completed. His agents here and in Europe display great activity, which causes much anxiety. Tabriz, where his supporter, Shuza-ed-Dowleh, is Governor, appears to offer him more attractive ground than the Turkoman country which was the scene of his recent failure.

Teheran, July 3.

Russia shows a disposition to withdraw the troops at Kazvin for the purpose of military concentration in the Caucasus. All reports from Meshed, however, tend to show that the occupation of Kharasan bears the stamp of permanency. Extensive barracks are being built for the troops.

Persia in Extremis.

B. W. STANTON, writing in the *Financier* of 26th June has the following:—

The departure of His Highness the Regent from Persia may well be considered to be the commencement of the final act of the Persian drama—a pathetic drama, and one long drawn out, but none the less real and certain.

The present unsatisfactory state of the Government will no doubt give place to a temporary reshuffling of the cards. What will be the upshot? That there are many clever and capable men among the Persians is a fact which is not questioned, men possessing mediocre ability, but we cannot point to one possessing the outstanding capabilities which go to the making of a leader, and it is just at this juncture—when the responsible head has left the country, and their mainstay in battle has been done to death—that a leader is needed. What is even more deplorable than this is the lack of clean-handed and clean-hearted patriotism, and of prominent men who, from pure and disinterested motives, working with a real, unselfish courage, are willing to sacrifice their personalities, and, if necessary, their all, for the benefit of their country at large and their fellow countrymen in a common bond. Heroics and self-sacrifice, as the result of evil doing, are neither required nor necessary.

The Persian places his trust in no one; consequently, no one trusts him. Every single individual has an axe of his own to grind, and it is this "personal axe" which is ever the real incentive to all his words and deeds. It is due to no fault of his that this is so—it is his heritage and his burden. There are many who would gladly pursue the better and nobler path of life, but circumstances are against them, and so the evil goes on, and is perpetuated from generation to generation, with the cruel and deplorable result which we see.

If perchance we could find ten just men—men who would divest themselves entirely of self and join together in a bond of righteous brotherhood—ten men determined to face intrigues and contumely with a bold front and an upright policy, meting out retribution to evil doers (or even if we could find a Kareem Khan or Nauder Qulce), the country might breathe again the air of tranquility and plenty. But we look in vain for such a consummation.

Persia, as Persia, is a question of the past, and to blink that fact is but to make matters worse. The Meshhad correspondent of the *Near East*, in his letter of 24th May, writes:—"The masses of people in Persia are poor, and any interruption of their means of livelihood is very serious. No doubt the larger part of Persia's population is indifferent to the political condition of the country, except in so far as it affects them personally, and would be entirely satisfied with either Monarchical or Constitutional Government if they could only be guaranteed safety of life and property, and be reasonably sure of the necessities of life. The Treasury is worse than empty, and the country has no one who can develop its financial resources. Most men in power use their position to accumulate money for themselves. The likelihood of Persian independence and self-development has passed away, and the sooner it is acknowledged that Russia has taken over Northern Persia the sooner will the country settle into what is to be its future normal condition." This is writ large and of unerring truth. "Independence submits to no restraint or dictation from outside, and the first condition of national existence is the power of resistance to such restraint."

Persia has lost her power of resistance, and, along with it, her independence. Persia as an independent entity has passed and gone, and any further attempt or effort at regeneration from within or to bolster up her rotten carcass is but to prolong the agony of her poor bleeding and starving millions (*tau ba kunh-e-beekh-e-asos va bunyed faused ast*). It is, perhaps, hardly true to say that her

power for self-development has passed away. Self-development is still possible, but with her independence gone a leader is needed to preserve her integrity and to foster self-development. Is there such a man among them? And are there the other nine men to follow his lead? We wait for the answer, and time alone will show. If the leader and his lieutenants are not forthcoming, then it is only a question of time (and that of short duration) when her integrity and her power of self-development will be thoughts of the past. Will not the best of Persia's manhood combine in a final effort to save this last shred of honour left to them? Will not the discordant elements (internal and external) agree to a truce, and together facing the inevitable, endeavour to save at least the integrity of their country? There are those able and willing to do so; but, alas! they lack the backbone for such an effort. Wanted, a leader!

Sir Edward Grey and Persia.

A WHITE Paper was issued on the 4th July containing further correspondence respecting the affairs of Persia, and covering the period from Christmas last to 2nd April of the present year.

The published despatches throw an interesting light on the action taken by the British Government following the executions of Persian ecclesiastical dignitaries by the Russians in Tabriz reported at the beginning of the year.

Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador to Russia, writing from St. Petersburg to Sir Edward Grey on 4th January reports that on the previous day he had a conversation with the Russian Foreign Minister on the subject of the execution of the Sikat-el-Islam, and told him that the execution of this high placed ecclesiastic struck him as being "a most unfortunate occurrence, as well a grave blunder." The Ambassador pointed out that it was almost certain to arouse intense indignation throughout Persia, and that probably the Russian authorities would be represented as having caused the execution for the express purpose of provoking fresh disorders which would furnish them with the necessary pretext for occupying Teheran.

M. Sazonoff replied that the military authorities had no choice but to inflict capital punishment on the Sikat-el-Islam, who had been one of the chief instigators of the recent troubles and of the anti-Russian movement, and that they were moreover obliged to take account of the temper of the troops, who were incensed at the tortures to which the Russian wounded had been subjected.

Sir George's despatch proceeds:—

"I said that I quite understood that acts such as those which he had just mentioned must be severely punished, but that I still thought that it would have been more politic not to have inflicted the death penalty on the Sikat-el-Islam. Russia was, like Great Britain, a great Mussulman Power, and I feared that his execution would shock the feelings of our Mahomedan subjects. What, however, pre-occupied us most for the moment was the danger of its provoking an outbreak of fresh disorders in Persia, which might in their turn lead to the occupation of Teheran by the Russian troops. His Excellency was no doubt aware of the violent opposition which the despatch of Russian troops to Persia had aroused in the House of Commons and of the very difficult position in which you (Sir Edward Grey) had been placed. I therefore trusted that he would do all that was possible to restrain the Russian military authorities in Persia, as the occupation of Teheran could not fail to put a severe strain on the Anglo-Russian understanding.

"M. Sazonoff, in reply, expressed the hope that nothing would happen to render such an occupation necessary, but said it was impossible for the Government not to reckon with Russian public opinion, and in view of the state of anarchy reigning in Persia he could not meet the wishes which Mr. Mallet had expressed to Count Benckendorff in your name with regard to the withdrawal of the Kazvin force. His Excellency explained that the force of 1,000

men sent from that place to Resht had only been transferred in order to strengthen the garrison at the latter place."

Sir Edward Grey, in a despatch to Sir G. Buchanan in February, said:—

"Count Benckendorff told me to-day that the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Kazvin would soon be accomplished—half of them would be returned to Russia, and the other half would go to Ardebil and Resht. I said I was very glad to hear this."

In a despatch dated 15th January Sir Edward Grey informed Sir George Buchanan, in connection with the Tabriz incident, that as order had been restored there did not appear to be any reason why the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Kazvin "should not now be proceeded with." Sir Edward continued:—

"You should take an opportunity of speaking to M. Sazonoff in this sense, but in doing so it is desirable that you should explain the considerations that influence His Majesty's Government in the matter. They have recognised that a Persian Government which pursues a policy hostile to Russian interests cannot be strong. Such a policy leads inevitably to friction and conflict with Russia, that must weaken the Persian Government and impair or destroy its authority. All the more is it necessary that a Persian Government, when friendly to Russian interests, should be supported and encouraged. The present Persian Government has complied with the Russian demands, and has shown a genuine desire for friendly relations with Russia. Unless there is some response to this attitude and some encouragement is given to the Persian Government it will not be apparent to the latter or to their subjects that they have anything to gain. A withdrawal of the Russian troops from Kazvin would give such encouragement. It would justify to the Persians what their present Government is doing, and would thereby strengthen its position and enable it to regain the authority that is essential to the restoration of order in Persia."

Concerning the pensioning of the ex-Shah Sir Edward Grey telegraphed to Sir George Buchanan on 23rd January:—

"It should not be forgotten in considering the position of the ex-Shah that he no longer has any right to claim a pension at all, and I am of opinion that if the two Governments decide to grant him one they should only do so on obtaining from him some fuller guarantee that he will not return to Persia. He has weakened the Persian Government by his incursion, which cost them considerable sums to check, and has thus made them less able to deal with the disorders in the south, which have consequently increased. As a result British trade has suffered severely."

Sir Edward also wrote to the British Ambassador on the same day:—

"I spoke to Count Benckendorff in the sense of my telegram of to-day's date about the ex-Shah's pension. Count Benckendorff said the important thing was to get the ex-Shah out of Persia. He did not deprecate a written undertaking such as I had suggested being required, but it might be that the ex-Shah would refuse to come out of Persia with such a condition. Would it be wise to insist on the condition if his withdrawal from Persia could be obtained by waiving it? I said if the ex-Shah did come out of Persia without any condition I thought the Russian Government should put him under surveillance."

A despatch from Sir George Barclay, the then British Envoy to Persia, dated Teheran, 8th March shows that the compensation demanded from Persia by the British Government for the attack on Mr. Smart, the British Consul at Shiraz, was £4,744. It was stated in the House of Commons on 27th March that the Persian Government had agreed to pay compensation as a first charge on the next loan.

The final letter, which was from Sir Edward Grey to Sir G. Barclay, on 2nd April said:—

"His Majesty's Government have carefully considered the whole situation in South Persia, with special reference to the attack on Mr. Smart. It seems essential that the men, who are well known locally to have been guilty of that outrage, should be handed over to the Persian Government for punishment. If this were done His Majesty's Government would at once withdraw the detachment now at Bushire and if the tribal chiefs and headmen have shown a friendly feeling and peaceful attitude for at least two months, and no more road outrages occur, the withdrawal of the cavalry from Shiraz and Isfahan will follow. The Persian Government must, however, understand that the continuance of this benevolent attitude on the part of His Majesty's Government must depend on the establishment of an efficient Swedish gendarmerie, and they must therefore undertake, before the final withdrawal of the troops, to support the Swedish officers by all the means in their power."

MISCELLANEOUS TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS.

Name of place.	Name of person in charge of the Fund.	THE WEEK'S PROGRESS.						PROGRESS UP TO DATE.						REMARKS.
		Amount collected.		Amount forwarded.		To whom forwarded and through what Agency.	Amount collected.		Amount forwarded.					
		Rs.	A.	Rs.	A. P.		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.				
Karachi (Sind).	Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon.	224	1	6	12	0	M. O. & Postage.	21,973	11	3	21,136	11	7	
Karachi (Sind).	Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon.	557	0	1,497	1	4	Remitted to the Rt. Honble Syed Amir Ali for the B.R.C.S. Printing, Postage etc.	21,749	10	2	21,144	2	7	

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

A message received by Reuter timed four o'clock on the morning of the 19th July from the Dardanelles states that heavy cannonade is proceeding at Kumkaleh at the entrance to the Straits.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—At one o'clock in the morning of the 19th July eight Italian torpedo boats attacked Kumkaleh. The forts replied sinking two of the boats and damaging the other six. The Porte has ordered the closing of the Dardanelles.

Reuter wires from Rome:—It is semi-officially stated that Italian torpedo boats on the 19th instant penetrated the Dardanelles but that they were discovered by searchlights and subjected to heavy cross fire from the forts on both sides. They found the Turkish warships anchored but fully prepared, being protected by steel cable obstructions. Consequently they made no attack and retired though they suffered no damage. The Porte has decided not to close the Dardanelles, but to reduce the width of the Channel between the mine fields.

An Italian Note published on the 19th July says it is absurd to suppose that six torpedo boats attempted to force the Dardanelles. The Note ascribes the cannonade by the forts to panic.

On the contrary a despatch from Constantinople on the 19th July declares that after the withdrawal of the torpedo boats, which were apparently trying to surprise the fleet anchored off Gallipoli, twenty-two Italian warships, accompanied by transports, were sighted off the Straits.

News of the attack on the Dardanelles was received with surprise and incredulity in Vienna and Berlin, where it is believed that certain mysterious negotiations between Italian and German financiers with a view to peace have been progressing hopefully.

A proclamation of the Sultan was read to the troops after the Selamlık on the 19th instant. It mentions that certain officers on the 18th instant submitted unconstitutional demands forgetful of their military obligations. The proclamation urges the troops to observe discipline and abstain from politics as the development of tendencies to the contrary had encouraged the enemy to approach the gates of the capital. It appears that the demands mentioned in the proclamation were formulated after a meeting of officers at the Ministry for War which delegated Nazim Pasha and Hadi Pasha to wait on His Majesty and demand the dissolution of the Chamber and the appointment of Kiamil Pasha as Grand Vizier.

The Italian newspapers in announcing the withdrawal of torpedo boats intact, thanks to the bad Turkish gunnery, after penetrating twenty miles up the Dardanelles, declare that these heroes have written the most glorious page in the naval history of the world.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—A belief prevails in competent quarters that grave developments are pending. The Committee of Union and Progress being abandoned by the army and being unwilling to withdraw gracefully is running extreme risks in order to preserve a last hold. But the temper of the army was clearly shown in demands presented to the Sultan insisting on the appointment of Kiamil Pasha as Grand Vizier and the dissolution of the Chamber.

Reuter wires from Rome on 22nd July:—Detailed despatches announce that the damage to the torpedo boats, which carried out the Dardanelles raid, is insignificant.

It is officially stated that the Italians attacked, routed and decimated 1,500 of the enemy at a position to the west of Misurata. The Italian losses were nineteen killed and eighty-seven wounded.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 22nd July:—Tewfik Pasha has relinquished the post of Grand Vizier to which he was appointed recently owing to the refusal of the Sultan to dissolve the Chamber, His Majesty maintaining that such action was unconstitutional. Tewfik Pasha will remain Ambassador in London. Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha has been appointed Grand Vizier and is forming a Cabinet.

The Italians now admit that some slight damage was suffered by torpedo boats recently in the Dardanelles affair. Their object was to attack the Turkish fleet. The leading torpedo boat actually passed two obstruction cables protecting the fleet before returning.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 22nd July:—Kiamil Pasha has been appointed Foreign Minister, Nazim Pasha, Minister for War, and Hossein Hilmi, Minister of the Interior.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—At the last moment, changes have been made in the Cabinet. Kiamil Pasha becomes President of the Council of State and Noradunghian Pasha, Foreign Minister. The change is regarded as significant and as foreshadowing the early accession of Kiamil Pasha to the Grand Vizierate.

The Cabinet has decided to abolish the state of siege and trial by court-martial in Constantinople and to send immediately a peace mission to Albania.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Government has ordered suspension of hostilities in Albania and instructed the authorities to do their utmost to pacify the Albanians and withdraw the troops within the chief towns.

The Albanians captured Prishtina on the 21st instant, the garrison surrendering.

News by the English Mail.

REUTER'S Agency is informed by the Imperial Ottoman Embassy that the Turkish Commander in Tripoli has cabled to the War Ministry in Constantinople that the false Italian reports of fighting at Sidi Said should be contradicted. Turkish official telegrams state that the enemy in three columns attacked the Turco-Arab camps in the vicinity of Sidi Said on June 27th, and that after fierce fighting which lasted seven hours the enemy was driven back and pursued as far as the sea, leaving many dead bodies on the field.

(FROM THE "TIMES.")

The War Minister in Constantinople has received the following telegram from the Turkish Commander in Tripoli regarding the two battles of June 27th and 28th at Sidi Said:—On June 27th the enemy made a sortie with superior forces in the vicinity of Sidi Said, and at first succeeded in advancing some distance. Later, however, through the action of our cavalry, they were obliged to retreat, after a stubborn battle which lasted seven hours, and were pursued as far as the coast. The enemy lost heavily in this engagement and left 500 dead bodies on the field. Our losses were 159 killed and 296 wounded. On the 28th the enemy, three regiments of infantry strong, attacked Sidi Said, which they succeeded in occupying, after a desperate resistance on our part, by means of their heavy guns, which had been placed on the east side of Bu Kemmesh, and by the bombardment from their warships. Second Lieutenant Said Soubhi Effendi is among the dead.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

The *Jeune Turc* learns that four Italian emissaries have arrived at Cettigné. They propose to visit the capitals of the Balkan States and to have interviews with the leaders of the Opposition parties whom they will try to influence to take energetic action against the inactivity of their Governments in the present situation. After having visited the capitals of the Balkan States the Italian emissaries will also visit the principal Albanian towns.

It is stated that Italian emissaries have already arrived at Scutari in Albania where they are trying to incite the people to revolt.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 2.

The Chamber to-day approved the first reading of the entire Budget, which is the same in all essential as that submitted by Nail Bey previous to the Parliamentary dissolution, except in regard to the ordinary expenditure, which is now increased to £136,000,000. This sum does not include the cost of the Turco-Italian War, which is now dealt with separately.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

The Italian losses for the two engagements at Sidi Said are returned at thirty-nine killed and 190 wounded, a not inconsiderable total in view of the slight influence that this inferior advance is likely to have on the campaign as a whole. If, however, a general forward movement is impossible, the Italian commanders are adopting the right tactics in spinning out their small successes. Public opinion at home is gratified, and the army of occupation is freed from the demoralising effect of prolonged inaction. In regard to the contraband trade, however, it is possible that Italian watchfulness, at no time very thorough owing to the extent of the littoral involved, has become still less effective latterly. If reports are to be believed little difficulty is now experienced by the Turks in arranging for the consignment of guns and ammunition to the Tripoli coast, while food supplies are conveyed as previously from the Hinterland of Tunisia. Add to this the fact that the Arab levies are said to be receiving regular payment, although small, from the Turkish Government, which has never lost touch with the province in regard to ordinary administrative functions, and it will be seen that the Italian claim to annexation must appear particularly inadequate to Turkish eyes. Italy's steady yearly outflow of Italian emigrants to America is to be checked. The outflow

is to continue, but in another direction to Tripoli. They are to be cajoled into the desert empire of the New Rome, and their path to good wages and friends in the United States is to be strewn with rocks and shoals. The Transatlantic steamship companies will thank the Italian authorities. And, if grass does not grow in the sand of the Sahara, or if the enemy's tactics succeed in keeping the Italians on the coast, like ivy on a wall, the Italian emigrants will likewise be grateful to their paternal Government.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

According to the *Agence Ottomane*, the *Temps* learns from Rhodes that the sudden change of attitude of the Italians causes uneasiness to the islanders whose ancient privileges the Italian Government appears disposed to restrict. The rigorous measures maintained at Rhodes and Cos considerably embarrass the inhabitants. The state of war has paralyzed business, and trade with Turkey is ruined. The levying of quarantine and lighthouse duties has resulted in steamers not calling at Rhodes. It is the islanders who are suffering the most by Italy's reprisals against Turkey.

The *Iktiham* learns that the British Government has accepted in principle the demand of the Sublime Porte for the appointment of British officers in the Ottoman gendarmery, but has laid down certain conditions. One of the conditions is, according to the *Iktiham*, that the officers shall not have to demand instructions from Constantinople on all questions, and that they will be free to have recourse to all measures they deem necessary in the exercise of their duties. The Sublime Porte is said not to be quite disposed to accept this condition, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs will open pourparlers with the British Government in view of finding a clearer and more acceptable formula.

According to the *Agence Ottomane*, the *Tribuna* says that all that has been said and written concerning the future of the Aegean Islands is premature.

The *Corriere d'Italia* says that the premature agitation of the Greek element in the islands serves the purpose of Turkey, and that she is using it to create difficulties to Italy and this prevents her occupying other islands.

M. D. Caclamanos, the new Greek Minister in Rome, has denied most emphatically in an interview that the Greek Government had taken any part, direct or indirect, in the meeting at Patmos of representatives of the Aegean Islands occupied by Italy or in the drafting of the Note which the islanders addressed to the Powers. He reiterated the official declarations that the cordial relations between Italy and Greece had not been affected in any way by the Italian initiative in the Aegean Sea.

The special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* reports from Chios that the notabilities of the islands have assured him that the expectation of the advent of the Italians has been continuous during the whole month. Thrice since the seizure of Stampalia several Muhammadan families of Chios have taken refuge in Constantinople or Smyrna, and thrice they have returned hither. Italian warships often took soundings off the southern part of the island. Obviously the feelings of the population vary according to race, but the correspondent is enabled to assert that the Greeks would in no wise welcome a permanent Italian occupation. Martial law prevails throughout the islands but no complaints are made against the Civil Governor, the military commander, or the officers. The local commander of troops and his comrades are resolved to offer a spirited resistance and the correspondent is convinced that they will keep their word.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

A check has been administered to the aspirations of the inhabitants of the Aegean Islands by the Italian military authorities. Owing to a misunderstanding the delegates at the conference at Patmos were subjected to some indignities. The mistake was rectified as soon as possible, but the inhabitants were reminded somewhat emphatically by General Ameglio that the Islands were in Italian military occupation, and that there could be no talk of autonomy. At the same time, a semi-official statement was issued in Rome contradicting the report that the Italian Government had summoned to the capital representatives of the Aegean Islands. Someone who purported to be the representative of the inhabitants of the islands, the statement continued, had come to Rome of his own accord, but he had not been received either by the Minister for Foreign Affairs or by any member of the Government. The Italian Government could not well adopt any other attitude. Having rendered an early conclusion of the war impossible by a premature proclamation annexing Tripoli, it ought to be very careful that the door is not shut on the only possible terms of peace by ill-advised haste in dealing with the Aegean Islands, which it has temporarily occupied in the course of its naval operations.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH," SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, June 26.

During a cruise among the Turkish islands in the Aegean Sea which Italy has not yet occupied, I have had ample opportunity to study the effects of Italian politico-military tactics upon the Ottoman Government, the Greek population, King George's advisers, and upon the crucial perplexities of the international situation, and this is what I find. The islanders everywhere welcome not so much the arrival of the Italians as the break in the Turkish domination, because they regard it as a prelude to autonomy, which, in turn, is but a stage in the progress towards annexation by Greece. The population of the archipelago is stirred to its depth, and the stream of excitement is being turned upon European diplomacy, which has unwittingly created for itself a new source of constant trouble and peril in the Near East. The problem of the islands, once acute, will never disappear, and every conceivable solution will strike at the root of Turkish national existence. Ottoman statesmen, alarmed by the outlook, are eager for assurances that Europe will lay the spectre which it has conjured up. They are convinced that Russo-Italian policy is shaping itself in two measures—first, the financial exhaustion of the Ottoman Empire, which is compelled to expend enormous sums of money in preparation for attacks which are not contemplated; and, second, the creation of a situation which from the standpoint of international commerce, Europe cannot brook. Thus if Chios is captured, Smyrna will be cut off by sea, and terrible losses will be inflicted upon neutrals with no corresponding gain to Italy.

Turkey is quite willing to make a compromise now, but on the condition that Italy also agrees to split the difference. If Italy refuses the Ottoman Government will fight to the end, whatever that end may be, even though it be suicidal, and the Powers will have to lie in the bed they are making for themselves.

The Italian nation is accustoming itself to the thought that the islands of the archipelago will partly become Italian, and partly be under Italian protection, and it is understood that King Victor Emmanuel is very desirous to retain Rhodes at least. This consummation, however, would raise the passion of the Greek population to white heat, and render M. Venizelos' position in Greece exceedingly difficult.

Meanwhile, trade, industry, and commerce on all the islands are stagnant, the Turkish Government is being financially exhausted, the international situation is being made more complicated than ever, and Italy, who is causing these fateful changes, is not reaping even a slender benefit.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH.")

Constantinople, June 25.

I had an interview to-day with the Minister of the Interior regarding the report that he intended to engage foreign advisers as inspectors of the Ministry of the Interior. In confirming it he emphasised his great admiration for English methods of administration, and said that he wanted the help of Englishmen to infuse spirit, energy and a sense of responsibility into the Turkish officials, who were otherwise extremely competent. The Minister referred in flattering terms to the work of Sir Richard Crawford at the Custom House and Mr. Graves on the Financial Commission, who accompanied the Minister on his recent tour in Albania. He explained that he would need an Inspector-General and two assistants, the one a specialist in police organisation, the British police being one of the finest organisations in the world, and the other for statistical work. The Minister proposed to attach inspectors to each vilayet, beginning with those of European Turkey and Eastern Asia Minor, and gradually extending the system. They would take rank after the valis, have control over all officials, and report on all subjects affecting their administration.

The foreign Inspector-General would keep the men "up to the mark," besides furnishing advice and suggesting improvements in administration. The Minister added that he was willing to pay well, but wanted men who would work. He hoped eventually to see foreign advisers attached to all the other Ministries, chiefly those of Mines, Forestry, and Commerce.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The *Berliner Tageblatt*, in a leading article on the meeting, calls attention to hints in the semi-official press that an effort will be made at Baltic Port to draw up terms of peace between Italy and Turkey on the basis of the views held in common by Germany and Russia. The journal is of opinion that the German and Russian policies in regard to the war are far from identical, and says there would be no advantage in German co-operation in bringing about a peace under the auspices of a close Russo-Italian *entente*, by which all the sacrifices would fall to Turkey's share. The journal adds:—"Already a glowing affection for England is displaying itself in Turkey, which may prove somewhat expensive for us."

Turkish Finance.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST.")

On Tuesday, in the Chamber of Deputies, the Minister of Finance, Djavid Bey, opened the discussion of the Budget. Without touching on the question of the war surtax which he reserved for treatment during the discussion of the special Bill relating thereto, the Minister pointed out that the chief characteristic of Ottoman Budgets since the Revolution of 1908 was the steady increase in the revenue, which continued even after the outbreak of the war, the month of April last showing an increase of £125,000, as compared with the corresponding month of 1911. He declared that the deficit of about £4,000,000 in the ordinary Budget would already have disappeared if Europe had consented to give Turkey economic freedom, the yield of the Customs surtax of 4 per cent. and of the patent tax, the acceptance of which by Europe was still being negotiated, being sufficient to balance the Budget. As soon as the negotiations were concluded Turkey would raise nothing but productive loans for the execution of public works and the exploitation of the country.

The Minister of Finance praised the friendly attitude of the Ottoman Bank and the Administration of the Public Debt, thanks to whom the operation of the Sinking Fund was continued during the war, and was even more rapid than that of any other public debt. In conclusion, Djavid Bey announced that the negotiations for the construction of the Black Sea railways were approaching their termination, and that a project for making tobacco a State monopoly would be presented to the Chamber in about a week.

Situation in Albania.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

THE deserters at Monastir are said by the *Hakk* to have made the following demands:—

1. Equitable treatment of officers.
 2. Trial of the members of the former Cabinet by the High Court.
 3. Change of the present Cabinet.
 4. Formation of a General Staff under the Presidency of the Sultan.
 5. Dissolution of Parliament and the holding of new elections.
- Measures to be taken for preventing occult forces from influencing the Chamber and the Government.

6. Formal interdiction to officers to mix up in politics.

The *Yeni Asir* learns from Monastir that eight officers who left Monastir by night on Saturday took the direction of the Lake of Prespe. Their present whereabouts are not known but it is rumoured that they have joined the 58 soldiers who deserted from Monastir and that they went in the direction of Elbassan.

Two officers, a bugler and two soldiers who deserted have been arrested at Katchan by a detachment of gendarmes. The officers offered no resistance in order to avoid bloodshed.

All the deserters, with the exception of two lieutenants, are Albanians.

It is rumoured that all the officers who have deserted are capable men and supporters of the Union and Progress. It is affirmed that there must be serious motives for the movement. In the memoir they have addressed to the Commander of the Army Corps they demand (a) The dissolution of the Chamber because of irregularities in the elections. (b) The dismissal of all the Ministers except Hadji Adil Bey, Minister of the Interior, and the integral application of the Unionist programme. (c) The formation of a new Cabinet composed of members enjoying the confidence of the Union and Progress and the activity of the Committee as a public political organization.

The *Hakk* learns from Salonika that the recent movements of troops have no connection with events at Monastir. It is owing to alarming reports received from Mirditia that the Government has had recourse to severe measures for repressing any attempt at a revolt in that district.

The incidents in the Monastir district are not of a nature to render a serious military expedition necessary.

The commander and inspector-general of the 6th Army Corps sent a delegation composed of three officers to the deserters to try and clear up the misunderstandings which led to their deserting.

The correspondent of the *Hakk* records two rumours which, he says, are not even worth a denial but which caused a considerable sensation in Salonika. One of the rumours is to the effect that the deserters from Debré, who joined those at Monastir, dismantled the guns of the garrison at Debré. According to the other rumour, the deserters are opposed to the continuance of the war and demand the immediate conclusion of the peace.

The Salonika papers received yesterday state that the officers sent to parley with the deserters have not yet returned.

The *Balkan* says that Niazi Bey, of Resna fame, has asked permission of the Sublime Porte to lead a body of volunteers against the deserters.

It is reported that a number of Albanian students from Constantinople and Salonika have fled to Corfu. It is added that several Albanian chiefs have assembled at Corfu in view of organizing a general rising in Southern Albania.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 28.

The following *communiqué* was issued by the War Office last night:—

Another officer of the 20 who deserted has been captured by the detachments sent in pursuit. The rumours that Monastir is surrounded and that ten battalions have deserted are spread by those who desire to excite the public and insult the Ottoman Army. The public are warned not to pay attention to falsehood designed to mislead them. These reports are calumnies, the work of evilly-disposed persons whose interest it is to depict the internal and external condition of the country in the most sombre colours. No new incident has occurred to modify the existing situation.

Unfortunately, it is none too clear what the "existing situation" in Monastir province is and the War Office thus far has done little to enlighten the public as to its nature. In default of official news Constantinople is obliged to fall back upon the meagre information contained in the Salonika newspapers of 26th June. The *Roumeli*, the organ of Dr. Nazim Bey, says that the original number of the deserters was 13 officers and 100 men, mostly from the Bistritza barracks, three miles south of Monastir. They are believed to have been suborned by the Albanian Committee. The *Independant* of Salonika says that the deserters took several machine guns, and £1,000 with them from Bistritza.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 30.

The hurried action of the Government in introducing a special bill to deal with officers and men who take part in politics has produced an unfavourable impression in Parliamentary quarters, where it is regarded as a confession of weakness in regard to the reported discontent among the various Macedonian garrisons. There is a strong current of feeling against the Minister of War, but it is believed in the official world that the patriotism of the Turkish officers will prevent any outward manifestation while the war continues. Consequently the situation is not considered to be so grave as rumour represents.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, June 30.

According to information received from a well-informed source at Monastir, the total number of deserters amounted on the 26th instant to 22 officers and between 270 and 300 men, the majority of whom came from the Bistritza barracks, near Monastir, and from Dibra, and the remainder from Koritza, Kirchevo, Ochrida, Philip, and Resna. They were joined by 12 Albanian notables of Monastir and Dibra, and by about 140 armed Albanians from those towns. A battalion of Rifles was sent to keep in touch with the mutineers, but was ordered by Zeki Pasha to avoid a conflict. A speech delivered by Zeki Pasha to the garrison of Monastir was received in silence. Zeki Pasha appears to be returning to the capital, according to some reports in disgrace, and rumour attributes to Fethi Bey, the commandant of Monastir, the intention of resigning his command. Eyub Sabri and Omar Nadji Beys are still at Monastir. Dr. Nazim Bey has arrived in Constantinople.

Nafid Bey, the officer captured in disguise at Resna, is an Albanian and a brother of the present Ottoman Military Attaché in Berlin.

According to the latest information, the Government has opened *pourparlers* with the mutineers. Meanwhile Parliament has voted urgency for the discussion of the addition to the military penal code, which will take place to-morrow.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 1.

In the Chamber to-day the Minister of War explained the urgency of the Officers' Bill, imposing penalties upon officers and soldiers taking part in politics. The present was an opportune moment, he explained, owing to the mutiny at Monastir of certain officers and men, who would be accused of deserting during a state of war.

An Opposition deputy created great uproar by a speech declaring that flagrant partiality was shown to officers belonging to the Committee of Union and Progress, and contending that the Government should find out the causes which led loyal officers to sacrifice their prospects in order to demonstrate their grievances.

After being described by a member of the majority as inopportune the bill was eventually voted by a large majority.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 1.

There is no change in the general situation. No further desertions have occurred since June 27, both the mutineers and the loyal troops continue to avoid one another with a success which confirms the impression that each side is extremely reluctant to strike the first blow. *Pourparlers* between Talar Bey and the authorities, who apparently are represented by deputations of officers from the Monastir and Salonika garrisons, continue. It is semi-officially stated that the demands formulated by the mutineers are less extreme than was first reported, but no official statement is made as to their tenor.

A belief now appears to prevail in official and also in foreign diplomatic circles that the affair may end in some sort of compromise. It is certain that the great majority of the officers of the Army, whether they condemn or approve the conduct of the mutineers, are highly averse from the idea of civil war, which they realize might lead to a foreign invasion of the European provinces.

Salonika, July 2.

Although 12,000 troops have now passed through Salonika to Monastir, it would appear that the Government is ready to despatch a still larger force if necessary to attempt the forcible repression of the Monastir revolt. The latest news points to a more conciliatory attitude on the part of the officers of the garrison, who now demand only the promulgation of an *Iradeh* amnestying the deserters. We have, however, yet to see the effect produced upon them by the arrival of the Committee's expeditionary force.

The mutineers, having been reinforced by a considerable number of Albanians, have now retired in the direction of Delvina and show no disposition to treat with the authorities. The Monastir revolt has, as anticipated, greatly encouraged the Albanian rebels, and the news from Malissia and Mirditia is the reverse of reassuring.

Fethi Pasha, the Commandant of Monastir, has been sent to Constantinople to counsel the adoption of an amicable attitude towards the deserters.

Salonika, July 3.

No time has been lost by the Monastir officers in entering into relations with the troops sent to suppress the revolt who are encamped outside the town. In most cases these troops professed ignorance of the destination and object of the march when passing through Salonika, and have, it appears, already expressed a decision not to fire on their comrades.

The mutineers are proceeding in the direction of Argyrocastro, where a few days ago the situation was reported to be very threatening. Some troops have been despatched from Monastir in order to occupy certain strategic positions, but it is unlikely that they will come into contact with the deserters. Eight more battalions are *en route* from the Dardanelles.

Constantinople, July 3.

Fethi Pasha, who arrived from Monastir last night, to-day submitted his report on the situation there to the War Minister, and this communication was subsequently laid by the latter before the Council of Ministers which was held this afternoon to discuss the Albanian question. Several delegates from provincial branches of the Committee of Union and Progress have arrived here in order to confer with the chief organization.

July 4.

The *Agence Ottomane* has been officially informed that three officers and 35 men among the deserters have surrendered at Monastir and that ten more deserters have been captured near Kalkandelen. The situation, it is added, is now causing less anxiety to the authorities.

On the other hand, the Embassies were informed last night by the Government that no private telegrams could be sent to and beyond Salonika till further notice, the wires being reserved for official messages.

The position occupied by Isa Boletinat, the Albanian leader, and his followers has been attacked and captured by the Imperial troops after seven hours' fighting. Isa Boletinat himself escaped.

Two Bulgarians have been arrested at Monastir with bombs in their possession.

A report from Strumitza states that a skirmish has taken place between the Imperial troops and a band of 20 Komitadjis.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Commenting upon these events and comparing them with those of 1908, M. Jean Herbette, the well-known foreign editor of the *Wieler*, propounds an interesting theory. "There is one striking coincidence between the two movements," he says. "The revolt of 1908 ingeniously 'canalised' by the Young Turkish officers, was largely provoked by the danger of foreign intervention in Macedonian and Albanian affairs. After the Reval meeting a semi-official Note was issued in London on June 20th announcing that an Anglo-Russian scheme of reforms had been virtually agreed upon for the pacification

of Macedonia and Albania. In the first days of July 5,000 or 6,000 Albanians assembled at Ferisovitch in order to protest against this act of foreign intervention, and if the emissaries of the Committee of Union and Progress succeeded in persuading them to demand a Constitution the success was due to the fact that a constitutional *répime* really appeared then as alone capable of saving Turkey from the control of European reformers. But what exactly is that which occurred last Sunday? The *Tanin* of Constantinople published a declaration by the Minister of the Interior announcing the appointment of Inspectors in Albania and Macedonia. These inspectors will be charged with watching over the application of reforms and will have for their chief a British inspector-general. Here, therefore, by the will of the Government itself, which ought to have guarded against the importation of foreign reforms, European Turkey is being given over to the control of foreign officials. Is it to be wondered at that the revolutionists of 1908 should to-day go back to the idea of a revolution?

It will be noted that one of the charges levelled by the mutinous officers against the present Government is that "it has sold Turkey to the foreigner."

The Berlin *Lokalanzeiger* publishes the following sensational information in connection with the mutiny at Monastir. General Abdullah Pasha, who commands 120 battalions of troops (about 30,000 men) in the Aidin vilayet of Asia Minor, refused to embark for Constantinople at the head of his army because he had promised his officers not to support the Government in its struggle against the Albanians. For similar reasons the Governor of Konya refused to execute an order from the Minister of War to get together all the Redifs of his district. Abdullah Pasha has been recalled and General Ali Pasha appointed in his place. General Shakab Bey sought to induce the officers of his division to take the place of the Albanian officers who have deserted, and thirty out of a total number of forty refused point blank. The journal also reports a rumour that the navy is fully in sympathy with the mutineers and that 80 per cent. of the army officers on active service belong to a secret society which has submitted the same demands as the Albanians, *viz.*, the resignation of Said Pasha; the impeachment of Hakki Pasha; the individual responsibility of the Ministers; the dissolution of the Chamber; new elections; a general amnesty; the expulsion of Shevket Pasha, Talaat Bey, Djavid Bey and Djahid Bey, the latter editor of (*Tanin*) from the party (?), and the removal of the Young Turkish Committee from affairs of State.

It is difficult to say to what extent this information is accurate, but it would explain the inactivity of the Government in the face of the present crisis. It is, however, worthy of note that part of it finds corroboration in a message from the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The latter writes:—"The movement in Albania and the parallel movement of the officers are gaining every day in extent and inspire increasing anxiety. Almost throughout the length and breadth of Albania the telegraph has been interfered with, and to-day (June 28th) the wire between Constantinople and Monastir has stopped working. Seventy more officers from Monastir have taken to the mountains and taken over the organisation of the existing bands and small detachments of troops. It would seem certain that the Government can no longer rely upon the Monastir garrison. Nor has General Fethi Pasha, the commander of the army corps there, been able to execute the orders of Mahmoud Shevket. The information which reaches the general staff asserts with considerable confidence that Fethi Pasha is in sympathy with the Officers' League. This would surprise nobody, as Fethi Pasha has the reputation of a skilful diplomatist who only professes allegiance to the Committee from mere expediency. He was for many years Turkish Minister in Montenegro and Serbia.

"Yesterday," the correspondent continues, "the Minister of War caused a mobilised division of Redifs from Izmid to be transported on four steamers from Haidar Pasha to Rodosto, and thence by rail to Monastir—altogether ten battalions. This is a very important experiment. Will these troops reach Monastir, and, if so, will they be able to assume the offensive? Should the contrary prove the case, a terrible catastrophe will befall the whole structure of the Committee party. It is also reported that ten more battalions were to be transferred from Smyrna to Monastir, but the officers there had taken the oath not to proceed against their brethren.

"The fermentation among the officers is growing perceptibly. One may foresee that should the mutiny at Monastir be crowned with some success, it will extend in all directions. Officers there are observing that the new *répime* has brought their hundred Abdul Hamids. There is an Officers' League in existence very much like that in Greece. The officers of the Serres garrison were desirous of joining it, but were refused admission as Serres is a bulwark of the Committee party. On the other hand, the garrisons of Salonika and of other important centres in Macedonia are under the influence of the League, which recently issued a manifesto demanding, among other things, the resignation of Mahinoud Shevket and the removal of the Personal Section which has recently been established at the Ministry of War to the Sultan's Palace, after the manner of the Prussian Military Cabinet."

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* supplies further interesting information about the Monastir mutiny. "The movement," he says, "is also directed in a most decisive fashion against Mahmoud Shevket Pasha. His speech in defence of the Bill on the political activity of officers will have certainly come too late. It will have a directly opposite effect to that desired, especially as the causes which are essentially at the bottom of the political action of the officers will not be removed. One of the chief of them is the appointment of officers of lower grades to important administrative posts. Thus a number of majors are mütesarrifs (prefects), and a few colonels are valis. This practice leads to perpetual conflicts with old commanders of brigades, divisions, and corps in those places, and gives rise to charges of favouritism."

In a further message the correspondent states that the Cabinet, after prolonged deliberation, has decided not to resign, but to meet all eventualities. Authentic information, he says, is arriving from Erzerum and Smyrna announcing growing disaffection among the officers of the army there. "A high officer who was till recently in close touch with the Committee assures me that grave events are impending, as regards which, however, silence must be kept for the present." Lastly, the correspondent has received reliable information to the effect that the notorious Isa Boletins, having refused a "present" from the Government of £75,000, is seriously threatening Mitrovitsa, and has stopped all work undertaken by the Government for the construction of the roads from Mitrovitsa to Novi Bazar and from Mitrovitsa to Djakova.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

According to a Rome telegram to the *Agence Ottomane* the *Corriere d'Italia* dwells upon the absolute necessity for Italy to resume her land and sea operations. The *Corriere d'Italia* is displeased with the counsels of prudence given Italy by the foreign Press and particularly by the German and Austrian Press. It confirms the report that after the bombardment of Preveza Italy took an engagement with Austria not to extend the war operations to the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. Austria, on the other hand, had not only prepared for a mobilization on the Novi Bazar frontier but also on the Italian frontier. The *Corriere* goes on to say that the famous decree of annexation was the result of counsels received from the Berlin Cabinet through the Italian Ambassador in the German capital. The *Corriere* says in conclusion that Italy must never forget these facts which show up the real value of her alliances.

Referring to the *Corriere's* statement that the Italian Government had followed the counsels of the Berlin Cabinet in proclaiming the annexation, the *Osmanischer Lloyd* says that it is not worth while insisting on the absurdity of this libellous insinuation, which is only a new attempt to sow discord between Germany and Turkey.

Turkish Internal Reform.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 25.

THE newspaper comments on Hadji Adil's scheme for creating in the Ministry of the Interior a Board of Control, with an English expert in charge, are less pronounced in character than might have been expected. The only two Turkish papers which make reference to the Minister's announcement, namely, the Independent *Sabah* and the Opposition *Ilham*, express approval of the scheme in principle.

The *Sabah*, which has frequently advocated of late the employment of foreign experts, urges the Government to carry out its plan with energy and not permit itself to be daunted by the bovey of public opinion, which it so often professes to fear. Ottoman public opinion, declares the *Sabah*, only desires reform by whatever means effected.

The *Ilham* remarks that though the idea of employing foreign experts is extremely depressing to Ottoman patriots, it must mournfully be admitted that the necessity exists. If, adds the journal, the plan had been put in execution before the last elections there would certainly not have been such glaring abuses.

The *Azadamar*, the organ of the Armenian group in Parliament, expresses gratification at the inclusion of Armenia among those regions in which the Inspectorship is to be established at the earliest possible date. The journal points out that, seeing that the aid of foreign experts is freely sought in financial and industrial matters, there can be no logical objection to the employment of such experts in internal administration. The *Azadamar*, commenting on Hadji Adil's reference to England, expresses the warmest admiration for the English spirit and English methods of government.

Discussing the peace rumours to-day, the *Tanin* declares that the utmost Turkey would be prepared to discuss would be the question of those points on the coast of Tripoli over which Italy might reasonably claim rights of conquest.

The War.

(BY DR. E. J. DILLON.)

Views of the Turkish War Minister.

Constantinople, June 14.

EVERYBODY knows, or thinks he knows, what the Turkish or the Italian Minister of War will say about the contest between the two nations, because his position dictates his public utterances. The War Minister of a belligerent Power cannot re-echo the praiseworthy sentiments of a peace society nor sound a pessimistic note when speaking in the hearing of his people. He must needs be blithe, cheerful, and even his wildest hopes must be turned to certainty before he puts them into words. Why, therefore, trouble him at all? For many good reasons. One is because people want to know how a man in such a position looks and talks and bears himself; what manner of reply he gives to unexpected queries, and whether, of his own accord, he will say something new or reflect some change of opinion or sentiment among his colleagues. That is why I called on Mahmoud Shevket Pasha to-day, and when I left him I felt sure that I had not gone for nothing.

As usual, the general was sitting in his spacious apartment, the predominant colours of which are red, gold and white, signing papers as fast as he could. "One moment, and I am at your service," he said, after we had exchanged greetings. During that moment, which expanded into some minutes, I watched him working. It was an interesting procedure. I have often seen other War Ministers hard at work during a campaign, and I mentally compared him with them. Mahmoud Shevket Pasha had but one man waiting on him, a civilian, who first presented the square little documents and then scattered sand from a little wooden spoon over the wet ink of the signature. Like most Orientals, the War Minister is accustomed to dispense with a table when writing. He simply lays the paper in the palm of his left hand and scribbles away quite rapidly. On the right hand of his table hangs the trumpet of a telephone—one of the few that exist in the Ottoman Empire. As yet Constantinople has no public telephone, but certain Government offices in Stamboul have the use of the invention among themselves. In two or three years the population will be provided with this indispensable auxiliary to modern business.

"You are the centre of interest towards which the gaze of Europe is turned," I began, as soon as the last sheet of paper had the dabbed signature affixed. "How so?" he asked, with a smile. "Because the defence of Turkey rivets the eyes of the world, and for the moment you are the soul of the defence," I answered. "Formerly it was Enver Bey, but now that the struggle is transferred to the Sporades, and threatens to advance to Smyrna, you are become the living embodiment of the national defence. The world would like to know how you look upon the relative positions of the combatants since Rhodes and the other islands have been captured." "Why only since then?" queried the Minister. "Because it is commonly assumed that the naval operations which ended in their capture mark a new phase of the war." "Do you, who are in the midst of us here, also assume that? Did you notice many tokens of the new phase in the nation?" "I cannot say that the warlike spirit has abated since I left Turkey last December," I rejoined. "On the contrary, I should say it has grown more ardent. That is quite obvious, but it is not the obvious things which are always the most decisive. It often happens that a nation wears blinkers, and looks only where its leaders wish. What I should like to know is whether you see in recent events any cause for modifying your view of the situation." "No; I see none whatever. Neither do my colleagues. In fact, there is none. We were peaceably disposed when we were attacked, and we shall be peaceably disposed when the aggression has ceased. Until then, we shall parry the enemy's thrusts. To this natural attitude there can be no modification, except such as may ensue upon a modification of the cause. The enemy may move us to sheathe our sword by first sheathing his. But, short of that, nothing can determine us to act otherwise than we are acting."

"Attack is generally considered the most effective kind of defence," I went on, "and I have heard your method of meeting the enemy criticised on the ground that it leaves unutilised some of the most redoubtable weapons of latter-day warfare, such for instance, as the aeroplane, the dirigible, and the submarine. The circumstance that you have eschewed these inventions is, to my mind, proof sufficient that you had adequate motives. But, doubtless, the public would be well pleased to become acquainted with them."

"The critics who would have me employ airships of one kind or another," answered the Minister, "in order to drop bombs upon the enemy's war vessels in the Aegean are laymen who are not conversant with this subject. I am. I have studied it specially. The conclusions at which I arrived warrant my resolve to keep to the tried and approved methods of war. What result worth having worth paying heavily for, could be expected from an airship flying

at the rate of from sixty to 100 kilometres an hour, and while in full flight dropping a relatively small object upon a target very far below? It is impossible to take aim from an airship in the ordinary sense of the term. You cannot possibly do it. And the theory of probabilities reduces your chance of hitting the ship, without aiming at it to the vanishing point. This is no mere theory; we have had the truth brought home to us in the literal sense of the word. In Africa our men, camped on the fringe of the desert, have been the objective of attacks carefully organised from airships. The conditions were more favourable for our enemies than they would be for us. They had a motionless target, the camp; it offered a larger area than a warship. And bomb after bomb was thrown down, but they all fell very wide of the mark, and might have been mere sandbags for all the damage they inflicted. Such results are not calculated to tempt us to imitate our enemies. I admit that the conditions under which a dirigible would work are not quite the same. There, a relatively stationary position could be obtained if circumstances happened to be propitious, whereas the aeroplane is compelled to move on all the time. If the dirigible encounters a head wind of the same force as the fair wind that had been driving it, it ceases to move for a moment, it becomes relatively stationary. But the concrete use that can be made of this is not worth mentioning. No, aerial navigation is music of the future. We must wait until it can give results worth striving for. During the present war it will remain what it is, a negligible quantity. That is why I have spent no money on these latter-day 'weapons of war.'

"What you say is highly interesting," I remarked, "and will give pause to those phrasemongers who talk glibly of the hydroplane as the latest thing in national defences, seeing that it can drop a bomb weighing over 400 lb. from a considerable height into a Dreadnought, almost without ever missing. That is the claim. The so-called 'stabilizer,' which keeps airships stationary while the military men are throwing down explosives, is another of the innovations they have been advocating. Not being competent to offer an opinion, I am very glad to learn yours. And so, too, will the public be. 'Tried and found wanting is your verdict,' 'That's it,' replied Mahmoud Shevket Pasha.

"Another matter of regret which I have heard expressed here in Turkey turns upon the inactivity of the Ottoman fleet. Your own people give vent to lamentations because no attempt has as yet been made to let loose a submarine against any of the hostile line of battleships. They urge that a torpedo boat or a submarine, small though it be when compared to a Dreadnought, is capable of annihilating the giant ship. Yet you can buy twenty-five submarines for the price of one of the greatest battleships."

Mahmoud Shevket's eyes twinkled as he answered: "In conversation and in print all those theses which you have outlined sound or look well. They fire the imagination. But they won't do much more just yet. The submarines promise much, but achieve little. A glance at the history of their performances will make that clear. And if, as is maintained, they can glide about so swiftly, so imperceptibly and so far, why has not our enemy done the thing which your question suggests? Our ships are just out there; you have seen them. Why not destroy them if the feat be indeed so easy as is assumed? There must be some good ground for this forbearance on the part of our foe. Well, let me tell you that it lies in the limitations of the submarine and the torpedo-boat, in their present shape. If you study their speed under water, the distance they can be relied on to go alone, the difficulty of manœuvring them when not on the surface, and other conditions on which their usefulness ultimately depends, you will see cause to demur to the opinion of the critics whom you quote and to agree with me that they are not the weapons for the present struggle."

Here I should like to open a parenthesis in order to say that I have this evening pursued the matter further, and questioned another public man, one of the most eminent in the Empire, on the same subject. And this is what he told me: "You cannot put your trust in submarines, at least not yet awhile. Even under favourable circumstances, hardly more than 5 per cent. of the mines launched against a battleship actually hit it. And a hit does not by any means involve its destruction. Many people imagine it does, but that is an error. Three or four mines are required, at the very least, to blow up a Dreadnought. In the Russo-Japanese War, I remember, a Russian ship, the *Tszarevitch*, I think, was struck and damaged by a mine launched by the enemy. But it continued to fight, and after having done considerable damage to Japanese vessels, got back to a Chinese port without outside assistance. To get from one to three hits at a battleship you want at least thirty submarines, costing some three million pounds sterling, which is the price of a Dreadnought! And when you have them you may wait long before they justify the outlay on them."

"But I may give you another reason—although you have had enough already—why the experiment is not feasible. If we had the submarines we could not use them. Our men are not trained. Courage there is enough and to spare, as you well know. But

technical skill and dexterity in the use of these vessels are and must be lacking among our men. Foreigners? Yes, there might be found foreigners both willing and able. But . . . In fact, there was, I believe, a spontaneous offer made by some friendly officers of a nation, which shall be nameless. They were ready to run the risks. But our Government thanked them, and declined their proposal. Why? I cannot say."

But to return to the Turkish War Minister. I said: "As yet these, the Italians, have produced no effect in the way of shaking the Government's determination to fight on to the bitter end or of cooling the patriotic fire of the nation. The capture of the islands I know has left these things as they were. But suppose for a moment that they bombard Smyrna, land troops there, capture the city, and treat it as they have dealt with Rhodes. Would that make . . ." Before I had got to the end of my sentence the War Minister's eyes flashed, and, interrupting me, he exclaimed: "I will say but one thing: We await them in Smyrna." "Yes, we await them there." "Their sudden appearance before Smyrna would not come as a surprise to you?" "No. We are ready for them. Let them come."

Here, again, I should like to make a digression. One of the most eminent military authorities in Turkey whose words on these particular questions carry more weight than those of anyone else, said to me to-day: "Italy cannot surprise us now in Smyrna, and without a surprise she can do nothing. If she ever entertained the scheme of attacking Smyrna, it behoved her to execute it when her ships appeared before Rhodes and Stampalia. That was the most auspicious moment for action. It has passed now, and cannot be recalled. Smyrna at present is in an excellent state of defence; men, munitions of war, reserves, supplies, three lines of communication, in fact, everything a commander could desire, is there. And it is getting a good commander. We cannot say that the Italians have impressed us as a fighting people, either on sea or land. We may be prejudiced against them, but look at the facts. Take but one group: the bombardment of the Dardanelles. What was the practical good of it all? Nil. You can go and look at the shelled places if you like, and you will see that it is so. They gained nothing. They fired some three hundred missiles—more or less—at our works on the shore of the Dardanelles, without inflicting five pounds' worth of damage. Yet each of those projectiles cost, roughly speaking, about £120. And over and above, you must bear in mind the enormous damage which the firing did to their own guns, which deteriorate rapidly. Here, then, was a vast sum of money flung, so to say, into the sea. Our gunners, on the other hand, who responded slowly, and had moving targets to aim at, hit two Italian ships and injured them sensibly. Yet we do not claim to be a naval people."

"You ask me why we, on our part, fell into the error of leaving on the islands garrisons too small to withstand the enemy, and therefore destined to be taken prisoners, and why we gave them artillery. My answer is, we made no mistake. The arms and the men were left there, not to resist the invasion, but to keep order on the island and hinder a massacre during the approach of the enemy's squadron. As soon as the Italians appeared, fierce passions broke loose, and would, in some cases, have cooled their fire in human gore had our soldiers not been present to maintain order and enforce respect for law. It is true that the garrison of Rhodes was ready to make a gallant stand against the foe, but it was foiled by the treachery of the non-Moslem elements there, who pillaged the army stores, and in other ways paralysed the activity of the army. But, after all, that is but a little thing. The islands cannot be defended successfully. Yet some of them can, and will, be defended resolutely. Mitylene is one. If attacked it will resist gallantly, and keep the enemy busy for at least eight or ten days. So, too, will certain other islands. But it is better to say little and do much."

And now to come back to Mahmoud Shevket Pasha. I said to him, "in foreign countries the view has often been put forward that the Ottoman Empire has no navy ready to meet that of Italy, the outcome of the contest is a foreign conclusion." "Yes, I know. Many such judgments have been delivered since the beginning of the war by volunteer critics and prophets. I am no politician. I am a soldier. My duty is to defend the territory of my country. I have done it; I am doing it, and I mean to continue to do it. The task of our army is to prevent the enemy from taking and appropriating what belongs of right to us. And that task we will discharge." "With success you think?" "Most certainly I do. Not only do I believe, as all the world does, in the justice of our cause, but I have faith in its triumph. What sort of a defence could I offer if I lacked that heartening faith? I possess it in the highest degree, and so, too, does the army."

"Well, how will the war end?" I asked. "It cannot go on for ever. What is your forecast of the last act?" "That is a question which cannot be answered," rejoined the Minister, "without data of a political character, if, indeed, it can be answered, even then. Turkey did not commence the war. Her attitude is defensive. And defensive it will remain. She is striving to save the

people of Tripoli from being forcibly brought under the sway of Italy. And she will succeed. We have not broken the peace of Europe. We are only defending ourselves against an unprovoked attack. It is not, therefore, for us to say when the struggle will end. That question should be addressed to the aggressors. We will not yield an inch. We have it in our power to defend our own successfully against our present foe. And we mean to do it."

After this declaration the conversation took another turn, and in the course of it the War Minister uttered more than one interesting statement, which I may reproduce later on.

—The Daily Telegraph.

The Modernisation of Turkey.

THE *Frankfurter Zeitung* devotes an interesting leading article to the present movement in Albania. It says that the transition of backward actions to modern civilization is always a painful process accompanied by many relapses and many dangers. There is, however, one condition which is absolutely necessary for the successful accomplishment of this transition—freedom from disturbance from outside and from interference with its progress. This was the happy lot of Japan, but is not the lot of Turkey. Turkey may have some disadvantages as compared with Japan, such as the absence of historical culture (?) or of national unity, but she also possesses great advantages in the form of great inner strength, moral vigour, and youthful freshness. There is no reason to doubt that she would have succeeded in accomplishing her process of transition to a modern State if she had not been disturbed by her neighbours.

In point of fact, however, "scarcely was Young Turkey born in 1908, requiring all the quietness she could get than Austria-Hungary abused the situation for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Simultaneously Bulgaria tore herself formally off. The Greek aspirations remained as vivid and aggressive as before. Montenegro and this or the other great Power lent their support to the Albanian insurrections. England continued her undermining work in Arabia. Russian intrigues and military action in Persia created a strong unrest on the Eastern frontier. Lastly, came the attack by Italy on the African provinces and the attempts by Russia to get some profit out of it so as to recompense herself for her defeat in Manchuria. Where was Young Turkey, amidst all these international complications and aggressions, to find the peace and concentration of mind that were necessary for the realisation of fundamental reforms? It was not unnatural that she should have concentrated all her material strength on the reorganisation of the army. Neither in men nor in means was the young country rich enough to be able to spare so much for the work of administration, education, and industrial development as the best of her leaders certainly had wanted. With all that one cannot say that Young Turkey has, in the course of these brief four years, accomplished less than could have been in all fairness expected and demanded from her. And yet crisis follows upon crisis, exterior and interior crisis, and to judge by some of the news arriving from Turkey, one may almost fear the outbreak of another revolution."

The article proceeds to describe the present mutiny of Albanian officers, and concludes: "The Ottoman Empire, even apart from the war with Italy, is in such a precarious condition that every internal convulsion spells danger to its life. We who stand outside, we, Germans, above all, have every reason to wish Turkey that she may sustain this crisis and emerge from it vigorous as before—we Germans above all, since we must never forget that we are not in the least interested in the heritage, but very much so in the life of the Ottoman Empire."

The Young Turks and German Friendship.

THE *Berliner Tageblatt* publishes an interesting interview with Husein Djahid Bey, the well-known editor of the *Tanin*, who has passed through Berlin on his way to Norway. "Is it true," he was asked, "that Young Turkish policy has of late assumed an Anglophile direction?" Djahid Bey replied: "It would be too much to speak of an 'Anglophile direction.' We are still hesitating, though the war has undoubtedly damaged Turco-German relations. The Young Turks were the best friends of Germany, but experience has shown them that Germany's love for Turkey is on all really important questions only platonic. This has made us think. If you were to ask me what it is exactly that we expect from closer relations with England, I should really not be able to reply definitely. It is, however, but human that we should seek (new) friendships, having become disappointed in our friendship with Germany. Of course we quite recognise the difficult position in which Germany finds herself. She cannot attack Italy if the latter stretches out her hand for Tripoli. But a few years ago another German ally took from us Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of what use to us is such a friendship? We must thank our lucky stars that Germany has not ten more allies."

With equal bitterness Djahid Bey spoke of Baron von Marschall. "His position in Constantinople," said Djahid Bey, "became rather

difficult. Before the outbreak of the war we were assured by Baron von Marschall that Italy would not attack Tripoli. He advised us rather to recall Ibrahim Pasha from Tripoli, since his activity was irritating to the Italians. We recalled Ibrahim Pasha, and when the war broke out Tripoli had neither a governor nor troops."

In the course of the interview the editor of the *Tanin* took the opportunity to repudiate the construction that had been put upon his remarks (quoted in the *Manchester Guardian*) concerning the possibility of negotiating with Italy upon the basis of the latter's sovereignty over the Libyan coast. The representatives of the Powers, he said, had at once rushed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to ascertain whether the *Tanin* was voicing the opinions of the Porte. The interpretation, however, was false—Turkey stood where she did from the beginning: she was prepared to submit the entire case to the Hague Tribunal, but otherwise she would not yield an inch of Tripoli voluntarily.

The Arab Conference in Tripoli.

(Specially Translated for the "Comrade.")

(FROM THE "AL-ALAM" CORRESPONDENT.)

BENGHAZI, June 23.

WHEN the Italians gave currency to the report that peace was about to be concluded between Italy and Turkey, the whole Arab population was greatly perturbed and distressed. On the 23rd June all the heads of the Sennusi Zawiyas and the leaders of Arab tribes gathered together in the Turkish camp and unanimously took a most solemn vow to the following effect:—

"We call God and all his angels to witness that we will never, under any circumstances, acquiesce in any such treaty of peace with Italy as would give them the least power of interference in the affairs of this country—whatever justification might be advanced for the interference and whatever shape it might take. And we will never consent to any terms except that Tripoli should permanently remain a purely Islamic land under the protection of the Caliph. Failing to secure such terms we do solemnly vow that the sword will continue to be in our hands as long as a single man from amongst us is left alive in the desert."

All the Turkish officers and soldiers have also joined in this vow. Under such circumstances no gain whatever can accrue to Italy even if it succeeds in making some treaty with the Sublime Porte, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the country themselves and their protectors, the Turkish army, would not be at all prepared to accept it—the more so, in view of the experience which they have so recently gained of their own strength and capacity to offer stubborn resistance. The fear, the perplexity and the weakness of their opponents is becoming increasingly manifest to them.

The Turkish Government, too, will be unable to accept any treaty which must be wholly repugnant to the Arab subjects of the Sultan.

The Italians bombarded Kowaiza, Talmia and Tokra from the sea and fired 320 shells. Except that one Arab was killed in Kowaiza, all the shells were wasted.

It is rumoured in the most reliable circles in Benghazi that General Bricola, the Italian Commander, is greatly hampered by the financial stringency which has begun to weigh on the activities of the Italian army. He is reported to have negotiated a big loan with a Jewish financier named Khwaja Haroon Mitri.

The Attitude of Turkey.

IN reply to a suggestion repeatedly made by the Continental, and especially the French, press that if Italy were wise and withdrew her annexation decree she could easily obtain peace on the basis of a *de facto* possession of Tripoli, the *Tanin*, whose connections with the official world are notorious, makes the following declaration:—"We repudiate the idea that peace cannot be concluded because Italy would not consent to the establishment of a régime analogous to that of Egypt and Tunis. Turkey does not seek any subterfuge in order to escape from the Tripoli difficulty. We are not shedding our blood for the shadow of sovereignty—we are defending a real sovereignty." It then, however, makes a significant observation. "We think it necessary to make known this view so that Europe may not find herself later on in the presence of unexpected results. Italy could only assert the right of conquest over Tripoli if she were actually to occupy the whole of the country. We could then try to find a way of coming to an understanding. As it is, however, Italy can only assert her right of conquest over the coast which she is occupying. Consequently negotiations can only refer to her sovereignty over these points."

The French press makes no comment upon the concluding remark, but some of the German journals, such as the *Vossische Zeitung*, attach to it great importance, interpreting it as an attempt "to restore the wire between Constantinople and Rome."

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(Sd.) **GOPAL CHANDRA GHOSH,**

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—Morris.

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which I share is that British policy in India should have three objects in view. The first, which we believe to be assisted by our present policy as explained in the third paragraph of the Despatch, is if possible to devolve on Local and Provincial Governments as many functions of Government as can safely be entrusted to them. The second is to employ as many Indians in the public service as reasonably can be employed. The third is to combine the pursuit of these two objects with the maintenance and permanence of British rule in India, because, we believe, that the perpetual continuance of British rule is the best way to secure the happiness of the Indian people.

"Of course, there is some difference of opinion as to the extent to which provincial autonomy is possible, even with regard to the meaning of words of local autonomy. On a previous occasion, I pointed out that Lord Curzon had spoken of provincial autonomy in matters of finance. I am certain that he did not mean by that, that the Provinces ought to be allowed to raise and spend revenue as and how they pleased. What His Lordship evidently meant was, that a larger share of public expenditure should be left to local collection and expenditure on a defined principle. Therefore, in this connection again, it is reasonable to suppose that certain limits which need not be small or tightly drawn are intended to exist as between the Provincial and the Central Government.

"There has been a second misunderstanding in the use of the word 'goal,' describing lines on which the Government of India desires to work, the road along which the Government of India desires to travel, being thus mixed with a supposed possible termination of that road on which an entirely new form of Government will be found to exist. I venture to say there is no kind of permanent position which the Government of India ought to have in view. It cannot have in view what some Indians describe as "Swaraj." Therefore, although it desires to advance along the road of including in the Government of India as many native inhabitants as possible, it does not, I do not believe it will ever, speak of a final goal which it desires to reach. I reiterate that there is nothing in the teachings of history or of recent conditions of the world which can make the dream of the complete self-government of India within the British Empire even remotely probable. We have succeeded in weaving into the Empire two European races, the French in Canada and the Dutch in South Africa. We are now trying to solve with them problems of general defence, giving the component parts of the Empire a share in the shaping of Imperial policy. Can anybody conceive a similar solution of the Imperial problem for hundreds of millions of men of an altogether different race from our own? Is it conceivable that at any time an Indian Empire could exist on the lines of Australia and New Zealand with no British officials or troops, no ties of creed or blood replacing those material bonds?" "I am far from saying that such an ideal is an ignoble one or that those holding it ought to be described as disloyal. There are some who believe it possible to secure in India the continual presence, influence and service of men of British blood with no prospect of a violent rupture between these two races. I believe that on the lines I have laid down there is ample scope both for service and distinction for men of Indian births, and of the different races. I see wide growing fields for the full play and exercise of the remarkable special qualities of the Indian intellect. I can imagine there are gifted, most estimable

The Week.

Indian Home Rule.

In the House of Lords on 29th July Lord Inchcape called attention to the difference in the statements of Members of the Government with regard to the Government of India's despatch of 25th August last year.

Lord Crewe, replying, said that in connection with this subject a series of legends had grown up. In the first place, the Government of India was supposed in the third paragraph to have pointed to Swaraj, Self-Government or Home Rule for India, as the aim and object of its policy of which the change of capital to Delhi was a part. Lord Crewe continued: "The legend proceeded that there were differences in meaning or intention between the Government of India, myself and Mr. Montagu. The whole of this legend is absolutely baseless. As regards Mr. Montagu's excellent speech at Cambridge so little did I conceive that he had said or desired to say anything different from what I had said in the House of Lords that I never even called his attention to the particular passage in his speech which, of course, I otherwise should have done. The Government of India was of opinion that this and some cases of misrepresentations of our meaning were due to the use of the word autonomy in the Despatch. It is possible that this caused some confusion but the opinion of the Government of India

men loath to abandon the idea that they or somebody like them may be Premier of an Indian Dominion, or, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, but I think it is only those who think less of service and more of distinction who would lose heart if they braced themselves to set aside this vision altogether and settle down to closer co-operation with this Western race, for the moral bettering of the country to which they are so deeply attached and of which we are so proud to be the Government."

Lord Lansdowne then spoke. He said that Lord Crewe's speech showed an undercurrent of uneasiness with regard to the effect of the memorable paragraph and of Mr. Montagu's interpretations in India and England. Lord Lansdowne quoted passages from Mr. Montagu's speeches which, he argued, was irreconcilable with Lord Crewe's views of the Despatch. He said that Lord Crewe's three points of policy was incontrovertible. Everything must depend on tact and patience, and especially on the caution with which these principles were followed out. He was glad that Lord Crewe had realised that some statement was necessary to dissipate the apprehensions aroused.

Lord Courtney said that an attempt had been made to solve a mystery. They had better leave the mystery to solve itself. Nobody was competent to pronounce the final word. He himself was unable to see what could replace British Rule in India. But he said we ought to be content with the process going on without speculations about the entire withdrawal of British influence. It was surely unwise in view of what was happening in the East to attempt to put a limit for future developments. It was enough for the present to persevere in the present wise policy and leave the future on the knees of the gods.

Lord Crewe explained that he had not desired to indulge in positive prophecies as to the ultimate future of India. But he objected to being described as sharing dreams which he did not share. He agreed that to attempt to look too far ahead was unwise.

Irish Home Rule.

MR. BONAR LAW spoke at a Unionist demonstration on 27th July and reviewed the political situation. He said the Government had refused to consider the separate treatment of Ulster. If the Government attempted to use troops against the Ulsterites, they would start civil war, which would shatter the Empire. Proceeding, he said that the Unionists would undertake two great reforms, the housing of working classes and helping agricultural life by creating small holders. (Cheers.) He deplored the condition of British credit, which he said was due to the threats of Government. He affirmed that the first plank in the Unionist platform was Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference. (Applause.)

The Strike.

The strike ended on 27th July. The Strike Committee has issued a manifesto recommending immediate resumption of work saying that this is better than abject humiliation, especially as the men have exhausted every reasonable means of conciliation. The manifesto declares that all agreements prior to the dispute must be maintained.

It is announced on 28th July on behalf of the men that the strike will be resumed. This, however, does not effect the situation at the docks where work is active with a continuously increasing staff. Many have undoubtedly returned to work during the last few weeks but thousands will find their places filled. Employers maintain a firm attitude.

Canada.

It is believed that the Canadian ministers have invited Messrs. Asquith and Churchill to visit Canada in the autumn, while the Dominion Cabinet is discussing the naval plans. Mr. Churchill will probably accept the invitation.

Mr. Borden, who has returned from Paris, was presented with the Freedom of the Leather Sellers Company. In his speech he said that Canada was not inclined to become a silent partner in the work of carrying on the Empire. Canadians were determined that the Empire should be maintained and the seas kept open. Britons throughout the world would continue the great work of civilisation.

The Mikado.

Reuter wires from Tokio on July 26th:—The Mikado is dead. The Japanese Embassy in London is deluged with condolences.

The British, French and Italian press publish eulogistic obituary notices of the late Emperor of Japan, extolling his services in the development of civilisation in Japan and in its transformation into a great power. The *Times* compares the late Emperor with William I. and says that the sympathy of Great Britain is extended to the Japanese Imperial family and people on the death of their beloved Emperor. The journal is convinced that the decease does not mean a change in the policy of Japan.

His Excellency the Viceroy has asked the Japanese Consul-General to convey to the Japanese Government his sincere regret and that of the Government of India at the death of the Emperor, the illustrious ally of England.

IN THE House of Commons on 30th July Mr. Asquith announced that to-morrow he will move an address to His Majesty expressing deep regret at the death of His Majesty's ally and friend the Mikado, and praying that His Majesty will convey to the new Emperor of Japan, the profound sympathy of the House of Commons with the Imperial Family, and the Government and people of Japan.

The King has cabled his condolence to the Crown Prince.

Asiatics for German Colonies.

REUTER wires from Cape Town:—Dr. Solf, German Colonial Secretary, who is visiting South Africa, was interviewed at Cape Town. He said that the importation of Asiatic labour into German South-West Africa was imminent.

REUTER wires from Johannesburg:—Dr. Solf, German Colonial Secretary, denies having said that the importation of Asiatics into South-West Africa was imminent. He thought the Home Government would not object if Asiatics proved absolutely necessary but anyhow, it was uncertain whether the Chinese Government would consent to the restrictive conditions imposed.

Egypt.

REUTER wires from Cairo on July 29th:—Three men charged with being concerned in the conspiracy against the Khedive and Kitchener have been committed for trial.

The Cairo correspondent of the *Times* cabled on 29th July:—"The investigations which are being conducted have revealed the existence of a secret society and the Nationalist Party is seriously compromised. Startling discoveries have been made, but their publication is improbable on account of reasons of State. Letters from Ali Kamel, who is now undergoing three months' imprisonment, and from Hassan Kamel, who was arrested on Saturday, have been seized."

A later telegram says:—"The men arrested in connexion with an alleged plot against the Khedive, Lord Kitchener, and the Premier have appealed to the Courts to be set free, but their application has been refused. The Parquet heard the evidence of two Alexandrine Europeans, who testified that Hassan Kamel informed them of his intention to assassinate a high personage. The police are 'shadowing' a large number of suspected Nationalists."

Afghanistan.

RELIABLE news has been received from Khost at Lahore on July 26th to the effect that a settlement has been arrived at by the Afghan General Nadir Khan with all the sections of Mangals and Ahmadzais. General Nadir Khan is now proceeding *via* the Zambur Pass to Mutun, the headquarters of the valley. The Khost rebellion may, therefore, now be looked upon as at an end, though how long peace will be maintained is a matter upon which much difference of opinion exists.

It is stated that the settlement with Mangals in the Khost Valley has been all in favour of the tribesmen. No Afghan officers or troops are to be stationed in their country and they will pay a lump sum annually instead of land revenue and taxes.

There is no probability of the blood feud between Yar Mahomed Khan and the family of Usman Khan recently murdered by treachery at the former's village of Chura, developing into a general quarrel between the Maliddin Khel and Zakka Khel Afridis as the majority of the tribesmen are indifferent spectators of the feud.

China.

REUTER wires from Peking:—Yuan-Shai-Ka has triumphantly overcome the obstruction in the National Assembly which after rejecting his nominees for the Cabinet has now confirmed five and rejected only one, who is a member of the Southerners' party.

Tibet.

REPLYING to a question by Major Archer Shee with reference to the maintenance of *status quo* in Tibet, as it was at the time of the signature of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, Sir Edward Grey said on 26th July that Sir John Jordan, British Minister at Peking, acting under instructions, had protested against any change being made in the political status of Tibet at variance with the Anglo-Tibetan treaties and with the complete undertakings which China has given to Great Britain. He did not think that it was desirable at present to approach Russia with a view to a variation of the agreement in the direction of allowing a British agent to be sent to Lhasa. He trusted it would be possible for *status quo* to be preserved in accordance with the existing agreements.

Haj Pilgrims.

WITH a view to prevent Indian pilgrims from being stranded in the Hedjaz without sufficient funds to enable them to return to their homes, the Government of India desire to impress upon all pilgrims the extreme desirability in their own interests of either securing return steamer tickets before leaving Bombay or other port of departure or of depositing money sufficient to cover cost of the return journey at the British Consulate in Jeddah.

Public Service Commission.

IN THE course of his speech in the House of Commons on July 30th Mr. Montagu announced the appointment of a Royal Commission to examine and report upon the following matters in connection with the Indian Civil Service and other Civil Services, Imperial and Provincial.

Firstly, the methods of recruitment and systems of training and probation ;

Secondly, the conditions of service in regard to salary, leave and pension ;

Thirdly, such limitations as still exist as to the employment of non-Europeans and the working of the existing system of division of Services into Imperial and Provincial, and generally to consider the requirements of the Public Services and recommend such changes as may seem expedient.

The members of the Commission are :—

Lord Islington, Chairman.

Lord Ronaldshay

Sir Murray Hammick.

Sir Theodore Morison.

Sir Valentine Chirol.

Mr. F. G. Sly, I.C.S.

Mr. Mahadev Bhasker Chaulal, Member of the Bombay Executive Council.

Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

Mr. W. C. Madge, Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, Madras High Court.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

Mr. Laurens Fisher.

Mr. Gokhale.

(FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" LONDON CORRESPONDENT.)

I UNDERSTAND the Marquis of Crewe has paid the Hon. G. K. Gokhale a marked compliment. The King and Queen are to honour the Secretary of State for India by dining at Crewe House in Mayfair on Wednesday, 24th instant and Mr. Gokhale will, I hear, be one of the fellow guests of Their Majesties on the occasion.

Sind Education Cess.

THE Government of India, it is understood, have accepted the principle of the Sind Muhammadan Education Cess Bill, a measure which is now pending before the Bombay Legislative Council and if the Bill be eventually passed it will assist greatly the development of Moslem Education in Sind.

"Burma Critic" Case.

BEFORE a Full Bench of the Chief Court of Lower Burma, composed of all the five Judges on 1st August Mr. Guy Rutledge, Government Advocate, appeared to show cause why the committal order of the District Magistrate of Rangoon, in the defamation case *G. P. Andrew, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, versus C. Arnold, Editor and part proprietor, of Burma Critic*, should not be set aside as being illegal. Counsel said, he would have welcomed the idea if the defence had called their evidence in the lower court, which would have given him an opportunity of ascertaining their credibility and character. He could not say he was legally prejudiced but he would have preferred to have met that evidence so far as this province was concerned, this Court was unfettered by legal authority on the point regarding the stage at which proceedings could be stopped by the Magistrate.

Mr. Hamlyn for Mr. Arnold submitted that his client had been discredited by the Magistrate's action in committing him to the Sections at the stage he did, namely, the cross-examination of the complainant. Counsel cited the "Calcutta Law Journal" volume XVI, July 1912, the latest authority which fitted the present case to a nicety. It was held that if a Magistrate made up his mind to commit a case to a Court of Session before the case for the prosecution was absolutely closed, one witness for the prosecution remaining to be examined and the defence had applied to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses. The defence were entitled to the indulgence of cross-examining the prosecution witnesses. In the present case the Magistrate, having stopped his cross-examination where he did, deprived him of the chance of having the accused discharged and the summons dismissed. Counsel submitted that the Magistrate's action was altogether wrong in adopting 36, Cal. page 48, and the case in Ratan Lal's Unreported Cases, page 975, which, in Counsel's opinion, did not interpret the law rightly.

The Court reserved orders.

Obituary.

THE deaths are announced of Mr. Allan Hume, Late Bengal Civil Service and the Archbishop of Cologne.

New Universities.

A PRESS *Communiqué*, dated Simla, 26th July, states:—In view of the recent announcement it is important to state that the decision in regard to the affiliation to the proposed Universities of Aligarh and Benares is the decision of the Secretary of State and that it is final.

Moslem Education.

A MEETING of the promoters of the Muhammadan University at Aligarh will be held at Lucknow on 12th August and a deputation will probably proceed afterwards to Simla.

At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League held on the 28th July 1912, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—That in order to meet the growing demand of the Muhammadans for higher education and in consideration of the fact that a large number of Moslem students are every year refused admission to the Presidency and other colleges, a representation be submitted to Government for the establishment of a first grade College for Muhammadan students in Calcutta and to make provision for the admission of Muhammadan students to the Presidency and the Medical Colleges, and (2) that the Council view with great disappointment the decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State that the scope of the proposed Moslem University will be confined to the local limits of Aligarh and the Council respectfully but emphatically protest against the decision which they do not accept as a settled fact and hope that in view of the fact that large contributions have been made to the University fund from all parts of India, the Government will see their way to reconsider their decision in regard to affiliation.

Indian Criminals.

"COMMISSIONER" BOOTH-TUCKER of the Salvation Army, who has arrived in Bombay on 29th July, gives an interesting account of the arrangement made between the Punjab Government and the Salvation Army for the assistance of prisoners discharged from the Borstal Central Jail, Lahore. The prisoners will have an opportunity of passing the last few months of their sentences in the Salvation Army House where they will have an opportunity of being employed industrially and earn a wage of four annas a day, the best workmen being transferred later to the Salvation Army model village if they choose.

Honorary Officers.

THE Madras Government have decided that a trial be given in this Presidency to the system of appointing honorary officers to relieve Revenue officials of a portion of their work. The honorary officers will be designated Honorary Deputy Collectors and will be appointed for three years in the first instance and will be eligible for reappointment thereafter. They will, for the present, be entrusted with the disposal of applications and trial of suits under the Madras Estates Land Act I of 1908. The Government consider the most suitable persons for appointment would be the retired Government officials of the grade of Deputy Collector and Tahsildar but do not lay down any hard and fast rules.

**Indian Budget Debate.**

MR. MONTAGU in introducing the India Budget on 31st July said he was going to announce a departure in policy which was of great importance. Referring to the Abor Expedition he paid a tribute to General Bower and the other gallant officers and the men, and expressed sympathy with those who had lost their lives.

"Of course," he said, "the outstanding feature of last year was the visit of Their Majesties, whose welcome enhanced by their own personality was echoed from end to end of the Indian Empire. I do not want to risk the anger of critics, but I want to reiterate the belief that there is a growing spirit of nationality in India, the direct product of British rule. There is growing up in India a caste of educated Indians discussing the affairs of the nation in English. It is small wonder that educated persons in India should welcome the King who is the representative of the unity which is Britain's gift to them. Beyond these are the uneducated classes who welcomed the King because of the peace, tranquility and growing prosperity produced by those governing India on his behalf.

There is the old doctrine that we govern India by the sword. I do not want to dispute a fundamental truth, but I want to assert that it is because we govern India by the consent of those who know and the cheerful acquiescence of those who do not realise all it means, that His Majesty's welcome was so wide and real. I do not propose to trespass on the more debateable ground of the administrative results of the visit. The Lords and Commons had their say. I stated my case with regard to the removal of capital from

the provincial centre, and the Partition of Bengal, and I am bound to adhere to the opinion I expressed that the important misgivings of the commercial community of Calcutta will prove unfounded.

Reviewing the financial position, Mr. Montagu said "it was highly satisfactory to report that the general economic conditions were more favourable than had been anticipated. He thought the House would agree that it was right to treat the surplus as the outcome of a financial condition which could not be relied upon to recur and apply it to special non-recurring purposes.

Referring to the New Delhi, he said that the site recommended by the Expert Committee lay south west of Delhi. The ground was virgin soil and drainage was simplified by the fall of the ground towards the river. Although no plan for laying out the city had been finally decided upon, it was safe to say that a park not less than a thousand yards in width would intervene between the walls of Old and New Delhi. It was hoped that the city would grow up to be the enduring seat of the British Government firmly planted in the affections of the people. The cost of the new capital was estimated at four million pounds sterling. The Architects for the Government Buildings had not yet been chosen. They did not intend to build private residences and shops but would let others build. It was anticipated that New Delhi would prove a serious burden on the finances of the country. If new taxation was going to be imposed for the purpose of providing a surplus, or remission of taxation was refused or money withheld from administrative needs, then the objections in India would have weight. But there was no idea of creating a surplus in any of these ways. There would not be new taxation and remission of taxation would not be prevented, because while New Delhi was being built the opium revenue would be disappearing and it was not the Government's intention to propose remission of taxation which would be reimposed.

Mr. Montagu referred to the passages in his Budget speeches in 1911 and 1912 to the effect that social rather than political changes were required in India and continued, "I want now to devote attention to one problem which I believe underlies all other problems in India, namely, education. Indian students in England are a very serious problem. The educational facilities here are often purchased at an exorbitant price. It may well be that the solution of some of the difficulties will be found in providing better facilities in India itself, but while they are here it is our duty to welcome our Indian fellow subjects to the best of our ability. Mr. Montagu admitted the difficulty of interesting men and women in England in Indian problems, but he humbly appealed to them to show some hospitality which would be work of the utmost value to the Empire. "I do not want to go into details. I have had ample proof of the serious consequences of allowing Indian students to believe that the majority of women with whom they come into most easy contact in the lonely lives they lead in lodging houses are typical of English womanhood." He appealed to undergraduates in big Universities not to allow the Indian visitor to be segregated or isolated or rudely treated.

Mr. Montagu reviewed the work which Mr. Arnold's organisation in Cromwell Road had performed. The scheme had been inaugurated in 1909 and had fully justified itself. It had grown far beyond the control of the original organisation. Mr. Montagu paid a tribute to Mr. Arnold and his assistant, but said that re-organisation was necessary.

Referring to the appointment of Mr. C. E. Mallet as Secretary for Indian Students, Mr. Montagu said that what was required was knowledge of the conduct of public office. Mr. Mallet would be a link between the Secretary of State and their various organisations in India. Mr. Arnold's work was confined to the guardianship and care of Indian students in London. Mr. Montagu hoped that each University enrolling Indian students would appoint an officer similar to Mr. Arnold. Lord Crewe was willing to assist such efforts financially.

The Committee appointed to enquire regarding Industrial and Technological Students have not yet reported, but Mr. Montagu understood that all the members were agreed with regard to the importance of practical training. He was concerned at the difficulty experienced by Indians in getting it. India was going to develop great industries and her young men were going to learn to manage them. If they would not learn here, they would go abroad. When they returned to India they would give orders for plants to those countries with whose processes they were familiar.

Referring to education in India, Mr. Montagu reviewed their difficulties in the way of universal education owing to the scattered population, the apathy or hostility of many parents and scarcity of teachers. But the difficulties should serve as an incentive to greater activity. Government thought that Mr. Gokhale's estimate of his proposals was a sanguine one. Mr. Montagu said he hoped Mr. Gokhale would not misunderstand him when he urged patience. Universal free education in India must come as it had done in other

countries, but the time was not yet. The Government was dictated by the same aims as that of Mr. Gokhale, but Government thought that the best thing was not to make education compulsory and free at present but to improve and multiply the schools. He alluded to the result of compulsion in this connection in Baroda. The grant for education announced at Delhi was but a prelude to a much more extensive programme. That programme was to increase the number of primary schools by 75 per cent. and to double the school-going population. New schools would be placed in villages at present without schools, and it was also intended to improve existing schools. The completion of programme would necessarily take some time. It was desired to make teaching more practical and more attractive. Teachers must at least pass the Upper Primary Schools standard and their pay to begin with would be 12 rupees a month. Teachers would be graded and pensionable.

Referring to higher education Mr. Montagu said it was proposed to extend model schools where required to co-operate with private or aided schools. Only graduates would be eligible for employment as teachers, with graded series of salaries ranging from Rs. 40 to 400 per mensem. The curriculum would be equal to the modern side of English Public Schools with manual training and science teaching. There would be an increased grant for properly managed schools and it was hoped to provide suitable hostel accommodation.

Referring to the Universities Mr. Montagu said the dangers of catastrophic change might be mitigated by the residential system which was most successful in moulding character and by the presence of English masters and professors who would know how much could be done by example. Speaking of the sanctioning of the Technological Institute at Cawnpore, he said that technical education was going to be advanced throughout India. The Government was going to be proud of their record, and if their educational ideals were realised, they would have laid the foundation of a national system of education by a network of really valuable schools, colleges and universities, so that Indian students would be able to qualify themselves in India for the highest position in every walk of life.

Mr. Montagu referred to the question of removing avoidable grievances under which Indians laboured while promoting the efficiency of the public service. There were debatable points upon which the authoritative pronouncement of a Royal Commission was desirable. As Indians became better educated, with a wider knowledge of the world, it became more important that we should not risk deterioration. He reviewed the present conditions of the Civil Service, especially in regard to the admission of Indians. "I do not want," he said, "to suggest that these services can be dealt with piecemeal, but there is a question for principle which has to be decided." He then announced details of the Commission as given above.

In conclusion Mr. Montagu dwelt on the moral and material progress in India. As India was a progressive country, two warnings were necessary. The first is that we cannot now, even if we want, embark on a policy of reaction. The mighty mass of India is moving in response to our own stimulus and to try to force it back into sleep would be to force it into unwilling sleep. That could only be achieved by repression, which would be a calamity. The second warning which I offer humbly is that it will never do to rely on out-of-date advice. If we do our duty, our enormous responsibilities, we must move forward however cautiously trying to keep ourselves as intimately informed as possible regarding the modern and changing aspects of problems. Nobody can possibly foretell what will be the eventual characteristics of the population of India.

Mr. Montagu said he had tried to show how not only the English people but the English language was vital to India. No one could deny the old aphorism that East is East and West is West, but a great Bengali had laid it down that they must meet at the Altar of humanity. What I want to point out is that they are not meeting in discord but in harmony. They are not mutually destructive but mutually complimentary. The golden thread of Oriental idealism is being woven into the cob web of our scheme of life, science and government, which we are handing down to the Oriental to show him the road of progress. East and West are united in India in building, let us hope successfully, a lasting temple of their joint ideas.

Mr. Wyndham advocated that Oriental architecture should be adopted in building new Delhi.

Referring to yesterday's debate in the House of Lords he said he hoped that the Government in announcing its policy would refrain in future from using terms capable of misinterpretation and of being regarded in India as promising more than it was in their power or intention to perform.

With regard to opium he deprecated outstripping the wants of India in our desire to carry out our engagement towards China.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said he could not understand why Government set its face against the appointment of an independent Auditor and Accountant-General. Money was voted in India and was not always spent in accordance with the vote. In conclusion, he urged increase in the number of women doctors.

Mr. Charles Roberts, in moving his resolution dealing with opium and alcoholic liquors, said he hoped that the Government of India's connection with the sale of opium for other than medical purposes would be terminated as soon as possible and that the inhabitants of India would be given greater power in determining the location and number of liquor shops.

Mr. Theodore Taylor urged the Government to cease the cultivation of opium in its own territory and to substitute cotton.

Mr. Montagu said it was impossible to accept Mr. Roberts' amendment and he asked him to withdraw it, but not in any spirit of hostility to its purpose. Mr. Montagu added that the Government was familiar with the conditions in the Punjab and the Government of India would make every effort to lessen the evil. In regard to opium, the Government of India did not intend to reduce the area still under cultivation. They believed, as at present advised, that the recrudescence of poppy growing in China was only temporary. "The Chinese Government has assured us that they will adhere to the Convention and we do not propose to vary the agreement."

Mr. Montagu continued: "It is a bad moment to ask us to extinguish the Indian trade with China as it would encourage the people of China to break the law."

Mr. Roberts' amendment was withdrawn.

Replying to the criticisms of Lord Ronaldshay, Colonel Yate, Mr. Barton and others, Mr. Montagu said that the decrease in the Army Estimates was not due to any policy of retrenchment likely to jeopardise the defences of Empire. With regard to the extension of railways, it was not always easy to raise a large loan and they were compelled to modify their demand on the London Market in this respect.

"Our activities in Tibet were governed by the Anglo-Russian Convention, and came more into the sphere of Sir Edward Grey."

The Budget was passed after the closure had been applied.

Mr. Montagu stated last evening that orders had been issued to allow the gold standard reserve to increase until it reached 25 millions sterling of which five millions would be in gold.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	As.	P.
M. Abdu' Hakim, Esq., Bankipur ...	50	0	0
Mohammed Owais, Esq., Azamgarh ...	1	0	0
Syed Abdur Rahman, Esq., Aunsi ...	2	0	0
Abdul Hafiz Macci, Esq., Baswangudi, Bangalore ...	10	0	0
Zobaid Ahmad, Esq., Mahm ...	1	0	0
Through K. N. Ahmad, Esq., Meerut, some Muhammadans ...	4	0	0
Zafar Ali, Esq., Lucknow ...	8	0	0
Through A. R. Adhami, Esq., Naini Tal ...	5	0	0
Hamid ul-Hasan, Esq., Dehli, in honour of his brother's success in the examination ...	7	8	0
M. Fazlur Rahman, Esq., Bankipur ...	5	0	0
Mohammad Aslam, Jairajpuri, Esq., Aligarh ...	5	0	0
Miraj Din, Esq., Moga ...	2	0	0
Khalil Ahmad, Esq., Tajpur, District Fyzabad ...	15	0	0
Through Syed Abdullah Shah, Esq., Naushahra, Aliabad Shah Saheb ...	10	0	0
Syed Abdullah Shah and wife of Mir Zaman Saheb, two rupees each ...	4	0	0
Messrs. Fazul Rasul Khan, Imam Din Kazi, Mohammad Firoz Khan, Gholam Khan, Mohammad Usman Khan, and Gul Hasan Khan, one rupee each ...	6	0	0
Minor subscriptions ...	1	0	0
Mohammed, Taufir Hosain, Esq., Kiratpur ...	5	0	0

Amount received during the week ... 141 8 0
Amount previously acknowledged ... 20,497 4 6

Total ... 20,638 12 6

TETE À TETE



The Orient and the Occident are uniting in their sympathy with the Land of the Rising Sun in its recent overwhelming bereavement. The 46 years' "Era of Good Works," which span the reign of His

The Mikado.

late Imperial Majesty Mutsu Hito, has seen the Japanese nation transformed within the brief period of a single generation. When the late Mikado ascended the throne in 1867, Japan was a little-known island, steeped in ancient barbarism, dense ignorance and conservative imperviousness to the leaven of the new civilisation which was marching unswervingly with giant strides all over the world. A mere lad, he could hardly be expected to make any headway against the potent vested interests of a old-world feudalism. But, like the boy Akbar, the late Mikado—then in his teens—rose fully up to the heroism which such a situation demanded. And within an incredibly short time he had established himself thoroughly on his throne and in the confidence of his subjects, had consolidated his Empire—torn by the sanguinary civil wars of the all-powerful barons—and had started his country on that forward march of progress and of reform for which the radical semi-divine Mikado himself was more responsible than any other soul. Under the able pilotage of this gifted lad the Kingdom suffered itself to be invaded by Western social and political ideals, and absorbed them with such unqualified success that to-day Japan has been acknowledged by the greatest Powers of the modern World, to have "emerged into the forefront of the family of nations," as "a great naval and military Power with splendid record of stubborn, disciplined heroism." Richly did he deserve all posthumous compliments to his towering greatness of soul. In moral and intellectual advancement, in social and political reformation, in industrial and artistic regeneration Japan stands out pre-eminently alone as a model to all the Oriental, if not also to some of the Western countries. And it was the guiding spirit of Mutsu Hito by which the whole forward movement of Japan was actuated. No more eloquent testimony of this fact need be found than the matter-of-fact manner in which the great Admiral of Japan attributed his epoch-making destruction of the Russian fleet at Tsushima to "the virtue of the Emperor." The mass of his subjects also recognised the great services of the late Mikado to the Japanese nation by the intense reverence with which they anxiously crowded round the palace to hear the latest bulletin of his health and the overwhelming grief with which they received the final news of his death. The world can never outgrow the memory or reverence of a monarch who awakened the dormant potentialities of one of the greatest of modern nations.

WE HAVE been repeatedly hearing complaints of the unconstitutional methods adopted by the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot in his dealings with the officers and Commissioners of the local Municipality.

We had deliberately refrained from any expression of opinion on the subject, firstly, because we wanted to make thoroughly sure of the truth of the statements of our correspondents and, secondly, because we had hopes that matters would right themselves without any unnecessary advertisement of bureaucratic vagaries. But our hopes have been in vain. The scandal has assumed serious proportions, the whole city is greatly perturbed and the affair has evoked strong protests from the Panjab Press. After making thorough personal enquiries and carefully scrutinising all available papers, we are led to believe that the story as given by most of our Panjab contemporaries and our own correspondents is correct in its main outlines. Briefly, the facts of the case seem to be these. In September 1911, when Colonel Popham was permanently posted to the District, the Sialkot Municipality was in a most flourishing condition—the

annual revenue having increased from Rs. 1,50,110 in 1908 to Rs. 2,08,003 in 1911-12, and its finances were freed of encumbrances. The men at the helm of the Municipal administration were recognised to be officers of undoubted ability and integrity, who commanded the perfect confidence of the public and had been repeatedly granted official testimonials and even *Shahi Sanads* testifying in the most unequivocal terms to their "distinct administrative ability," their "intelligence and impartial dealings with one and all," the signal services they had rendered to the State and the public in spheres of activity outside their official jurisdiction and, in short, to their possessing "every qualification requisite" for high Municipal posts. The Deputy Commissioner himself seems at first to have been thoroughly satisfied with them and their work. But he seems later to have fallen under the influence of certain self-seeking *johookums* who poisoned his mind against the Municipal authorities. The first step taken by Colonel Popham, presumably at the instigation of these disappointed or dismissed busybodies, was an attempt to bring a charge of peculation against a respectable Municipal Commissioner and the Municipal officers. But though no stone was left unturned and the account books of peaceful traders and residents were seized and searched, the charge could not be established and the proceedings were quashed by the Appellate Court after Rs. 1,300 of public money had been thus wasted. This failure seems to have exasperated the Deputy Commissioner, and, we are afraid, he allowed himself to forget that he was working in a civil capacity. Then followed a series of actions which, if not vindictive, must be classed as unduly vindictive. The victims of these proceedings are the Secretary, the Octroi Superintendent, and the Verifying Officer. After a perfunctory official enquiry, an informal meeting of Commissioners was called at his private bungalow in which the Colonel is said to have tried to intimidate the members into a finding of "guilty of serious dereliction of duty" against the officers. Many of the Commissioners at first refused to condemn any of the officers until any specific charges were proved against them, and reiterated their previous expressions of confidence in their ability and integrity. But the Colonel is reported to have taken the most prominent of the dissenting Commissioners to task for the independence of his views. This had the desired effect and the so-called Committee was brought to look at things eye to eye with their President, who himself proposed, and got seconded and carried, resolutions ordering the retirement of the Secretary and the suspension of the other two officers. While expressing our surprise at the unconstitutionality of these proceedings, we must also frankly express our grave doubts as to the fitness of the new officers whom Colonel Popham selected to take the place of the outgoing dignitaries. For, unless report lies utterly, the present Secretary of the Sialkot Municipality is a former Secretary of the Faizabad Municipality who had been forced to resign under very suspicious circumstances. The present Octroi Superintendent is a man who had been dismissed from the District Board of Lahore. And a new post has been specially created for the benefit of another worthy who was first expelled from the cavalry and later dismissed from the Court of Wards service on charges of peculation and bribery. This, in short, is the story so far as we have been able to investigate and we have no reason to doubt the *bona fide* or disinterestedness of our informants. If true, it hardly requires any comments from us. The bare facts are an eloquent testimony of the omnipotence of official satraps in outlying mofussil towns. Such divorce of patience, fairness, and commonsense from executive authority is perhaps a special feature of the Panjab. We would strongly impress upon the Provincial administration the need of a thorough investigation into this case. And we confidently hope to have an early occasion to report a restoration of peaceful and constitutional administration in the city of Sialkot. Colonel Popham has been promoted to a Commissionership; but we hope it is not meant as a broad hint that the mess he made of the Municipal affairs has been blessed by the provincial gods. The gallant Colonel was, we may readily admit, acting all along under a false alarm roused in his mind by some members of the Jamihar tribe that infests the paths of power. The hated breath and whispering humbleness have a peculiarly thawing effect on the heaven-born, who has the further glory of having lived amidst the traditions of the parade-ground and the barrack. The Colonel felt something was wrong somewhere, and instead of looking within him or immediately around him, he looked in the direction of his nose—which appears to have been for the time being in others' hands—and bravely wanted to straighten things, as if by the flourish of the jackboot. We can only deplore the consequences of mistaken sense of duty and zeal for official purity when the official himself is so obviously at the mercy of any sneak with an oily tongue.

ONE of the staunchest friends of the Indian people has been lately taken away from amongst us by death.

A True "Friend of India." A man of high moral courage, sturdy independence of views and a humanity to which colour and creed were no bar, Mr. Allan Hume was one of those few high-souled I. C. S. men who

devoted their life to selfless service for the people of this country and fearlessly championed the cause of its social and political regeneration at the ready sacrifice of official preferments and honours. But though denied official recognition, Mr. Hume's philanthropic activities for the uplifting of Indians gained for him a warm corner in Indian hearts. Everyone of his numerous Indian friends to whom he was always affectionate, sympathetic and hospitable, will carry about him all through life most pleasant memories of Mr. Hume. And so firm was his hold on the confidence of the Indian masses that even in the dark days of the Mutiny their thorough reliance on his justice and kindness was never shaken. Such a life should be a model for our modern Anglo-Indian officers. The worthy son of an illustrious Radical, Mr. Hume had inherited talents and instincts which stood him in good stead during his life of service for the Indian people. He was the officer first entrusted with the establishment of an Agricultural Department; and though this original scheme was a failure, India owes to Mr. Hume that growing official solicitude for Agricultural development which is now so prominent. But the *magnum opus* of Mr. Hume's life was the most conspicuous part he took in the political regeneration of India. His is the proud privilege of being called the father of the Indian Congress. Though a Civilian, just emerged from official duties, he could find time and energy to utilise the national commotion caused by the Ilbert Bill to awaken the political consciousness of the Indians and focus their activities in a central congress which would facilitate united action and the creation of a united India. He has always been one of the guiding spirits of the Indian movement for political regeneration, and in 1890 he went to England as a member of a strong deputation to appeal to the British public for a reform of the Indian Legislative Councils. He proved himself a remarkably fine speaker and a resourceful debater. Since 1893, however, failing health had compelled Mr. Hume to live in partial retirement in England; but his interest in the welfare of the Indians had never ceased or even flagged. Good men are seldom idealised in their lifetime; but coming generations of Indians will cherish the memory of Mr. Allan Hume as one of the greatest benefactors of India.

WE YIELD to none in our sympathy for the Domiciled or, as they are now officially styled, the Anglo-Indian Community in their aspirations for securing their rightful share of the educational facilities. But we must say that we cannot countenance any such outbursts of hysteria as were noticeable in the recent mass meeting of the Anglo-Indians at Calcutta. It is one thing for a community to wish for the advance of culture and education among its members; but it is quite a different thing when this desire leads it to demand from the common stock of educational facilities in India a share out of all proportion to its numerical strength, or political importance in the country. And we are quite confident that whatever "concession" the British administrators might have made to "popular clamour," they certainly are not so absolutely timorous as to be driven into any fantastic measures by the loud hysterics of a minority which it would require a million-magnifying power microscope to detect in the community of races in India. We cannot quite make up our mind whether we should be offended or amused at the presumption of the leaders of this Imperial Fraternity in giving such tall orders to the Indian Government as (1) the total exclusion of all but Anglo-Indian children from "European Schools"; (2) the taking of steps to ensure that every child of the Domiciled Community *shall* attend school; (3) the provision of the total cost of the highest education abroad of Anglo-Indian young men and women; and (4) also the provision of suitable employments for boys and girls of the Domiciled Community after their education is complete. The whole of this Imperial programme was rounded off with giving a *carte blanche* to the Indian Exchequer to finance this scheme of an Anglo-Indian millenium out of the Imperial Revenues. This sounds suspiciously like Sir Ali Baba's terse statement of the aspirations of the Domiciled Community when he said, "Let us ask the Eurasian what he wants. He says, 'Make me a Commissioner or give me a pension.'" We are afraid the Imperial Fraternity was led into this rather exaggerated notion of its prior claim on the Imperial Revenue by a delusive equivocality. But if, as it seems, it cannot make out for itself a better case than this, we would take the liberty to remind the Domiciled leaders that Mr. Lloyd George and not Mr. Gillan or Sir H. Butler is the proper Imperial dignitary whom they should look up to for the fruition of their extensive schemes. Nor can we see any point in the argument that "since compulsory education must come the experiment had best be begun immediately on the Domiciled Community which was ripe for it." It is good indeed to find the Domiciled leaders who opposed Mr. Gokhale's Bill recognising its inevitableness, but the prior claims of their Community to such education have yet to be established. If the extreme "indifference to education" and "the fact that

among the Domiciled illiteracy tends to degradation and crime"—which even "the friends of India" admit—are the symptoms of ripeness for compulsory free education in a community, we must confess to an utter innocence of the science (or art) of diagnosing the social condition of great (or microscopic) communities. We also fail to see any fair-play in drawing from the none too full pockets of destitute "natives" the funds which are to enable these "sons of Britishers" to "maintain their distinctive Europeanism" and to "uphold the British tone and character of the administration." Nor can we see things eye to eye with our "friends" when they adopt the facile logic of a difficulty in obtaining employment producing backwardness in education. For we firmly hold that, wherever they might or might not be fully represented, the Imperial Anglo-Indians most certainly cannot complain of any inadequate representation in various branches of the Public Service. We again repeat that we would never grudge "the backward" Domiciled Community every educational facility that they are in equity entitled to. But we were confident that the Indian Government would not catch from their obliging "consins" the prevalent contagion of a bloated sense of the importance of these "distinctive European sons of Britishers." We, therefore, approve of the recent speech of the Member for Education delivered at the Conference for the education of the Domiciled. Sir H. Butler has hit the nail on the head by declaring that while he was prepared by quoting statistics to refute the charge of indifference on the part of the local Government, towards the educational needs of the Domiciled Community, he must, at the same time, make it quite plain that "the question of Indian education must be handled as a whole," and that "the British Government in India was equally interested in uplifting all the classes of the population." We are also in perfect agreement with Sir Harcourt Butler for his refusing to countenance any measure which would run counter to the "accepted policy of decentralisation," and "divorce the Local Governments from all concern in the education of the children of the Domiciled Community." Nor do we see anything to cavil at in his statement that "the extension of the principle of free elementary education applied to members of the Domiciled Community as well as to Indians." So far we are at one with the Member for Education; but after this we have to part company. For, though we warn the Government of the grave dangers that they would risk in constituting any particular section of the Indian population as a distinct and specially favoured community in the matter of the extension of elementary education, we at the same time reiterate our oft-repeated assertion that the whole of India is no longer unripe for the introduction of free and compulsory education. Things seem to be moving very rapidly towards an early consummation of our long cherished dream: and we might say, in Mr. Gokhale's language, that we "never spoke with a clearer vision of a bright future" when we say that free and compulsory education cannot very much longer be withheld from the Indian masses who are clamouring for it so earnestly. And inasmuch as their proceedings would strengthen the hands of Mr. Gokhale and his coadjutors in securing from the Government a voluntary "concession to this public clamour," we must say that all India is thankful to the Domiciled leaders for passing their resolution on free education in face of strong official opposition.



Verse.

The Tears of Asif.

(IN MEMORY OF THE HYDERABAD FLOODS, 1908.)

Sweet is the halm of the dew-laden breeze,
And sweet the gracious bounty of the shower,
And rich as maiden's dreams the limpid dower
Of fleckless pearls ravished from virgin seas.
But sweeter, purer, rarer far than these,
Beyond the reach of Time's defeating power,
Shrined in a people's heart, the perfect flower
Of their most dear and poignant memories
Are the immortal tears of him who stood
Weeping as if his sad, great heart must break
Before the homeless tragic multitude!
The tears of royal Asif when he cried:

"Alas! my suffering children! For your sake,
To save you, would to God that I had died."

SAROJINI NAIDU.

Hyderabad.

The Comrade.

The Moslem University and Affiliation.

LOYALTY in these days is very much like virtue, for it certainly seems to be its own reward. The Muhammadans of India have been made to feel this often enough during more than a year past, and the latest illustration of this was the innocent-looking Press *communiqué* issued by the Education Department, which stated that "it has been finally decided that the educational scope of a University at Aligarh or Benares should be limited to the locality in which it may be established." All those who have been working for the proposed Muhammadan University, and specially the members of its Constitution Committee, know well enough how far its chief promoters have gone to satisfy the demands of the Government. There is a not inconsiderable body of opinion in the community which considers that the promoters have, in some measure at least, sacrificed the interests of the community in their eagerness to meet the Government. The Constitution Committee itself has not escaped criticism of this nature and quite a large minority in its own ranks is not satisfied in certain important respects with the decisions of the majority which have given fairly large powers to Government in the Constitution. One at least expected that after all this Government would show some consideration for the feelings of the promoters of this University and of the Constitution Committee, which had used every means to ascertain the wishes of the Government before placing its final draft Constitution before the public for criticism and ultimate sanction. We do not know whether any intimation was given by the Government of the rejection of affiliation to the promoters of this University before the "final" decision was announced to the world at large; but we do know that the Constitution Committee was kept entirely in the dark and the bolt from the blue reached its members no earlier than any other readers of the daily newspapers. We dare say that the Government is by now used to the procedure of these *ukases* of the Czarism. But it takes long to cure the loyalists of their belief in the Government's kindly consideration, and we are sure we do not exaggerate when we say that the form which the announcement has taken has deeply wounded the feelings of the members of the Moslem University Constitution Committee. It is not inconceivable that the Honourable Member for Education could have included in his monsoon tour Aligarh or Lucknow, where he could have met the Committee. But if the tour programme of the Heads of Departments are arranged on a peculiar Olympian plan and cannot take heed of the convenience of ordinary mortality, after all Simla is not altogether inaccessible, and the members of the Committee could have gone up to the hills, as before, to learn all that was on the knees of the gods. Instead of that, the Education Department condescends to issue a Press *communiqué* of some two dozen words, the brevity of which is indeed the soul of autocracy.

We do not know how it was, but it certainly seems to have dawned upon the gods in their Olympian abode that Jove's thunderbolt had upset the equanimity of those on whom it had so unexpectedly fallen in the land of mere men. We are, therefore, treated to another Press *communiqué* a few days later, which stated that "in view of the recent announcement it is important to state that the decision in regard to the affiliation to the proposed Universities of Aligarh and Benares is the decision of the Secretary of State and that it is final." That is to say, the minor gods disclaim all responsibility for the destruction which has been caused among the hopes below and declare that this has been wholly the sport of the *dii majores*. That, however, is one of these secrets which, unlike the secret "bees" of Delhi, are the property of all before the sly Secretariat gave up its constructive possession. Aligarh must thank itself for this because

Man az begānagān bargiz na nāham,
Ke bā man har che kard ān āshnā kard

(I bewail not against strangers for all that was done to me in the way of oppression was done by the friend of my bosom.) It is a well-known fact that Sir Theodore Morison does not favour the idea of affiliation, and Lord Crewe has not yet availed himself of the opportunities that he has had for showing that he has had reasons of his own for deciding as he has done, apart from those that have been whispered into his ears by his educational guide, philosopher and friend. His Lordship's entire power of speech seems to have been dedicated to squaring the circle of paragraph 3 of the famous Despatch.

Officials who enter on an official career somewhat late in life have some uneasy moments in the midst of power very much like those of the lady "with a past." Words uttered in the unfettered freedom of non-official days come to plague the speaker, and it would surprise nobody if Sir Theodore Morison learnt with a shock of surprise that a little more than a decade ago he held views on

the subject of affiliation somewhat different from those that have evidently influenced the "final" decision of the Secretary of State. The *Aligarh Institute Gazette* very pertinently publishes an extract from the speech of Sir Theodore, delivered in December 1898, at Lahore, before the Muhammadan Educational Conference. In moving his well-known resolution in favour of the establishment of a Muhammadan University, he is stated to have said:—"My personal opinion is that the proposed University should be a residential one, that is, one whose degrees should be conferred not on day scholars but, like the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, only on those who may have kept a fixed number of terms by residence in the University. *I do not mean that residence should be confined to Aligarh, but I include residence in the Boarding Houses attached to such other colleges also as accept the same degree of responsibility for the character, behaviour and training of their students as the central institution.*" These were the views of the Secretary of State's present educational adviser 13½ years ago. But the river has chosen another bed for itself and who shall stay the progress of the mighty waters in their sweeping course? Conservative Aligarh may still be where one of its "noble trio" left it at the time; but if its sluggish stream still drags itself on within the banks through which a greater flood swept on 13½ years ago, it is only a backwater which cannot attract the official voyager.

It is not at all difficult to prove that the sermons preached at Aligarh to day are from the texts supplied by Sir Theodore Morrison in 1898. The Statutes of the proposed Moslem University as drafted by the Constitution Committee provide in Chapter XXIII as follows:—

1. The University may affiliate only such colleges and recognise only such schools as are conducted on the Residential system, on the principle and model of the University College (M.A.O. College, Aligarh) and have attained a standard of efficiency that may be deemed satisfactory in accordance with the Regulations.
2. All institutions situated outside Aligarh shall require for their affiliation the recommendation of the Senate and the sanction of the Chancellor [the Viceroy], to be obtained in accordance with the Regulations.

This is clear enough. The residential system remains intact but, in the apparently forgotten words of Sir Theodore Morison, residence is not to be confined to Aligarh but includes residence in the Boarding Houses attached to such colleges also as accept the same degree of responsibility for the character, behaviour and training of their students as the central institution. In addition to residence, a college must satisfy the Senate and the Chancellor that it has attained a certain standard of efficiency laid down in the Regulations by the Senate and approved by the Chancellor.

If we turn to the Constitution Committee's draft of the Regulations themselves, we are assured still more insistently that the Members of the Committee are not desirous of cheapening the privilege of affiliation. Capital XXIII deals with "Affiliation and Disaffiliation of Colleges," and contains the following provisions:—

1. Colleges may be affiliated in one or more Faculties. The affiliation shall be given specifically for each separate subject.
2. No college shall be affiliated to a degree other than the Bachelor's Degree.
3. All applications for affiliation must be addressed to the Syndicate through the Vice-Chancellor.
4. A college applying for affiliation shall satisfy the Syndicate,
 - (a) that the college is to be under the control of a regularly constituted governing body;
 - (b) that the qualifications of the teaching staff and the conditions governing their tenure of office are such as to make due provision for the courses of instruction to be undertaken by the college;
 - (c) that the buildings in which the college is to be situated are suitable;
 - (d) that due provision has been made for a library;
 - (e) where affiliation is sought in any branch of experimental science, that arrangements have been made for imparting instruction in that branch of science in a properly equipped laboratory or museum;
 - (f) that the financial resources of the college are such as to make due provision for its required maintenance;
 - (g) that the college is a residential college and provision has been made for the residence of the students, the Principal and at least for such members of the teaching staff as are in charge of the students' Hostels;
 - (h) that the Principal and at least one Professor will be Graduates of a European University;
 - (i) that the governing body of the college is willing to take two representatives of the Council as members;
 - (j) that the management of the college will be entrusted to a Committee consisting of
 - (i) the Principal of the college;
 - (ii) two Professors of the college in charge of the Hostels;
 - (iii) two representatives of the Senate;
 - (iv) and such other members as the governing body of the college may appoint.

A residential college is one in which all the students reside in Hostels maintained or recognised by the college unless specially allowed by the Committee of Management to reside with their parents or guardians, who undertake and fulfil the conditions laid down by the Syndicate.

The application shall further contain an assurance that after the college is affiliated, any transference of management and all changes in the teaching staff shall be forthwith reported to the Syndicate.

The application shall further contain an assurance that, except with the special permission of the Syndicate, no college Professor or Lecturer will be allowed to lecture to a class or section of a class which has on its rolls more than 60 students.

5. On receipt of a letter of application under sub-section (1), the Syndicate shall,

- (a) direct a local enquiry to be made by a commission of not less than three persons nominated by the Syndicate in this behalf, one of whom shall be a member of the Court;
- (b) make such further enquiry as may appear to them to be necessary; and
- (c) report to the Senate on the question whether the application should be granted or refused, either in whole or in part, embodying in such report the results of any inquiry under clauses (a) and (b).

And the Senate shall, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, record their opinion on the matter.

6. The Vice-Chancellor shall submit the application and all proceedings of the Syndicate and Senate relating thereto to the Chancellor who, after such further inquiry as may appear to him necessary, shall grant or refuse the application or any part thereof.
7. Where a college desires to add to the courses of instruction in respect of which it is affiliated, the procedure prescribed by clause 4 shall, so far as may be, be followed.
8. The Syndicate shall cause every affiliated college to be inspected from time to time, by competent persons authorised by the Syndicate in this behalf, one of whom shall be a member of the Court.
9. The Syndicate may call upon any college so inspected to take, within a specified period, such action as may appear to them to be necessary in respect of any of the matters referred to in clause 4.
10. The Senate may, on the recommendation of the Syndicate, submit to the Council at any time a proposal for the withdrawal of the privileges of affiliation from any college.

The procedure shall be as follows:—

- (a) A member of the Syndicate who intends to move that the rights conferred on any college by affiliation be withdrawn, in whole or in part, shall give notice of his motion, and shall state in writing the grounds on which the motion is made.
- (b) Before taking the said motion into consideration, the Syndicate shall send a copy of the notice and written statement mentioned in (a) to the President of the Governing Body concerned, together with an intimation that any representation in writing, submitted within a period specified in such intimation on behalf of the college will be considered by the Syndicate; provided that the period so specified, may, if necessary, be extended, from time to time, by the Syndicate.
- (c) On receipt of the representation or on expiration of the period referred to in (b), the Syndicate, after considering the notice of motion, statement and representation, and after such inspection by any competent person authorised by the Syndicate in this behalf, and such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary, shall make a report to the Senate.
- (d) On receipt of the report under (c), the Senate shall, after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to them to be necessary, record their opinion on the matter.
- (e) The Vice-Chancellor shall submit the proposal and all proceedings of the Syndicate and Senate relating thereto to the Council which after such further inquiry (if any) as may appear to it to be necessary, shall make such instructions as the circumstance may, in its opinion, require.
- (f) Where by an instruction made under (2) the rights conferred by affiliation are withdrawn in whole or in part, the ground for such withdrawal shall be stated.
11. Each affiliated college shall furnish such returns, reports and other information as the Syndicate may require, to enable them to judge of the efficiency of the College.
12. The Vice-Chancellor shall lay all recommendations of the Senate mentioned in clauses 5 and 10 before the Council who after such further inquiry as may appear to them to be necessary, shall record their opinion on the matter. The Vice-Chancellor shall submit the report of the Syndicate, the recommendations of the Senate and the opinion of the Council to the Chancellor for final sanction.

We offer no apology for publishing these long extracts from the draft Statutes and Regulations, for the Government of India have already been regularly acquainted with the draft Act and Statutes, and in a less regular manner with the Regulations. The only people who have hitherto been kept entirely in the dark, needlessly, and in view of the Government's Press *communiqué*, very unwisely, are the Mussalmans themselves. The Constitution Committee, however, authorised the publication of the revised drafts no less than two months ago, and when it is "finally" decided that a portion of the Act, the Statutes, and the Regulations shall be rejected by Government, it is time that somebody informed the bewildered community what shall be rejected. We are even prepared to publish the whole draft if the Honorary Secretary of the Constitution Committee is not prepared to carry out the clear instructions of the Committee.

Now, we should like to ask Sir Theodore Morison and the Secretary of State what there is in all these provisions which indicates that affiliation will be easy for inefficient institutions. It may be said, perhaps, that these provisions would be treated as a dead letter and that an epidemic of affiliation would set in. In the first place, we are asked to believe that the Syndicate and the Senate would both lose their reason and that the Vice-Chancellor and other officers of the University would all of a sudden become maniacs. Everybody knows that any leniency in the exercise of powers conferred on the University in connection with affiliation is bound to lower the value of its degrees. Would two such bodies as the Syndicate and the Senate, composed presumably of sane people, ruin the chances, say, of a thousand undergraduates at Aligarh, in order to transfer the control of an inefficient College of 200 undergraduates from the Government Provincial University of Lahore or Bombay to the Moslem University at Aligarh. The temptation to risk so much must be inordinately strong, but what it is likely to be, we are not told and, we confess, we altogether fail to see.

In the next place, the Viceroy is to be the Chancellor—unless another Press *communiqué* is issued to announce that it is "finally" decided that this, too, shall not be. Would the Viceroy permit such an affiliation? We may be told that the Viceroy may find it difficult to.

reject the demand of the Syndicate and the Senate of the Moslem University, specially if it is strongly backed by the Moslem community. We do not know what there is in the present condition of India to indicate any such sensibility on the part of the head of the Government. As if Viceroys have never rejected demands strongly backed by the Moslem community, and as if demands strongly backed by the Moslem community have in recent times had much effect on Viceregal decisions.

It is clear that the Mussalmans believe too much in the advantages of the residential system to do away with it in colleges situated outside Aligarh, which may be affiliated to the Aligarh University. As a matter of fact, the draft regulations consider the residence of undergraduates even with their parents and guardians as an exceptional arrangement which is not likely to be easily accepted. We doubt if the proposed experiment of a residential University at Dacca would be tried on the same rigid lines as far as the residential system is concerned. What is, however, likely to be affected adversely, is the teaching aspect of the Moslem University. To provide as good a class of teachers for Mofussil Colleges as for the central institution would be extremely wasteful, and the Aligarh University is no more likely to insist on as excellent a teaching staff for the College at Lahore or Karachi as for the University College at Aligarh than the Calcutta University reproduces the Presidency College in the districts of Khulna or Chittagong.

But the Mussalmans, while recognising this drawback, consider it a lesser evil than the divorce of the secular teaching in Muslim institutions outside Aligarh from the religious instruction which not only they condemn, but which has been severely commented upon by other critics of the present system of education from Lord Minto downwards. Moreover they are anxious to provide a course of studies which takes into account the alteration and importance of certain subjects for Muslim students. The Government of India have themselves suggested the inclusion of Islamic studies in the curriculum of the proposed Dacca University. But the Ides of March have not gone yet, and we have still to see how the courses of studies are adjusted at Dacca. The existing universities, however, are in light and colourless, and make no concession to the prejudices and predilections of a community of seventy millions. Above all, they show no great astuteness to see that Aligarh cannot indefinitely be enlarged without detriment to the character of its education, even if there are no practical difficulties in the way of such expansion. Consequently it must be easy to understand that Aligarh alone cannot suffice for the needs of a population twice the number of the population of England. The best method of creating other universities for the Muhammadans on the model of Aligarh is to improve existing educational institutions of the Mussalmans in various provinces, so that they could be affiliated to Aligarh, thereby becoming so many nuclei for other Muhammadan universities. This is not such an inconceivable dream altogether, when we consider that thirty seven years ago Aligarh consisted of eight little urchins and a thatched tumble-down bungalow in a deserted military station, while the Muslim world of India was raged in irreconcilable hostility against the Athanasius who defied it and its social and religious environment. Given a reasonable flow of Muslim charity towards Aligarh, growing in volume and rapidity at a progressive rate, Aligarh would have in ten years more students than Oxford or Cambridge, and it would then be necessary to turn the course of the river towards the progressive Provincial Colleges in order to turn them into so many universities.

Not a single argument has been brought forward by the Secretary of State or the Government of India against this phalanx of reasons, and yet a "final" decision has been arrived at. Are we not then justified in suspecting that the Government does not desire the spread of the Aligarh Movement. If so, may we not ask what Aligarh has done to deserve this suspicion. It has not turned out Khudiram Boses and Kanhai Lal Dutts. It has produced no Dhilliras and no Savarkars. It has never necessitated the dismissal of a Tahsil chuprassi, let alone the resignation of the head of a local Government. Its teaching has been a byword for loyalty and the conduct of some of its Governors has even savoured of subservience. More than a generation of India's "Patriots" has taunted it on the score of trying the sweet uses of flattery. Yet the Government honors patriots and humiliates the subject of their jibes. Such is the statesmanship of to-day, and we shudder to think of the destination to which, in certain contingencies, it may lead the Mussalmans of India. The Secretary of State lays down the law for the Mussalmans and the Government of India insists in calling it "final." Should it surprise him and the Government of India if the Mussalmans are reminded that it was a still greater Secretary of State who insisted on calling a far less objectionable decision a "settled fact"?

The Governance of India.

FRESH and buoyant as ever, Mr. Montagu discoursed on Indian affairs with a mind that abhors vacuum and scorns questionings. There can, of course, be no basis of comparison between

a philosophic and broad-visioned statesman of Lord Morley's calibre and the smooth and brilliant Under-Secretary, who loves to paint lilies and gild refined gold. The one was impressed by the colossal nature of the task, its intricacies, the difficult turnings ahead, by the scale, the proportions, the elusive character of the problem. And his utterances revealed the hopes and fears of a mind that ranged over the whole field: paused and reflected, though never faltered. But the note of Mr. Montagu is of superb conviction. He never doubts, he almost never seems to reflect: he bursts forth into a series of bold imageries, brilliant and silver-edged, which are eminently stimulating. It is so difficult to quarrel with Mr. Montagu. He does not provoke criticism so much as he tickles, amuses or exasperates. His appeal is to the instincts that visualise and glorify.

In his Budget statement, Mr. Montagu travelled over the entire ground that he had had occasion to survey, in whole or in part, during the course of the last eventful year. The Durbar, the changes, the controversies that sprang up in their wake were solemnly wound up with a sense of finality; and Mr. Montagu seems to have breathed a sigh of relief. We doubt, however, if he would not be called up again to reassure an incredulous world and tell it once more that there were to be a new heaven and a new earth in a place called India, where the discords and the tumults of race and creed would be transmuted to divine, melodious tunes and the official lion would roar as gently as a sucking dove. Mr. Montagu saw the vision long ago and has ever since been rendering it into lusty language. But the Philistines smile incredulously. Perhaps they like so much to hear him think aloud and drop bright pictures from the giddy heights of self-immersion to the gaping crowds below. But whether his invisible audience in Calcutta will be satisfied with his old attitude that has been phrased anew, or not, he himself has no doubts; and though he does not want to risk the anger of his critics, he is not afraid to "reiterate" the belief that there is a growing spirit of nationality in India, the direct product of British rule. It would be futile to rake up the old controversy and measure the possibilities of the changes, the hopes they have awakened, the passions they have brought into play and the earnest doubts and fears to which they have given rise amongst certain sections of the people. They undoubtedly constitute a great transaction and have ushered in a new era in the government of the country. Whether the new era would be fruitful and lead to good results is still a matter of devout aspiration. And to some it may be more comforting to hope with Mr. Montagu and deck the future in purple and gold than to sit down moodily and sulk and mourn in sackcloth and ashes.

One cannot, however, easily dismiss the hot memories of the fight that is scarcely yet over about the meaning of paragraph 3. Never have a few sentences, benevolently and perhaps grandiloquently framed, carried about hidden in themselves so many shrieking demons of angry declamation and debate. The paragraph was perhaps intended to define a pleasing attitude in order to mark the dignity of an extraordinary occasion. The fates were, however, spinning it for another use. Whatever may be the existing principles underlying the governance of India, the paragraph has dragged them into the light of day as nothing else had done before; and henceforth the aims and methods of the constitutional struggle in this country will not be shadowy or vague or lack in energy and vigour. No one can take Lord Crewe seriously when he begins to vouch for Mr. Montagu's innocence or utter apologies on behalf of the Government of India. But his hasty and nervous repudiations about "autonomy" and "self-government" we can understand. The latest ideal he has found out for his own satisfaction and for that of his Tory critics is worth considering. He says:

"I reiterate that there is nothing in the teachings of history or of the recent conditions of the world which can make the dream of complete self-government for India within the British Empire even remotely probable. We have succeeded in weaving into the Empire two European races, the French in Canada and the Dutch in South Africa. We are now trying to solve with them the problems of general defence, giving component parts of the Empire a share in the shaping of Imperial policy. Can anybody conceive a similar solution of the Imperial problem for hundreds of millions of men of an altogether different race from our own? Is it conceivable that at any time an Indian Empire could exist on the lines of Australia and New Zealand, with no British officials, or troops, or tie of creed or blood replacing those material bonds?"

A self-governing India is inconceivable to Lord Crewe, because the Indian people are different from the British in race and religion and because British statesmen have no historical parallel to guide them in this case. The question simply resolves itself into a race issue and points to a violent solution at some distant time, for even Lord Crewe would not, we imagine, believe that physical force would become the cement of the Empire in the absence of common creed and common blood. Nor is it conceivable that India, grown to the full stature of a conscious and unified nationality, would not dream of self-government. Is it, then, wise, is it reasonable, is it even expedient to leave the solution of so great a question to the blind and mad conflict in a distant future, born of suppressed energy and moral impoverishment, of bitter racial

egotisms, of irrepressible national will seeking its way to independence and self-expression? Lord Crewe may think that "it is only those who think less of service and more of distinction who would lose heart if they braced themselves to set aside this vision (self-governing India) altogether, and settle down to closer co-operation with this Western race for the moral bettering of the country to which they are so deeply attached and of which we are proud to be the Government." But he seems to be apparently indifferent as to how the necessary "bracing" can be had. Can "the moral bettering" without an aim and a goal be a great incentive to courage, devotion and sustained endeavour? Can the highest and the truly selfless instincts of service and patriotism be evoked by such meagre appeals as the "betterment" of the moral condition of the country, when there is no purpose for which this new equipment might be useful? It is not on husks such as this that a nation's hope and genius will depend for their sustenance. Something ampler, richer and more self-sufficing is needed if India is to rise in stature and sense of achievement. Sneaking references to race and creed do not simplify matters, nor have Asia and Europe, as symbols of unalterable fixity, any relevancy in an argument on India's future. England cannot keep India as a dependency for ever. Will India be allowed to grow through the necessary stages of evolution with England's help, or will she be condemned to perpetual babyhood? Those who recommend taking no thought of the morrow and only desire to sit tight, trusting they might by chance be able to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm, have never read their history nor have they any conception of the grave issues with which they are dallying. Either India is to attain autonomy or she is to remain a cripple for ever more. The latter alternative is abhorrent to every Indian who has become conscious of the place of his people in the scheme of things. The Autonomy is not only conceivable to him, it is also necessary for him as an ideal; and he would be beggared of everything that sweetens his toils, lightens his existing burdens and gives purpose to his drab existence if he ceases to think and work for a self-governing India. Mr. Montagu has a better conception of the task of India's rulers when he says that "the mighty mass of India is moving in response to our own stimulus and to try to force it back into sleep would be to force it into unwilling sleep. That could only be achieved by repression, which would be a calamity producing blunder."

The other important matters dealt with by Mr. Montagu in his speech are the Indian education and the inquiry into the Public Services which the Royal Commission recently constituted will undertake. Both these questions embrace a wide field and must be deferred for detailed treatment till our next. It may, however, be noted that the educational needs of the country are beginning to receive serious attention. We are glad a definite programme is being evolved for the improvement and spread of Indian education in all its branches. Compulsory primary education is yet a far cry, but we are afraid, even universal free education will take some time before becoming an object of well-organised official effort. All that is for the present intended is to increase the number of primary schools by 75 per cent. and to double the school-going population. The proposed increase in the pay of the primary school teachers to Rs. 12 per mensem as the minimum, and the making of their posts pensionable would bring about much-needed reforms in these directions.

The terms of reference of the Public Service Commission are comprehensive in their scope, and we shall have to say a good deal about the nature of the reforms that are necessary for bringing the administration into line with modern conditions. We are glad the *personnel* of the Commission has been selected with an unconventional freedom from the red-tape. It has on the whole met with approval throughout the country. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Sir Theodore Morison and Sir Valentine Chirol will bring new standpoints to the consideration of the Indian problems, and whatever may be their views, we may be sure they would not lack in freshness, vigour and common sense. Amongst the Indian members, the names of Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim will inspire public confidence, and there can be no doubt that the Indian standpoint will be represented with knowledge, ability and courage. A contemporary, recently commenting on the *personnel* of the Commission, referred to Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim as a representative of the Mussalmans. We believe no one can be a better exponent of the Moslem standpoint than Mr. Abdur Rahim and his appointment has been received with gratification by the community. But it is necessary to bear in mind that he is equally a good and representative Indian whose opinion would be as much entitled to weight as that of any other Indian on the Commission. He represents his country as a Mussalman just as the Hon. Mr. Gokhale or Mr. Chaubal represent it as Hindus. Mr. Montagu hopes much from the labours of the Commission and so does the whole of India. We hope the labours of so many competent men will be really fruitful and result in the better governance of the country.

CORRESPONDENCE



Mussulmans and the Public Service.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I send the following particulars about the appointments of Muhammadans in the Ajmer-Merwara commission and request you to be good enough to publish them in the columns of the *Comrade*. Ajmer-Merwara is a small province of British India lying in the centre of Rajputana. It comprises a total area of 2,711 square miles. It is a Chief Commissionership under the Foreign Department. The Chief Commissioner is also the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana and under him is a Commissioner who is also the District and Sessions Judge of Ajmer-Merwara. For Civil Justice, the whole of Ajmer-Merwara forms one district, but for Revenue Administration and Criminal Justice the province is subdivided into two districts:—Ajmer and Merwara. For civil justice there are five first class Indian Sub-Judges, in addition to the Assistant Commissioner and Cantonment Magistrate of Nasirabad, six Munsiffs and a Cantonment Magistrate at Deoli, the first class Sub-Judges being Magistrates of the first class and the Munsiffs, second and third class Magistrates. Under the Collector (Assistant Commissioner) there is one Extra Assistant Commissioner who exercises the powers of a Deputy Collector.

The population according to the last census of 1911 is as follows:—

Total population.	Hindus of all creeds.	Muhammadans.
501,395	389,436	81,035

The Muhammadans of Ajmer-Merwara are very backward in education and consequently they have suffered much in their political rights. In the Ajmer Municipality there is a fixed number of Muhammadan and Hindu Municipal Commissioners who are appointed by election. The appointments of some other members are made by nomination by the Local Government. Out of these nominated members, ever since the formation of the Municipality, not a single Muhammadan has been nominated. Similarly, on the District Board there is not a single nominated Muhammadan.

The following extract from the revised list of the posts of Ajmer-Merwara, open to Indians, will disclose the total inadequacy of Muhammadan representation in the higher grades of the public service:—

Salaries of the appointments.		Total No. of posts.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Parsis.
Ranging from Rs. 150 to 600	...	12	11	...	1
" " " 100 to 150	...	4	4	...	...
" " " 75 to 100	...	5	3	2	...
" " " 60 to 75	...	7	6	1	...
" " " below 60	...	12	12	...	...
Total appointments		40	36	3	1

There is not a single Muhammadan Judge or Magistrate. All the Superintendents of offices, the Head Clerks and Readers to Judges and Magistrates are Hindus.

In the lower grades of clerical service Muhammadans are not in any way better off. During the last 20 years Muhammadans have taken to education, and now some Muhammadans with high educational qualifications are forthcoming for public service. But in spite of several applications and representations they are not given any appointment owing to a clique formed against them. The existence of this clique is known to some of the European officers. For example, the Cantonment Magistrate, Deoli, remarked in one of his certificates to a Muhammadan clerk, "There is no chance for a Muhammadan in Ajmer-Merwara." Similarly the Cantonment Magistrate, Nasirabad, in a certificate has used expressions to the effect that there are cliques against Muhammadans in Ajmer-Merwara. Another certificate given to a Muhammadan by the then Assistant Commissioner of Ajmer has in it the words, "*but he is one of a minority in an office where the cause of a clique is pressed without scruple.*" Persistent attempts have been made by the Moslem individuals and associations to represent their case to the highest officials, but though every assurance is given that the next chance will be given to a Muhammadan, nothing practical is done. Muhammadans often come to know about appointments when all the arrangements have been made.

A re-organization scheme for the Judicial Department will be introduced in Ajmer-Merwara from October 1912. The details of this scheme are now being worked out by the Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara. I saw him the other day and brought to his notice the claims of Muhammadans and the necessity of giving them a more adequate representation in the Judicial Department. He promised to do so and assured me that "the question of appointing an adequate number of Muhammadans is one which the Chief Commissioner has constantly in mind." But from past experience I am led to doubt if these assurances will be realized in practical reality, and if the claims of Muhammadans will not be overlooked this time also. If this turns out to be true, there is no chance for any Muhammadan entering into the service for many years to come and all the posts will be again monopolised by the Hindus.

It is considered that an early publication of these facts and figures in the *Comrade* may turn out to be of some benefit.

X. Y. Z.

The Moslem University.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—The facts that led to the necessity of founding a national University of our own are well known and need not be repeated here. The promptness with which the Moslems all over India responded to the appeals for necessary funds, amply justifies the fact that the principles on which the institution was to be worked were warmly and unanimously accepted by all. They found this the only solution of their educational problems. The idea was so fascinating and full of hope that our Hindu brethren followed our example and started a parallel movement for a Hindu University on exactly the same principles. One of these principles was to provide facilities for sound education, suited to the requirements of the community, all over the country. In such a vast country, this can only be accomplished by establishing schools and colleges in different provinces, controlled by the central institution at Aligarh.

It is too well known that in spite of the obvious advantages of the Aligarh College, parents prefer to educate their sons at local institutions and it is not surprising if they choose a non-Moslem institution for this purpose. The natural result is that they come out with such ideas as form the special feature of these institutions and quite ignorant of the principles of their religion. Thus the necessity of establishing residential colleges in different parts of the country becomes clear. This was one of the promising features of the scheme and without it most of its usefulness is lost.

A few days ago, the following press *communiqué* was issued by the Education Department:—"It has been finally decided that the educational scope of a University at Aligarh or Benares should be limited to the locality in which it may be established." Thus all our hopes have been crushed at a single blow. We hope that no Mussalman will be satisfied with a University that is shorn of affiliating powers. The M.A.O. College is already serving the purpose, for which it was founded, admirably and there seems to be no need for increasing the expenses by a mere alteration in the designation without excluding its field of action and usefulness. Our money and energies are too precious and we must think twice before we spend either of them. If carelessly wasted, the valuable bonds of confidence that happily exist between the leaders and the community will be lost for ever.

Let us see if we can spend our money and energies better. The future of India depends on her industrial development and the position and prosperity of the Moslems of India will be determined by their share in this great movement. In spite of

this fact no effort has been made by our leaders in this direction. What we want, above all, is the establishment of a purely *technical and industrial institution* to train our young men to take a substantial share in the industrial uplifting of India. This idea has been put forward more than once in some form. A friend of mine told me that the Hon. Raja of Mahmudabad had similar views when H. H. The Aga Khan started the University scheme.

MOHAMED SANALLA.

Maini Tal.

An Appeal for Starving Arabs.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—In compliance with the many requests that I should appeal to my brothers in Islam and in furtherance of the pitiful appeal so recently made by Capt. C. F. Dixon-Johnson of London, I ask you to allow me a little space, in which to try and reach the hearts of the Indian Moslems on behalf of the "British Red Crescent Society" which is doing such noble work on behalf of the Ottoman soldiers and of the Tripoli Fund for famine relief there.

Wherever I turn I am continually asked for the latest news of the war in Tripoli. The questioner, a Moslem, does not appear to take any interest beyond the results of the military encounters and the success of the Turkish arms. He sees not the starving women and children who, having been obliged to go into the desert with their only support, the Turkish soldiers, are now in a state of unutterable misery. We are told a little flour and oil is doled out daily to those who come for it, but doles are utterly insufficient. I would like to say a few words to my brothers of the faith in India. It is the women and children, your sisters and brothers, who are the sufferers. Think of it. Out in the desert in a blazing sun, without even sufficient water, not to speak of food or clothing. Have you answered this appeal from Capt. Dixon-Johnson? Has even a Christian to appeal to a Moslem for help for Moslem women and children? Has a kind-hearted Englishman to try to rouse your sense of duty to your brethren in trouble? I hope we have not come to such a pass that a Christian will appeal to Muhammadans in India. I hope an appeal on behalf of the victims of an unrighteous war—an appeal so touching, so heartrending will not remain unanswered.

You ask for news of the war? I will give it to you. The news is to day, that your brothers are fighting in a righteous cause, fighting for their homes, their religion, their Caliph and their God, while you Muhammadans of India, their brothers, are silently allowing their women and children to perish of absolute starvation and in abject misery. Even so bad has it become, that Christians are calling on you from across the seas to help them to save their children. I hope you are not made of wood or stone. Open your eyes, your heart, and prove that they are open, by giving what you can spare in response to this great Duty Call. Capt. Dixon-Johnson reminds you in his appeal of the Arabian Proverb: "It is a thousand-fold better to give away your own dinner than that a hungry man should stand at the doorway."

In the name of Charity, the greatest duty of the Moslem, do I appeal to you, my brothers, and pray God to move your hearts and open your purses. Save these women and children whose bravery and silent suffering have moved the heart of Christians to their aid.

Send all subscriptions to Tripoli Famine Fund, British Red Crescent Society, Coutts Bank, Strand, London.

MOHD. CRABTREE.

Anecdote.

SOMETHING LIKE A RUN.

"TALKIN' about runnin'," remarked the Hon. Ananias Munchausen, "about the finest bit of sprintin' I ever saw was up in Scotland the shootin' season before last. I'd been out all day deer-shootin', and had had most awful luck when I spied a whoppin' great buck about eighteen hundred yards away. Takin' a careful sight, I let fly. But, bless your soul, the instant my bullet touched him, and before it had time to penetrate his hide, that beast was off like a flash!

"I never saw two such evenly matched things as that deer and my bullet. For over half a mile they sped on together, neither gainin' on the other, the bullet just managin' to keep in touch with the deer's skin. At the end of a mile, however, the pace began to tell on the deer, and he faltered just for a moment. 'Twas fatal. The bullet sped on, and the poor beast keeled over. He deserved his freedom if ever an animal did. He'd have got it, too, if he could have stuck out for another twenty yards, for that's about as far as my rifle carries."

Persia.

News of the Week.

Sir Edward Grey in reply to a question in the House of Commons said he was sorry to say that the situation all over Persia remained most unsettled. Any arrangement for a further loan must depend on improvement.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES.")

July 6.

A Blue-book has been issued [Cd. 6264] containing further correspondence on the disturbances in Persia. The period covered by the correspondence, which fills more than 100 pages but contains no despatches of outstanding interest, extends from 25th December 1911 to 2nd April in the present year.

July 9.

Mr. Dillon (Mayo E., Nat.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons whether he had any official information to the effect that the ex-Shah had again left Odessa for Vienna and Carlsbad; whether the Shah's allowance had been stopped; and whether the right honourable gentleman would communicate with the Russian Government with a view to the necessary measures being taken to secure that the ex-Shah should not again enter Persia and stir up civil war.

Sir E. Grey (Northumberland, Berwick).—The answers to points one and two are in the negative. I have already been in communication with the Russian Government respecting the movements of the ex-Shah, but I have up to the present received no official confirmation of his reported activity.

July 12.

Mr. Dillon asked whether Shuja-ed-Dowleh was still acting as Governor of Tabriz; and, if so, why the pledge contained in the despatch of Sir G. Buchanan, dated 14th February 1912, had not been carried out.

Sir E. Grey.—The answer to the first point in the honourable member's question is in the affirmative. As regards the second point, the telegram to which he refers mentions no pledge, but merely intimates the acquiescence of the Russian Government in the transfer of Shuja-ed-Dowleh to another post and the appointment of the Sipahdar as Governor General at Tabriz. Though the Sipahdar's departure for his post has been postponed his appointment has not been cancelled and it is hoped that he will soon leave Teheran.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Reuter's Teheran correspondent telegraphs:—One of the first tasks of the reconstituted Cabinet has been to consider the demand by Russia for the addition of seven hundred men and two Russian officers to the Persian Cossack brigade at Tabriz. In view of the opportunity thus provided for requesting the removal of the Russian force of occupation there, and also for giving a further proof of its goodwill towards Russia, the Persian Government's reply is expected to be favourable.

The *Times* correspondent telegraphs:—The Government has decided to agree to the proposal made in a recent Russian Note for a new establishment of the Cossack brigade at Tabriz, with two Russian officers and four Russian non-commissioned officers.

The Russo-Indian Railway.

IT HAS sometimes occurred to us to ask how the procedure in the House of Commons in a Foreign Office debate would differ from that which obtains to-day, if it were a mere Duma with restricted powers, or a Crown Colony Legislature. One question clearly stirs the House, and on that one question there is little difference of view among parties. The mass of educated opinion is alarmed by the project of a Russo-Indian railway, and there is only a difference of accent and motive among the protests which come from Radicals, Imperialists, and Anglo-Indians. When Mr. Ponsonby agrees with Sir John Rees and Lord Ronaldshay with Mr. Dillon, we may fairly conclude that the Foreign Office is pursuing a course of which the country disapproves. Sir Edward Grey answered his critics. He showed the perfection of that kind of tact which is rather a social instinct than a conscious political strategy; but on the main point he conceded nothing, and we may add that he answered nothing. The project will go on. The *Société d'Etudes*, formed under Russo-British auspices, will continue its work in Paris. Our Minister will continue to give it his backing in Teheran. If, as we think likely, it will have to demand a subsidy from the British and Russian Governments, the House of Commons will have a nominal opportunity of defeating the Cabinet (and incidentally of destroying Home Rule, Free Trade, and Social Reform) before the obligation is actually incurred. But, save for this meaningless undertaking, Sir Edward Grey's speech was, in substance, a defiance of his critics, which lost nothing of its gravity

because it was couched in a form suave, inoffensive, and almost deferential. A Russian Minister executing the same manoeuvre from the tribune of the Duma would have insulted the majority, taunted them with their impotence, and somewhere interpolated an aside to the effect that he thanked God that Russia has no Constitution. The British manner is vastly more decorous, and it is also from the standpoint of a bureaucracy determined to have its way, immensely more successful.

To a candid mind which wishes to understand the case for its opponents, this Trans-Persian railway presents the most baffling problem in all our recollection. It is baffling because the very persons who affect to despise the military danger latent in this railway are precisely those who beat the alarm drums at the bare suggestion of a Channel Tunnel, and even shook their heads over the Baghdad Railway. But what is there to be said for the line? No one imagines that our trade with India is going to desert the sea-route for the sake of a costly land transit. It is even admitted with the utmost candor that the line is never likely to earn a profit, and must be heavily subsidised. The Russian traders in Moscow are hostile to it from their own commercial standpoint. Our own traders are equally clear that their requirements call rather for a line running into the interior from the sea, from Mohammera at the head of the Gulf to Ispahan. What was true of that similar African megalomania, the Cape to Cairo line, is true also of this Asiatic project. The utility of railways to trade in such cases is not in furnishing a through route, but rather in providing roads by which sea-borne goods can be carried from the ports into the interior. The most exhaustive discussion has so far disclosed only one advantage which this line may be supposed to offer. It will save four or five days in the transit of mails and passengers to India, as compared with the Suez Canal route. But even this service all but vanishes, when we recollect that, as compared with the Baghdad route, the saving in time will be only one day. We will not do the Foreign Office the injustice of supposing that a consideration so frivolous as this could weigh with it in inducing it to give its support to the railway. The case against it neither gains nor loses by discussion. It is so obvious that the least expert civilian grasps it as readily as the soldier, and so incontrovertible that no single military authority has yet come forward to dispute it. Neither by breaks of gauge nor by diversion of route can the fact be altered that it will abolish the central desert zone of Persia which is now the chief protection of India against Russian invasion, make our frontiers continuous with a great military Empire, and force us in the end to reconsider our whole military problem, and to assume with the risks at the same time the burdens of a great land power. The more the defenders of the scheme accumulate useless safeguards, the nearer do they come to admitting the danger.

The explanation of this scheme is, we suppose, the explanation of our whole ruinous Persian policy. Our Foreign Office is still pursuing its ingenuous purpose of buying Russia's friendship and support, by the simple process of yielding to her at every turn. We are now about to show our child-like confidence in her by building the road by which she can advance on India. The idea is, we suppose, that if by all our acts and words we proclaim our hope that Russia will be for all time our friend, and our partner in the game of the Balance of Power, she will, for very shame, find herself compelled to live up to our touching belief in her. We are treating the Russian autocracy as the Greeks used to treat the Fumenes. There would be less of this pathetic self-delusion if our press did its duty more honestly in reproducing the real facts about the policy of Russia in the Concert. The remarkable leading article in which the *Novoe Vremya* welcomed the meeting of the Tsar and the Kaiser has been translated by the *Manchester Guardian*, and carefully ignored by the *Times*. It is a vehement and entirely candid plea for the ranging of Russia by the side of Germany in the European balance. It is, we think, the general opinion of instructed Frenchmen that Russia, straddling with great dexterity between the two groups to her vast profit, is now rather more definitely in the Germany than in the Franco-British camp. The *Novoe Vremya* speaks for the dominant reactionary tendencies in Russia, and it is always the mouthpiece of someone at the Foreign Office. It seems to foreshadow a Russo-German effort to challenge British supremacy at sea, and it commits itself to the illuminating statement that "only the loss of India by England, from whatever cause, would establish permanent peace between us and her." The "cause" is as likely to be this trans-Persian railway as another. We desire "permanent peace" with Russia, but the idea of pursuing it by way of the loss of India is not within the avowed purposes of any British school of thought. To go on with this railway in the face of such warnings as these is a folly so colossal that we risk it only from our inability to believe that it is imminent. Mr. Ponsonby's word, "madness," is a mild and moderate epithet. Once more Sir Edward Grey committed himself to his old obsession of European "groups." Once more it is apparent that he is building on a foundation of sand. The "groups" are so fluid that they offer security neither for a balance of power nor yet for elementary security. The policy has ruinously failed, and the statesmanship which refuses to face the facts is incurring the gravest responsibility in the history of our Empire.—*The Nation*.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Baghdad on 29th July:—The Governor General has turned the first sod of the Baghdad-Mosul section of the Baghdad Railway.

Reuter's advices from Bagdad report that the site for the railway station there has been definitely chosen on the right bank of the river Tigris. The scheme includes a harbour and Custom House on the river bank with a siding to the station, which is to be about a quarter of a mile from the river.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—A tumult was caused in the Chamber on 25th July by the President reading a letter bearing the seal of the Military League ordering him to retire and dissolve the Chamber within forty-eight hours.

The situation at Constantinople is full of explosive elements, but it is hoped that the new Cabinet which is composed of strong conciliatory men will succeed in tiding over the dangerous period. The Cabinet recognises the necessity for dissolving the Chamber, but desires to proceed constitutionally and will endeavour to dissuade the Military League from resorting to violent measures.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—Opinion is divided on the subject of the letter to the President of the Chamber, bearing the seal of the Military League, ordering dissolution of the Chamber.

Some believe that it is a fabrication emanating from the enemies of the Military League with the purpose of discrediting the League.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 28th July:—Hitherto there has been no sign of attempt to execute the threat to dissolve the Chamber forcibly and its sitting has not been disturbed.

The Government has submitted to the Sultan a list of persons exiled and imprisoned by the late Court-Martial with a view to securing amnesty.

A *Times* message from Athens states that General Ameglio, visiting Kalymnos, made a speech in which he declared that the Aegean Islands would not be restored to Turkey.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 28th July:—The Cabinet has decided to secure the dissolution of the Chamber by legal means.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—In the Chamber, on 31st July the Grand Vizier read the Government programme. He said they were resolved to continue the war till they had obtained all the conditions compatible with the rights of Turkey.

The Chamber passed a vote of confidence in the Government by 113 votes to 45.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 2nd August:—An *Trade* has been issued granting amnesty to 130 exiles, including all the dignitaries of the old *regime*. The Government has submitted to the Chamber a resolution modifying the Constitution so as to enable the Sultan to dissolve the Chamber without the assent of the Senate.

The *Times* states that the conviction is gaining ground that some sort of definite understanding, or even alliance, has been effected between Bulgaria and Serbia and Bulgaria and Greece.

THE Press Association learns from a source in London closely associated with Egyptian affairs and the Khedival Court that negotiations are on foot which may lead to the Mariout Railway changing hands. The Khedive has been approached recently by various foreign groups of financiers with reference to the railway, and negotiations are proceeding, but with what prospect is at present unknown. It is also believed that *fourparlers* have been taking place between the Khedive and the Egyptian Government, but have not proceeded beyond the initial stage. It is contended that considerations of military strategy render it important that the railway, sooner or later, should be acquired by the Egyptian Government, and it is suggested that it would be of advantage that the Government should purchase it from the Khedive himself rather than allow it to pass under foreign control.

The railway, which is a narrow gauge, runs from Alexandria through Mariout towards the Tripolitan frontier. The construction of the railway was started by the Khedive at his own cost some years ago, and it has from time to time been extended, so that at present it measures 235 kilometres in length, and the terminus is 250 kilometres from the Tripolitan frontier.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "BIRMINGHAM POST.")

July 2.

According to a telegram which has been received in a prominent quarter here from Antwerp, a very large consignment of arms and

ammunition, originally purchased by Turkish agents, has safely been delivered, partly in Salonica and partly to the Ottoman forces in Tripoli. Much of the material, it is said, has been manufactured by British firms to Belgian order, and considerable satisfaction is being expressed by those concerned in the operation at the success of the means adopted for its safe transport, not only from England to the Continent, but particularly from Belgian territory, to the Turkish forces opposed to the Italians in Tripoli.

(FROM THE "DAILY CHRONICLE" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, July 7.

It was rumoured yesterday in political circles, and especially on the Bourse, that the declaration of an armistice by Italy and Turkey might be expected in a very few days. No confirmation of the rumour has been received either from Rome or Constantinople, and the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin declares that he has received no communication whatever on the subject of the possibility of an armistice being agreed to. On the other hand, inquiries in authoritative quarters have elicited the statement that it is not considered advisable to describe the rumour as unfounded. It is known that the Turco-Italian War has been one of the main topics of conversation between the Kaiser and the Tsar and their Ministers at Baltic Port, but exact and full details of the conferences and their results have not yet reached Berlin. All that is known definitely is that it has been ascertained that the two Governments are at one on the basis of a policy whose aim is the maintenance of peace. It is apparently regarded as being within the bounds of possibility that some common ground has been discovered by the monarchs and their advisers from which the two Governments can direct their effort to restore peace between Italy and Turkey. I may mention that the officials in attendance noted that the two Emperors conversed alone at Baltic Port much more frequently, and for a much longer time, than is usual at such meetings.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 10.

The Minister of War resigned at last night's Cabinet Council. His resignation has been accepted. Hurshid Pasha, Minister of Marine, will act temporarily as his successor.

In the letter of resignation which he has addressed to the Grand Vizier Mahmud Shevket Pasha gives the following explanation of his retirement:—

"The Bill which I prepared as an annex to the military penal code in consequence of the necessity which has recently become manifest for the legal interdiction of political activity on the part of members of the Imperial Army has been adopted by the Chamber and has been voted also by the Senate and will shortly come into operation.

"Having been for three years Minister of War, I feel it to be preferable that the execution of the new law should be entrusted to a new Minister.

"For this reason, and on account of the extreme fatigue from which I am suffering in consequence of the great recent stress of work, I tender you my resignation."

The ex-Minister has been appointed a Senator as a reward for his meritorious services.

LATER.

The Grand Vizier telegraphed to-day to Torgut Shevket Pasha offering him the Portfolio of War. The General refused. Army feeling outside Committee circles appears to desire the appointment either of Abdallah Pasha, commander of the forces in Smyrna, or of Ibrahim Pasha, an ex-commandant in Tripoli, to fill the vacancy, although Nazim Pasha's name is also mentioned. The Council of Ministers, which is still sitting, has been in constant telegraphic communication with Smyrna, Salonika and Damascus.

Hadi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff, a cousin of Mahmud Shevket Pasha, has resigned.

There is reason to believe that one of the causes of Mahmud Shevket's resignation was news of an anti-Government demonstration organized by the officers of the Damascus garrison. It is also reported that a number of officers of the Constantinople garrison have protested against the Court-martial's suspension of the Opposition Journal *Ipham*.

Vienya, July 10.

The resignation of Mahmud Shevket Pasha creates here the impression that the situation in Turkey is approaching a climax. The details of recent developments are too little known to justify the expression of positive opinions, but it is felt that something has

snapped in Turkey, and that, though the tension may be relieved for the moment, there is nothing to show whether the retirement of the War Minister will mark the end or only the beginning of the struggle between the Army and the Government.

July 11.

Mahmud Shevket's resignation may not point to an immediate crisis in Turkey, but it is hard to interpret it in any sense favourable to the prospects of the Young Turks. The recent military mutinies, none the less dangerous in tendency because on a small scale, have no doubt been directed to a certain extent against Mahmud himself. On the other hand, any successor to the late Minister for War will have at least equal difficulties and less influence. The present régime seems incapable of pacifying Albania, and in the end peace with Italy will have to be concluded on terms which, however sensible in essence, will be a bitter disappointment by comparison with the illusory hopes so long excited. Mahmud Shevket may well think himself well out of it at present. But he will be heard of again.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

July 12.

Reuter's Agency learns in the diplomatic quarters most closely concerned that the reports of an approaching termination of the Turco-Italian war occasion surprise owing to the fact that "neither officially nor unofficially is anything known in London, nor has any information come from Rome or Constantinople, indicating any change in the attitude of the two Governments." Both Powers would welcome the termination of the hostilities.

Suggestions that the present crisis in Turkey may be due to a change of attitude on the part of the Government with regard to the war are declared to be incorrect. Mahmud Shevket's resignation of the War Ministry has no connection with any disagreement with the Government on the subject of the war and his withdrawal will not affect the Cabinet generally.

As regards mediation, both sides declare that it is as far off as ever, none of the friendly Powers having yet been able to discover a basis on which they can act in concert.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

The Turkish papers state that an English personage, whose name is not given, has given £129 in favour of the families of the sailors who lost their lives in the bombardment of Beirut.

A Paris telegram to the *Agence Ottomane* says it is believed that French political circles consider there is no reason to cast a doubt on the repeated Italian declarations that the occupation of islands in the Aegean is only provisional. It is feared, however, that it will be necessary to grant certain guarantees to the inhabitants of the islands.

Lieutenant Vahnow and Herr Rentzel, two aviators engaged by the Turkish Government in Germany as instructors for the Army, left Berlin yesterday for Constantinople. They will remain in Constantinople for some time in order to teach the Turkish officers how to handle the Harlau monoplane. Later on they will be sent to the seat of war.

The Rome correspondent of the *Temps* reports that in political circles the military situation is considered as having greatly improved during the past month. Decisive operations may be expected for the autumn.

All the points which have been occupied in Tripoli have now been fortified and this has allowed a slight reduction in the army of occupation. The troops thus liberated have been transferred to the Aegean Islands, where there are now sufficient troops to meet all eventualities. Satisfaction is also expressed in Rome at the naval operations in the Red Sea and the success of the revolt led by Sidi Idriss in the Yemen.

Dr. Dillon, who has been cruising among the islands, writes to the *Daily Telegraph* that the impecuniosity caused by the utter stagnation of trade and industry is beginning to border on distress among the population of the islands. The tanneries of Chios are closed, and the export and import business is almost at a standstill. Telegraphic communication is disorganized. Telegrams take four or five days to traverse thirty miles from island to island. The Italians cut the cable belonging to the European Company in two places, assuming that they were cutting two separate cables, whereas they left the one which the Turks had rented.

Italian schemes in Rhodes are enveloped in dense mystery. No journalists are allowed to land on the island, and even Italy's own official dragoman from Chios, when expelled from Turkey, was refused authorization to reside in Rhodes or even to visit it.

DURING the recent fighting near Homs the Italian troops captured in Turkish lines a European woman who had remained near her wounded horse. She had a rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition. The woman is being treated as a prisoner of war. She declines to give any information as to her identity.

News from Turkish Sources.

(Specially Translated for the "Comrade.")

Derna, July 1.

THE *Almoyyed* correspondent wires from the field of battle:—Two new war correspondents have arrived here—Monsieur Jobart for a well-known Austrian free-press paper and Monsieur Mollier for the "Teigebillet" of Germany.

Benghazi, July 2.

The European Powers are ransacking their brains to find out some way of bringing about a treaty, under the mistaken notion that this is possible on certain conditions. But they are in utter ignorance of the public opinion here. The other day I wired the resolution of the Arab conference. To-day I have been entrusted with a message for publication in the *Almoyyed* which runs as follows: "All the Arabs collected in the Turkish camp and unanimously swore by placing their hands on the Koran. 'Even if the war continued for 1,000 years we will never lay down the sword until our land has been purified from the profaning touch of Italian feet. Whatever negotiation the European Powers might carry on with the Sublime Porte and whatever treaties the Porte might sign with them will have absolutely no validity for us and we will utterly ignore them.'"

All the heads of the Sennusi monasteries, and the leaders of the Arab tribes, 1,000 of whom fully armed, are present in Benghazi alone, give notice through the columns of the *Almoyyed* that "there are only two possible solutions to the Tripoli problem and there is no third. Either Italy must conquer the whole of Tripoli by the sword or she must finally accept a defeat and call back all their soldiers from here. All of us, Arabs, desired that the whole Moslem Press should make this resolution of ours quite plain to the public all over the world and particularly in Constantinople and the capitals of all great kingdoms: so that the Powers may not waste their time in vain negotiations for peace."

Yesterday again the Italians, as is usual with them, fired 140 shells into the village Kowifa which is situated near the coast, but no damage was done except to a few dilapidated straw-huts and not a single man was killed. On the same day they fired many harmless shots on the coasts of Talunga and Togara.

The Arabs are swarming all along the coast and Arab tents can be seen hardly half an hour's walk from the sea. This fact has such a deterrent effect on the enemy that not a single soldier has the courage to land although a powerful Italian naval force is stationed in all the ports.

Baghag, July 7.

Nowadays the Italians have thrown all the burden of danger on the poor negroes and never come out in the night without sending some negroes ahead of them. In Masoo the Italians have organised a regiment of Nubians and always put them in the front whenever they have to fight the Arabs.

Ten Arabs have routed a whole battalion of Italian soldiers.

Benghazi, July 9.

A small company of Arabs had been lying in ambush for the Italians. But after waiting for some time they lost all patience and 10 of them charged right into a regiment of Italians. The Arabs were on foot and their Italian opponents were cavalry men, but even here they maintained the prestige of Islam and succeeded in killing seven Italians and coming back laden with captured weapons. The Italians have been so impressed by the heroism of the Arabs that they are in constant dread of them, so that when they saw the 10 Arabs charging their whole regiment they took fright and supposed that this must be the advance guard of an advancing company of Arabs. The Italians lost their head and in great confusion began to fire indiscriminately in all directions, with the result that many of their own number were killed, while not a single of the Arabs was even wounded.

Baghag, July 10.

For some time the Italians had stopped using the aeroplanes, because the Turkish guns had injured the aeroplanists far more than the damage they had caused to the Turks. But latterly they have begun to fly in the darkness of nights, thinking that they would be safe. But now they have again found out their mistake. Towards the last part of last night an Italian aeroplane ascended in Fiza, navigating by the help of electric light. But the Turks soon sighted them and turning up the mouths of the guns they fired two or three shots at the aeroplane. The aeroplane at once slowed down and turned round and flew away towards the Italian camp and never again ventured over the Turkish camp. When retreating it threw seven shells, but all of them fell harmlessly outside the Turkish camp and no one was injured.

Derna, July 12.

Monsieur Koiera, the proprietor of the *Nile* to-day started on his return journey to Cairo. But his wife is still engaged in the

heroic work of the Red Crescent Society and will still remain in Tripoli.

Baghag, July 13.

Another correspondent, Monsieur Docar Shylle, who has been sent out by a leading journal of Frankfort, has just arrived in the Turkish camp. The first thing he has done after coming here is to go round inspecting all the Red Crescent Hospitals in company with the other German correspondents. He greatly admired the excellent work done by them and was specially impressed by the organisation of the Egyptian Red Crescent Society.

Baghag, July 14.

To-day three more soldiers from the Italian camp at Benghazi have deserted and come and joined the Turks. They report that epidemics are raging in the Italian camp at Benghazi and deaths are very frequent, and that the town is in great distress and destitution.

The Albanian Situation.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 3.

According to the *Osmanischer Lloyd*, the officers of the Salonika, Uskub, Adrianople, and Kirk Kilise garrisons have formally condemned the action of the Monastir mutineers under Tayer Bey and rejected their demands. At a meeting of officers held at Salonika on Sunday even the members of the semi-political secret society of officers, called the Irshadie, voted with their comrades against Tayer Bey's manifesto. The bulk of the Monastir garrison is said to be loyal to the present régime.

It is believed that Djavid Pasha, formerly in command of the Uskub Division, will succeed Fethi Pasha at Monastir.

Vienna, July 3.

A semi-official Note in the *Neue Freie Presse* says that it is undeniable that practically the whole corps of the Turkish officers takes a very lenient view of the mutiny at Monastir, because the mutineers' motives are entirely patriotic. According to the same source a change of Cabinet or changes in the composition of the Cabinet are very probable, but it is improbable that the present War Minister, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, will become Grand Vizier.

Zekki Pasha, the Army inspector, reports that a large number of sheikhs and Arabians have joined the mutineers.

Constantinople, July 5.

The *Tanin* categorically denies the rumour that the Government is prepared to accept all or any of the demands of the Monastir mutineers. Another deserting officer and a number of soldiers are reported to have been captured.

Constantinople, July 2.

It is not easy as yet to determine the extent or the exact character of the mutiny that has taken place at Monastir. Constantinople has been full of the wildest rumours, many of which have found eager credence in the neighbouring Balkan States. The Athenian newspapers represent the movement as comparable to the Young Turkish rebellion of 1908, and picture the present Young Turkish Government as sullenly anticipating the march of the mutineers on Constantinople, and as doggedly determined to carry the State with them to ruin rather than yield to the demands of a new Revolutionary Army. The Bulgarian Nationalist Press has not been behindhand, and the most sensational rumours have been magnified and elaborated with a force of luridly suggestive appeal that would surely have brought the whole Bulgarian population over the mountains into Macedonia, were the Bulgarians not too hard-headed to take their Press very seriously.

In Constantinople the Opposition Press—what is left of it—has not in its reports ventured a step beyond fully authorised official communications. Other journals have contented themselves with reprinting the reports published in the *Salonika Press*. Generally speaking, the information available in Constantinople is of a meagre character, and the fact, now clearly established, that the mutiny was due to the agitation of a secret Revolutionary Committee has stimulated the free play of fancy, and made it possible for fear and hope to fill in the details that are lacking.

What is now known of the movement with a tolerable approach to certainty is the following. There does exist, or did exist until last week, a secret political organisation under the name of *Hyys-i-Vatan* which may be translated as the National Defence League. The objects of this League are the overthrow of the Committee of Union and Progress and of the Government, the dissolution of Parliament, and the deposition of the Sultan, Mehmed V. The League made its appeal to the feeling of discontent aroused by the abuses committed during the last elections, but its chief aim was to bring about a return to theocratic absolutism. The idea of its promoters was

that the Caliph should have about him a military staff, and that all orders should proceed directly from him. Proclamations explaining this idea were distributed in Serres. The agitation of the League was, however, apparently unsuccessful in the Serres and Constantinople garrisons, and also in Salonika. Agitation was carried on with greater success in Monastir and at certain points in Albania. The mutiny in Monastir led to a premature disclosure of the organisation, and many of those officers who were inclined to sympathise with its aims have once more declared themselves ardent supporters of the present régime. The total number of members of the League is said not to exceed 200. In its general character the League resembles the Islamic Fraternity which was organised shortly before the *coup d'état* of 1909.

The movement has been checked, and this, probably, before it had assumed very serious proportions. Otherwise the Government would hardly have decided on so demonstrative a measure as the introduction into Parliament of a Bill to prohibit military men taking part in politics. But the moral effect of the mutiny at Monastir has been out of all proportion to the numbers of the mutineers. The mutiny was an alarm-signal. It was perhaps the sharpest of the many reminders that the Young Turkish Party has received this year that the work of genuine administrative reform must be hastened and that the good work begun by Hadji Adil Bey in Macedonia and Albania must be rapidly and effectively continued in all parts of the Empire.

The discussion on the War Minister's Bill in the Chamber constituted an interesting test of the capacity and temper of the new Parliament. There was rather less "Hurrah patriotism" than might have been expected. The speech in which Mahmud Shevket Pasha attempted to reconcile the principle of the Bill with the conduct of the Army on the occasion of the proclamation of the Constitution, and at the time of the famous march on Constantinople in 1909, was not very warmly applauded. On the other hand, the references of the Opposition deputy, Ali Ghalib Bey, a retired colonel, and a slow, stubborn, and persistent speaker, to the part played by officers in maintaining the Young Turkish régime, caused a most unseemly uproar, in which the great majority of the deputies took part. One could not, however, help wondering at the comparative equanimity with which, at such a moment, the Parliament found it possible frankly to discuss the details of so delicate a question. And perhaps this openness and comparative calm were the most convincing indications that for the moment this particular danger was over.

Vienna, July 5.

The news from Turkey is becoming more and more confused. The report published in Constantinople that the mutineers have been severely defeated by the Turkish troops is not confirmed by any rumour that has reached Vienna. The latest reports current here are to the effect that desertions continue, and that the bulk of the mutineers are concentrated near Argyrocastro, where they are supported by the population and are constantly receiving reinforcements. The arrival of General Djavid Pasha at Monastir to make a last attempt to persuade the mutineers to capitulate is thought to be a sign that the Government means to use force. General Djavid is hated by the Albanians because of the cruel measures he adopted in 1910 to crush the rising in North-east Albania. It is expected here that events will now assume a critical character.

Commenting on the situation, the *Neue Freie Presse*, which has hitherto always been a pro-Committee organ, says that the news shows that the discontent among the officers, especially at Monastir, is much deeper than is officially admitted. Eighty per cent. of the officers, it says, oppose the Committee and sympathise with Colonel Sadik Bey. Deputations of officers from Uskub, Adrianople and Smyrna have, it is further stated, arrived in Constantinople to support the demands of the mutineers. The Committee, which owes its power to the Army, cannot refuse concessions if the Army insists on them. It would be madness, concludes the *Neue Freie Presse*, to risk civil war for party motives.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, July 4.

The despatch of troops to Monastir has continued all day. Four battalions under Kiazim Bey have been sent in pursuit of the mutineers and their Albanian associates now at Argyrocastro, where they are assured of abundant sympathy on the part of the population. The departure of this pursuing force has created a painful impression among the officers of the Monastir garrison, but there is every reason to suppose that the troops will refuse to fire on their comrades. The only argument that seems to have met with any success in avoiding a more forcible declaration of sympathy with the deserters has been that in view of the war with Italy the present is not a proper time to provoke internal strife. It is, however, impossible to tell what the day may bring forth. The Albanians of Basella, Tyran and Mat have taken up arms and gone to the mountains. They threaten a general rising. Two battalions from Merkez and one from Kirciova have been sent to the disturbed districts.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 5.

The situation has, apparently, improved in the last 48 hours, and the Government organs now deny that the authorities have entered into any *pourparlers* with the mutineers, who will be leniently treated if they surrender, but will be treated with the utmost severity if they remain obdurate. Details are still lacking, however, as to the state of affairs in Western Macedonia.

The Dibra correspondent of the *Yeni Asir* reports that a captain and ten men were killed in a recent fight with Mat tribesmen. The troops eventually ceased fire in order to "abstain from inflicting unnecessary losses on the insurgents" and are reported "under all reserve" to have left a machine gun in the hands of the latter.

Constantinople, July 9.

Djavid Pasha, who commanded the Turkish forces in the Lyuma operations in 1909, has been appointed acting commandant of the Monastir Army Corps. The appointment of a general known to be a strict disciplinarian has its advantages, but they are outweighed, according to certain critics, by the fact that he is intensely unpopular with the Albanians on account of the severity with which he is said to have conducted the Lyuma campaign.

Vienna, July 7.

A Turkish account of the fighting reported to have taken place between the Albanians under Isa Boletinat and the troops under Fadil Pasha near Vuchitrn states that Fadil Pasha attacked the Albanians with six battalions of infantry, three batteries of artillery and several Maxims. The Albanians, who numbered about 1,000, were dislodged from their positions, chiefly by Maxim fire, and took refuge in the nearest buildings. These were then demolished by the artillery. The Albanians lost heavily and retreated. Fadil Pasha, who had directed the operations in person, then returned to his headquarters after having ordered a pursuit. Isa Boletinat escaped.

This account of the fighting naturally requires confirmation. Some Austrian journals express regret that force should have been used at all against the Albanians at this juncture, when much may depend upon a pacific settlement with them and with the mutineers. Indeed, a somewhat alarmist note is being struck in Vienna, particularly by the *Neue Freie Presse*, which adjures the Committee of Union and Progress not to resist the movement in the Army, but to make any sacrifice of persons, and even of *regime*, in order to save Turkey from a catastrophe. The same journal predicts grave developments during the next few days, but seeks consolation in the argument that, though the Committee may fall, Italy will be no nearer to peace because the opponents of the Committee are more bellicose than the Committee itself.

Whatever the feelings of the opponents of the Committee may be, it is certain that, should they prevail, they would not find themselves in a position as difficult as that of the Committee, which, being responsible for the war, cannot afford to make peace lest it be destroyed by popular indignation. A new *regime* might have a freer hand and be able justly to lay at the door of the Committee the blame for the losses now in viewable.

It is noteworthy that in the manifesto of the Albanian leaders published at Salonika no specific reference is made to the war. It says:—

"If the Albanians have raised the standard of revolution, the Turks must know that it is not only a question of Albania, but of saving the Ottoman State from an abyss that threatens to swallow it up. The Albanians were compelled to take up arms by the deplorable policy of the Young Turkish Government, a policy criticized by the whole civilized world and bound to lead sooner or later to the invasion of the Fatherland by its enemies and to the destruction, in consequence of the errors of a handful of braggarts, of the Ottoman Empire that has stood for six centuries."

This manifesto is signed by 18 leading Albanians from Djakova, Prizrend, Vuchitrn, Prishtina, and Mitrovitza. It appears to have been drafted in agreement with leaders of the military movement, whose programme it strongly resembles.

Vienna, July 9.

The efforts of the Turkish Government to crush the Albanian revolution by force of arms inspire serious misgivings here. Either, it is argued, the troops will succeed in establishing order by dint of military preponderance, in which case Turkey will require to keep a large army mobilized in Albania and Macedonia for months to come, or the bloodshed will accentuate the movement in the Army and bring Turkey within sight of the civil war which she has every reason to avoid. In neither case will the outlook be reassuring.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, July 8.

The situation created by the mutiny at Monastir has been robbed of much of its gravity by the failure of the garrison to join the movement. Zeki Pasha appears to have acted with considerable diplomatic skill and by amicable counsels to have prevented a

general outbreak, which at one time was undoubtedly threatened. The negotiations with Tahir Bey have, however, made no further progress. The regiments chiefly compromised in the rising are being transferred to other districts.

Heavy fighting has occurred at Aktchehissar, where the garrison was besieged by a strong force of Albanians. Reinforcements hurried from Elbasan were successful in driving off the rebels.

The Preveza authorities have captured a sailing ship containing 150 Mannlichers and 15,000 cartridges. Two Albanians have been arrested in connexion with the affair. The contraband had arrived from Arta and was intended to assist the rising in Southern Albania.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, July 8.

The latest intelligence from Salonika and Constantinople appears to conflict with the more optimistic view of the military crisis that prevailed last week in Turkish official quarters. The War Minister has ordered all preparations to be made for the immediate mobilization of 12 Redif brigades in the Salonika, Monastir and Kossovo army corps, in case the Albanian revolutionary movement should assume a graver aspect. This measure is attributed to the reported failure of the negotiations with the mutineer leaders, who have not only refused to return to their garrisons, but have declined to answer the Government proposals. The revolutionary movement is extending in the region round Elbasan and Durazzo. The Government has declared a state of siege in the district of Kroja.

Private messages from Constantinople suggest that the crisis may soon be solved or postponed by changes in the composition of the Cabinet, especially by the retirement of the War Minister, Mahmud Shevket Pasha. For the moment there is no positive indication that a change of this kind would bring about a marked improvement.

Constantinople, July 8.

It is believed that the principal obstacle, at least to a temporary settlement of the Monastir problem, is the natural reluctance of the Government, which decided to find extenuating circumstances for the misconduct of the rank and file, to grant a complete amnesty to Tahir Bey and his fellow-officers who deserted the colours.

According to letters from Albania, there seems to have been a slight revival of insurgent activity at Kossovo during the last few days. On the other hand, the Albanians who recently cut up a convoy on the Mat River have been dispersed by a column from Durazzo. There were no Mirdites among them. Letters received from Northern Epirus to-day depict the situation at Argyrocastro and in the neighbouring districts in rather alarming colours.

Salonika, July 9.

Djavid Pasha, who has been appointed to succeed Fethi Pasha in the command at Monastir, entered upon his duties to-day. The situation at Monastir is unchanged, but trustworthy information shows that a spirit of mutiny and antagonism to the Committee of Union and Progress is apparent among the troops at Uskub and in Fadil Pasha's Albanian army. The Uskub company of the Mountain Artillery categorically refused to set out in pursuit of a body of rebels which appeared in that district, while orders to renew the attack on Isa Boletinat remain unexecuted because of the refusal of the troops to fight against co-religionists. This is direct confirmation of the report that at the recent Albanian reunion at Kaise between Tosks and Ghegs it was decided to propagate similar ideas among the troops.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

It has been rumoured that the Government had entered into *pourparlers* with the deserters from Monastir and it has even been alleged, says the *Tanin*, that some of their demands had been accepted and that the deserters were returning to their garrisons.

The *Tanin* learns that these rumours are groundless. There was never any question of the Government entering into negotiations with the insurgents. Not only has it not accepted any of their demands, but it has refused to pardon those who surrender unconditionally.

General Said Pasha, Commander of the Fifth Army Corps, said in the course of an interview with a correspondent of the *Yeni Asir* that as a soldier he does not wish to deal with politics and that consequently he should not make any statement concerning the Monastir incident. He did not however, look upon the incident as a political question as it concerns the army and interests the whole nation.

The importance of the incident had been exaggerated. In all societies there are elements who formulate demands at an inopportune moment and such demands are not taken into consideration. Whatever the nature of the demands of the officers who deserted from Monastir, they were made at the wrong moment. The Officers' Corps unanimously condemns the action of the deserters and demands their severe punishment. This suffices to show up in their true light the publications of the foreign press and the manifestos published in Bulgaria.

The deserters have already repented and are willing to surrender. The Government, however, will not let them go unpunished.

The *Roumelie* learns that the officers who deserted from Monastir are in the *caza* of Goritza in Southern Albania. The same journal believes that there exists an accord between them and the leaders of the Albanian revolt.

According to information from other sources these officers have abandoned the soldiers who followed them. These soldiers are said to be now in great misery.

The Salonika papers report that the commander of the forces in Albania will shortly issue a proclamation inviting the insurgents to surrender and to give up their arms to the authorities within three days.

If the insurgents continue to resist their strongholds will be destroyed, their families will be deported and their property will be confiscated.

The members of the councils of elders and the *mukhtars* who refuse to denounce the insurgents will be severely punished.

Mahmud Shevket Pasha.

MAHMUD SHEVKET PASHA first attracted the attention of Europe in April, 1909, when as commander of the Third Army Corps at Salonika he organised the march on Constantinople which overthrew Abdul Hamid. At the time of the first revolution in July, 1908, Mahmud Shevket was Vali of Kosovo. He took no prominent part in the events of that time, but the victorious Committee, recognising his ability, transferred him to the Salonika command. When the counter-revolution broke out, and the enemies of the Committee triumphed at Constantinople, Mahmud Shevket quickly transferred his troops to the capital, and within a week the reactionaries were in flight, Sultan was a helpless prisoner, and the Young Turks were again at the head of affairs.

Mahmud Shevket's achievement was brilliant, and his power was immense, but he showed no inclination to make himself dictator, and quietly awaited the decision of the statesmen. He became Minister of War, and held the office through all changes of Ministry up to yesterday, devoting himself with all his energy to the task of reorganising the Turkish army. He has shown himself somewhat too impatient of Treasury control, but that was, apparently, due solely to his passionate determination to perfect and strengthen the army, which had sunk into a terrible state under Abdul Hamid, and he seems to have had no ambition for excessive personal power. He has been a Moltke, not a Cromwell.

Mahmud Shevket was born in 1857 and is partly of Arab descent. He has lived and studied abroad, in France, and especially in Germany, and he is probably the best pupil of the German instructor of the Turkish army, Marshal von der Goltz Pasha.

Mahmud Shevket's Fall.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, July 11.

It is still impossible to gauge the situation in Turkey. In Austria, where Ottoman affairs are watched with keen attention, the only definite impression is that, as one journal phrases it, Mahmud Shevket's fall removes "the cornerstone of the tottering edifice" erected by the Committee of Union and Progress, and that the edifice itself is not likely long to outlast him. This impression may be accurate, but before accepting it unreservedly it would be requisite to know exactly why Mahmud Shevket fell. Hilmi Pasha is credited with the statement—corroborated from another quarter—that a threatened interpellation by Carasso Effendi of Salonika on alleged mal-administration in the commissariat of the Army was the determining cause of the resignation. But Carasso Effendi and his friend Rahmi are not likely to have acted against the wishes of Ministers like Djavid and Talaat Beys. The question, therefore, arises whether the men of Salonika drove the War Minister from office in the hope of propitiating military opinion and saving themselves for a while, or whether they arranged an attack upon him in order to prepare the way for a temporary eclipse of the Committee while someone else, preferably Kiamil Pasha, and his friends take over the management of affairs and fritter away their prestige in attempting to deal with an immature situation.

A singular feature of the comment upon the outlook in some Austrian and German organs is the complacency with which the advent of an "Anglophil" regime under Kiamil Pasha or Tewfik Pasha is predicted. It appears almost to be desired that England should now "walk in front," like Mr. Thomas Atkins in Kipling's famous poem. Even the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, in an article of semi-official flavour, points out the great value of British protection

for Turkey at the present moment. England, it writes, saved Turkey from the forcing of the Dardanelles by Italy and from the raising of the Straits question by Russia.

"Besides, British favour is valuable for Turkey in the domain of internal politics, because people in Constantinople expect from it protection against the Balkan Committee, against the English partisans of Albanian autonomy, and against Armenian outrages in Asia Minor. Indeed, in the hope of bringing with British help the Greek Islands again under Ottoman rule, people in Constantinople are now negotiating for the establishment of a kind of British administrative control."

In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird. England is not responsible for the troubles of Turkey, and it was not the British Ambassador, but, rather, a diplomatist now accredited to the Court of St. James' who assured the Turkish Government that Italy would never venture to touch Tripoli. It is not at a moment when the Turks themselves are striving to remedy in part the blunders of the Committee of Union and Progress that England or any foreign Power can hope to play the part of mentor without incurring odium and generating enmity. The Albanians have now resolved to take the offensive, Greek and Bulgarian bands are displaying marked activity, a patriotic religious movement is beginning in Asia Minor and the temper of a large part of the Army is uncertain. If the Powers were unselfish enough to think solely of the interests of the Ottoman Empire collective intervention at the opportune moment might possibly achieve some good results, but suggestions that one of them should act as warden while the others stand by and criticize is somewhat too ingenuous to command entire adhesion.

Chances of Peace.

(BY DR. F. J. DILLON.)

July 1.

WHEN may Europe hope to see the war terminated and peace restored? I put this question first to the highest representatives of Italy, and they replied, in substance: "Ask the Foreign Ministers of the Great Powers. On them it ultimately depends. We have done our part. We have beaten Turkey. True, she refuses to draw the practical consequences from her defeat, not because she is more stoical than her neighbours but because she is more presumptuous. Her exceptional position in Europe warrants her in the belief that she can do as she lists. And now it is the neutrals whom she is involving in her disaster. Europe, therefore, who is now beginning to suffer, is the arbiter of peace." I have just propounded the same question to the principal members of the Ottoman Government, and they say: "Only the Italians can answer you authoritatively. It depends on them. Whenever they desist from striking us we shall cease to parry their strokes. For that is all we are doing. And we should not be a nation nor, indeed, a community, if we did less. Our desire is for peace. We have proved it. We are ready to prove it again. If Italy, by repealing the decree of annexation, renders paripartiers possible, we are ready to talk things over with her in a broad spirit of give and take. And we are certain then to strike up an understanding, which, like all such compromises, without fully gratifying either side, will serve the best interests of both."

In Constantinople I debated this matter in all its bearings with the most influential members of the Cabinet and the most prominent chiefs of the Opposition. And in essentials they all agree. Turkey, they argue, "is but defending herself against a common highwayman. In this she is exercising an indefeasible right which Europe cannot call in question unless, indeed, the Powers be minded to break up the Empire and partition its territory. She only seeks to hold her own, which Italy vainly tries to wrest from her. Yet Italy has great odds in her favour. The possession of a navy as well as an army renders her, so to say, amphibious, whereas Turkey's movements are confined to land, and, as ill luck wills it, to land where the enemy is unwilling to show himself. On the water Turkey can do nothing. She has to look helplessly on at operations against herself which, when carried out without opposition, are magnified into signal victories. But Italy is striving to grasp what she cannot even span, and she has therefore to look to the Powers for assistance. Unhappily, not all of them are unwilling to grant it. Hence the history of the latest phases of the war is the story of the various devices by which the Consulta has striven to cajole the Powers or to intimidate them."

The organiser of Turkey's defences, Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, who is Minister of War, spoke very frankly with me on the subject. And say what one may about his political views, he is an eminent military authority, whose defence of Tripoli commands admiration and whose opinion on the question of war and peace carries weight. "It is the Italians who are waging war," he said, "not we. Defence is our rôle and we mean to keep to it as long as the attack continues. That is my answer to your question. Our attitude is right and reasonable. It clashes with nothing but Italy's greed of territory and contempt of international law. That is what we all feel

about it in Turkey." "Yes, I know," I remarked; "but what I should like you to tell me is how the situation is affected by the capture of the islands?" "Nowise," he promptly rejoined. "The spirit of our people is fired more intensely than before. They are firmer than ever on the subject. But the situation is unaffected. You have seen and talked with our representative men. How many among them appeared discouraged by the occupation of the islands? How many talked of throwing up the sponge?" I answered "None." "The enemy is unable to wrest the coveted territory," continued the War Minister. "Everybody perceives that for he has given up military operations in Africa as a hopeless job. That is why he is exerting himself to obtain the territory from third parties. Do you suggest, does Europe suggest that we should hand it over to him? And, if so, on what grounds?"

"Many Europeans," I objected, "with just the same facts before them, set them in a different light. They argue that, without ships, you will never be able to purge Tripoli of the Italians. Consequently, the Italians have gone thither to stay. And as the war will not always continue, it must end with the establishment of Italy's domination in the country." The Minister said: "Yes, that is one way of putting it, but it is not mine. Consider the facts. Italy is not established in Tripoli at all. Her artillery enables a number of her troops to stay there now within the range of their guns. That's all. But this way of keeping them is costly, and therefore temporary. When the cash is exhausted with which the arrangement is being paid for, this artificial and provisional occupation of a strip of the coast will necessarily go with it, and 'Lybia' will become Tripoli, Cyrenaica, and Turkish again. That is how I contemplate it." "And you really expect a satisfactory ending to your plan of defence?" "Certainly I do."

From the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Interior and others I received similar statements. All seem absolute, all seem buoyant, all seem hopeful. And yet my impression runs counter to those assurances. And it is much more than an impression, for it has filtered into my mind through layers of words and acts which ought to have convinced me that what I saw and heard proved that nothing was changed. Much has been modified by recent events and episodes. Not that the loss of the islands makes much difference to the duration of the campaign. Probably none. But, all the same, it is a momentous factor in the international situation. With that new element I hope to deal later on.

"Don't you think that the capture of Rhodes and the other islands alters the outlook generally, and, therefore, peace prospects in particular?" I inquired of Cabinet Ministers. But their answers were to the effect that it did not make the Ottoman Government or people in the slightest degree less uncompromising on the subject of the African provinces. "It has intensified the spirit of resistance. That is all. In ready money it involves a loss of only some 24,000 English pounds a year. In the international situation it certainly does make a difference, which Italy will not relish." "But suppose Smyrna is bombarded, troops are landed, the city taken, its Customs revenue expropriated. What then?" "Better ask what will happen before then. We are ready for the enemy. Our troops are watching and waiting in and about Smyrna and if he lands we will receive him as we ought. You shall see."

Accordingly, I have come to Smyrna to see. But since my arrival here a week ago there has been nothing more exciting to chronicle than the appearance of an airship over the city one evening, the prevalence of sensational and groundless rumours among the Greeks about Italian warships, and the continual arrival of Turkish troops by rail, goods traffic being suspended in favour of the transport of soldiers. The Turks are in buoyant spirits. They are hoping to get a square fight with the enemy on equal terms, or even giving odds to the Italians. Officers and men are both in glee at the prospect. But I am unable to share their hopes. Italy, if she include Smyrna in her programme, will be content to bombard its old castle. She may even take the town. But her troops, even if they land, will hardly venture out from under cover of her artillery. Why should they? To run the risk of a serious defeat, of the undoing of Signor Giolitti's work, of the frustration of Italy's plans?

I had more than one interesting talk with General Abdullah Pasha on the subject, which confirmed me in my opinion. Abdullah Pasha is the commander of the troops here, whose duty it is to organise the defence of Smyrna. I met him in Constantinople before he came to Smyrna. He is a sensible, well balanced man, who sees things as nearly as possible as they are, and strives to make the best of them. He is distributing his troops among the various commanding positions as fast as they come, apportioning munitions of war among them, and exhibiting perfect calm the while. There is no hurry anywhere. Whithersoever I move, there are soldiers. On the side of the hill between Boudjah and Paradise (the name of the village next to Boudjah), down at the base of it, on the railway line, everywhere you pass encampments of soldiers, the white tents pitched, the horses resting under the shade of fig-trees or acacias or pomegranates, the soldiers smoking cigarettes or musing placidly. That is one side of the picture. There is another, which is not

visible—the scenes of enlistment, which are less idyllic, sometimes indeed tragic. Numbers of Christians called to the colours are fleeing the country and emigrating to America for good. That, however, is another story. Abdullah Pasha is conducting his defence on the principle of thoroughness and, as he told me to-day, if the Italians come, he will accord them a warm reception, but will not be responsible for the consequences to Smyrna.

To come back to the main question, the duration of the war. I venture to submit certain reflections of my own based upon a study of the *data*, some of which have not, to my knowledge, been yet put forward in the Press.

Italy's resolve to annex "Lybia" is a task for the land army, and can be achieved only by the action of her troops in the provinces to be annexed. No ricochet of the billiard ball from the field of diplomacy to that of the battle will accomplish the feat. Italy may worst Turkey at sea, with manifold consequences to both. But among these consequences with the conquest and incorporation of "Lybia" will not be included. Nay, even if peace were formally signed, and the longed-for territory handed over to King Victor Emmanuel's Government, the outlook would still remain substantially the same; resistance would go on hardly the less vigorously on the part of the Arabs. It may be objected that the Arab defenders are common hirelings acting on the principle of "no piasters, no military service," and that peace once signed, the flow of gold would cease, and with it the Arabs' doughty deeds. But this argument is unconvincing. For even if money were the motive power that produces such heroism in the desert, we may be sure that there would be no lack of it after the Porte had signed the peace treaty. Private sources, as abundant as those of the State, would be put at the service of the dauntless Moslems. And if we ascribe the marvellous deeds of prowess accomplished by the defenders to fanaticism we may be certain that fanaticism would be fanned to still fiercer flame by the "defection of the Caliph." Consequently, happen what may, Italy having done her best or her worst in South-Eastern Europe will still have to return to Africa to face the warlike music there.

But the incorporation of Tripoli is one thing and the termination of the war with Turkey is another thing. The two contingencies stand in no casual relation to each other. And I venture to think that, leaving out of account an intervention on the part of the Powers, which would, of course, upset all calculations, hostilities may cease in one of the following ways: By Turkey destroying some of the units of the Italian navy, whether in the Dardanelles or elsewhere, by the use of submarines or aeroplanes; by one land army defeating the other in a decisive encounter; by the seizure of Mecca, or else by financial exhaustion. So far as one can now see, that exhausts the list of issues, always, of course, assuming that the Powers will hold aloof. Moreover, some of these potentialities must be eliminated at once as outside the range of the practical. Thus, after my talk with the War Minister, Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, I understand that there is not the faintest likelihood of Turkey investing money in an attempt to blow up any Italian warship outside the Dardanelles. The Minister has made, he told me, a thorough study of the subject, and come to the conclusion that as things are now the experiment is not worth making. Others think differently, but his decision is final.

Again, a serious *rencontre* between Italy and Turkey on land, without being wholly eliminated from the list of contingencies, is improbable. Signor Giolitti, who directs the campaign on the principle of administering occasional stimulants to the Italian nation, will not readily run big risks; and this would be one of the biggest. The Turks desire nothing more ardently than that the Italians should attack Smyrna and land troops there, advancing beyond the cover of their guns. That would soon bring things to a head. It would stake the success of Italy's Colonial enterprise on the fortune of war, and that is precisely what the Turks are longing for. It is obvious that they have far more incentives to heroism than the soldiers of King Victor Emmanuel. They are fired by religious zeal, by patriotic ardour, and, above all, by a hatred of Italy and the Italians which will endow them with uncommon strength. During my conversations with General Abdullah Pasha, the Commander of the forces defending Smyrna, and with some of his officers, I could remark and appreciate the impatience of the Turks to have a good stand-up fight with the invaders. But I do not think that they can hope for such a piece of luck.

A march on the Holy Places would be less risky in the abstract; but for the Italians to attack Mecca would in truth be a daring enterprise. Still, if it were successful it would end the war and attain the aim in view. For it would strike a vital—perhaps the most vital—part of the Turkish Empire. Mecca in danger would be Islam in fever. No ransom would be too high to redeem the sacred places. "Lybia" would be but as dust in the balance by comparison. No Cabinet in Constantinople, no public opinion in Egypt or elsewhere in Islam would hesitate to sacrifice the coveted provinces for the holy sites. But is the feat possible? I have discussed it with most competent men of

all religions in and out of Turkey, and their answer is in the affirmative "Quite possible," said one of these, "as are many other enterprises in this curious campaign which Italy will neither accomplish nor attempt. This," he added bitterly, "is not a war, it is a series of naval operations, against undefended places, reinforced by diplomatic strategy against a Power whose 'friends' are few and lukewarm."

There is no doubt, however, that the Holy Places of Islam could be seized by a military State at war with Turkey and desirous of dealing a decisive blow, for they are inadequately defended, as every military man knows. The number of Ottoman troops there is small, far too small, to discharge the duty now imposed on them by circumstance. And it cannot be increased. The War Ministry would gladly despatch reinforcements thither if it could, but the centre is cut off from all the commanding positions. The Red Sea—the one route over which military detachments were heretofore sent—is blocked by Italian warships, and the Turkish military *status quo* there must remain unimproved. The troops which happen to be there to-day are thrown upon their own resources. They must do the best they can under most unfavourable conditions. The overland route traverses a desert which would become the cemetery of any large body of troops that ventured to march across it towards Mecca. Thus the Holy Places are insecure. And it is not as though all this talk of danger were fantastical. There is already an enemy of Turkey in the far distant country which the hostile fleet has cut off from Constantinople. His name is Seid Idris, he commands a number of native troops, and he is become a subsidised ally of Italy.

Seid Idris is a Muhammadan, but his religion sits lightly on him. He might therefore be tempted by the Italians to seize Mecca "in the interests of Islam," as he and they understand them. But I must confess that even if he were, and if he yielded to the temptation, I should not anticipate momentous results from it. His rival, the Inam Yahya (who has made peace with the Porte, and is now receiving £1,100 a month from Constantinople), would co-operate with the Turkish troops, easily bar his way, and drive him back. But if Italy herself were to despatch a large and well-provisioned body of her best troops against the Holy Places, the upshot might be different. One could then say that the end of the war is in sight. Italy, however, is not likely to run any such risks. "Bloodless victories," Signor Ciolitti calls for, and the nation will be satisfied with nothing else. Hence, prudence will continue to be regarded by Italy's commanding generals as the better part of valour.

The Turks are wide awake to the peril that hangs over them in Mecca. But they are also aware of how the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb. A Cabinet Council was recently convoked, and the subject brought to its knowledge. The discussion elicited the impossibility of adding to the number of troops so long as the war lasts. Meanwhile, it is possible to set about extending the Hedjaz Railway in the direction of Mecca. And the Cabinet Council resolved that if ever anything was urgent, it is this measure of defence. The line must be made. There must be no delay. This very year 100 kilometres of it must and shall be constructed at all costs. This line will enable the Government to convey soldiers to within a reasonable distance of the Holy Places, and to dread no surprises there. Meanwhile, Mecca is in danger because until the railway is built, Turkey could not succour the troops there if they were attacked.

Other troubles in the interior of Turkey of a sufficiently grave character to affect the war materially are improbable. No doubt Albania is a sore spot, and will continue to give trouble and to warrant grave and ever graver misgivings until thorough reforms have been substituted for hollow promises. If the central authorities could take broad views and act in a business-like way all might be well yet. I have had a talk on the subject—a straight talk—with the Minister of the Interior, Hadji Adil Bey, who has just been travelling in the country and ascertaining the wishes of the people. He is a man of common sense and admirable intentions. And if his programme be carried out, the acuteness of the Albanian crisis will have been blunted. If. But in no case will the Albanian difficulty end the war.

To sum up. The Turks will not attempt to injure the Italian warships unless these enter the Dardanelles; the Italians will not face the Turks without the protection of their naval artillery, neither will they attempt to capture Mecca. Consequently, the only other hope of terminating the war lies in exhaustion, financial and moral.

And with that contingency, which may be regarded as the most probable of all, I will deal in another article.

The Daily Telegraph.

Story of an Italian Retreat.

The Cairo correspondent of the Allahabad Pioneer, writing on 3rd June, quotes from the Egyptian Gazette's correspondent in

the Turkish camp at Derna an interesting account of the position there, from which we make the following extracts:—

It would appear that the Italian reports of victorious actions are far from true. The most advanced points of the Italian defences at Derna are but one kilometre (three-fifths of a mile) distant from the sea, and their efforts to protect themselves from the attacks of the Arabs have proved unavailing, for night after night the latter have managed to get into their lines and inflict great injury on them.

By far the most interesting part of the *Gazette's* despatch is in reference to the engagement of 3rd March at Derna. The lie direct is given to the Italian version published by the *Neue Freie Presse*. The correspondent writes:—"According to him (the Vienna reporter) the Italians fought from morning to night with the greatest determination, several times charging the enemy with fixed bayonets, and chasing him from position to position. Now, as a matter of fact up till about noon only our outposts were engaged. . . . the attack begun by the outposts was later developed, and a general attack on that flank was ordered. . . . We saw whole battalions rushing up *en masse* to the support of the enemy's firing line, which was being most effectually kept in check by a handful of Arabs. No advance in the true sense of the word was made throughout the day; they certainly threw out an additional flank firing line, and, of course, its supporting and reserve lines, but they were the only troops who may have been said to have advanced in any direction, and then only to lie down and do nothing at the first opportunity on reaching the danger zone. . . . As for the bayonets, I don't think I saw even the gleam of one the whole day, and no Italian did anything with one I am quite certain. In mid-afternoon they were so hard pressed that a movement rearwards was noticeable, but again receiving reinforcements they stood their ground for a little time, urged on the while by their officers.

"Towards nightfall, or about 5 p.m., the most amazing retreat I have ever imagined could be perpetrated by trained European troops began. The post they had been occupying, and which had been the bone of contention all day, is about a kilometre from their big fortress. Along this route, which appeared to us as a horizon, we could see the Italian troops running in companies, in fours, *en masse*, and *en bloc*, in the utmost disorder towards this nightly shelter. Had we had more troops at our command at the time, that disgraceful retreat would have been converted into such a defeat and utter disaster for the Italians that I doubt if 1,000 men of the division in action would have returned to their walls. The Italian report admits 150 casualties, and adds that the following day hundreds of bodies were found. Bodies, yes; but they do not say that they were Italian bodies, nor do they admit the loss of some 100 rifles thrown away, and, which were that night brought back into camp. The bodies of seven officers were also found by us, but Italian officers. . . . The Italian account also states that hundreds of the enemy were killed. The facts are 31 killed, 55 wounded."

According to this correspondent, during the past few months the Italians have little by little been vacating the advanced posts held by them. The position which was the scene of the fight on 3rd March and which they had been in the habit of holding in the daytime, was definitely abandoned by them at the end of the same month, and since then they have not ventured out of their lines. The Arabs, whilst they admire the Italian officers for their pluck, have the greatest contempt for the soldiers, who appear to be completely demoralised.

The Arab Resistance in Tripoli.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE Italian press is much exercised over an article which Field Marshal von der Goltz published on 29th June in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. The Field Marshal is still in the active service of the German army, and his utterances on that account are regarded in Italy as an unfriendly act involving the responsibility of the German Government. The following are the concluding passages from the article in question, which is entitled "Turkey and Peace":

"Turkish statesmen know as well as the European politicians who try to prove it to them that Turkish interests in Persia, the security of the frontiers in the Balkan Peninsula, the restoration of order in Macedonia and Albania, above all the building up of a good administration and the strengthening and better organisation of the army and navy and the defence against Russia, are more important for the future of the Turks than the possession of Tripoli. Yet they are unable to follow the advice of those who counsel them to yield. Elementary forces are often more powerful than diplomatic wisdom. A surrender would mean the surrender of all respect and authority in the Turks' own country, since neither the Arabs nor even the Turkish masses would realise the inevitableness of such a step and would regard it as a dishonour and shame. Let those who do not share this view try to persuade the masses to look at things differently.

"Nor must we under-rate the intensification which the self-consciousness of the Arabs has undergone in the process of their present resistance to the enemy. . . . This is a new phenomenon and a new achievement. There can be no doubt that the Arab population of Tripoli must now be judged differently from what it appeared but a year ago. It has (morally) gained considerably through the war, and must not be left in the lurch, if but for the reason that it would feel the betrayal now much more acutely than before. This must be borne in mind in all attempts at mediation if the situation is not to be jeopardised but improved by them. Had there been no annexation decree of 5th November 1911, in existence a solution of the quarrel might perhaps have been found in the autonomy of the province, with a native head but under the paramount influence of Italy, accompanied by the recognition of the more ideally than practically important supreme authority of the Sultan, which would have reconciled Moslem pride. This solution is now, however, impossible, and a new one must be found. But that may undoubtedly be best left to time and the two contending parties."

Trading with Tripoli.

(FROM THE "WESTMINSTER GAZETTE" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, June 28.

The *Vossische Zeitung* publishes a despatch from a Tunis resident, who states he has been studying on the spot the organisation for supplying the Turks with food and war material. He says that the organisation is working so successfully that the war may continue for years, even if Turkey formally signs a peace.

The French Government declared that it could not prevent the supplying of the Hinterland of Tripoli with food from the Hinterland of Tunisia, as the Tripolitan tribes were always fed in that way. This trade since the war has increased largely; and the surplus is going to the Turks and Arab combatants. The trade has grown so great that once unknown settlements near the frontier have grown into flourishing trading towns. In particular that is true of Ben Gardan and Meninin. This trade is not concealed. The trade in arms and ammunition is an open secret. Everyone knows the dealers, their business, and when they start. Sometimes arms are despatched in automobiles from the town of Tunis itself; sometimes from Sfax, Gabes, and other coast places. The ammunition and arms caravans sometimes number 4,000 camels. Small Tunisian coast towns, where it was formerly not worthwhile for steamers to call, have now constant traffic. One line of steamers running from Tunis to El Biban, near the frontier, has begun to make a profit for the first time.

In addition, the Turks are beginning to get supplies direct from the Tripoli coast. Since the operations in the Aegean, the coast has been laxly watched. A fortnight ago several guns were landed thus meeting one of the greatest needs of the Turks, who are saving their artillery for the decisive battle they expect when the Italians are weakened.

The smuggling from Tunis is due to the unfriendliness of the Tunisian population and officials to Italians, who are regarded as cheap competitors. The Italian Government is well aware of the smuggling, and accepts it as a painful fact, knowing that no instructions from Paris would put an end to it.

The Italian Prisoners.

The *Berliner Tageblatt* publishes a letter from its correspondent (Herr Max Müller) at Sidi Barrani dealing with the treatment of prisoners. He states that the Arabs kill all Italian prisoners who fall into their hands as an act of revenge for the massacres of the Arabs by the Italians at various times. The Turkish authorities are doing their best to stop this practice and have raised the price for every prisoner brought to them alive from 50 francs to £20 for a common soldier and £40 for an officer.

On one occasion, says the correspondent, at Derna a solitary living prisoner was brought into the camp, whose rifle, moreover, showed that in the course of the preceding action, which lasted several hours, he had not fired a single shot. While the Arabs were discussing this curious phenomenon a Turkish non-commissioned officer went up to the condemned man and, throwing his arms round his body, exclaimed: "You can only shoot this man by shooting me!" The brave act of the Turk had its effect and the prisoner was spared. But such incidents are naturally rare, and in spite of the tempting reward offered by the authorities, the Arabs kill the prisoners without compunction. The correspondent tells of a wounded Italian soldier who was being taken by a Turkish officer to the Red Crescent hospital, and was clubbed to death by a party of Arabs who caught sight of him. Another time, the correspondent relates, an Arab got hold of a wounded Italian and began speaking to him in an admonitory tone: "Ah, you are an Italian! You have at home a large, beautiful country, full of fruit and cattle,

women and children, and everything you want in abundance. And now you have come here to take away from us our land, to steal our fruits and cattle, to carry off as slaves our women and children. But you will not succeed." And with this he gave the prisoner—who naturally had not understood a word of what he said—a blow from which he died.

The correspondent, however, adds that there is no mutilation of bodies or torture of prisoners, as the Italians allege and regards the well-known photographs of crucified Bersaglieri as "clumsy forgeries." He also says that the Italians are doing precisely the same as the Arabs, and at Derna have even hanged regular Turkish soldiers, using as a pretext the fact that the prisoners did not wear uniforms. The correspondent, however, explains that owing to the lack of uniforms the Turkish military authorities have duly introduced certain distinguishing marks and that Enver Bey himself wears no uniform.

The Future in Turkey.

(FROM THE "MORNING POST" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, June 22.

THE word "Europe" has, on the ears of many Ottomans, a menacing sound. It is reminiscent of a historic antagonism. It is symbolic of a power bent on the final destruction of a religious and political organism that at one time seemed capable of blotting out the fair promise of a modern European civilisation. A great deal has been said and written here lately about the Cross and the Crescent, about the Italian war being a phase in the struggle between East and West, between Christianity and Islam. A great many bitter words have been uttered about the perfidy or the cynical indifference of the Great Powers, and it has been frequently assumed that Europe as a whole is by its very nature hostile to Turkey and to all that Turkey represents. There has been a tendency to lean back in consequence on Oriental tradition, and to call to mind the solidarity of Islam. Yet, at the same time, the sense of an indissoluble connection between Turkey and Europe has been growing. The feeling that the only way to evade the European menace is to adopt European principles of government has gained in strength. And this feeling predominates at present over all feelings of resentment against Europe, is perhaps stimulated by them. One hears far less now of general phrases about Islamic solidarity, about Ottomanism or any of the other "isms" with which national feeling has been stimulated. Patriotism is still strong, but it is less Chauvinistic in character. It is chastened. It looks to Europe with anxiety and with foreboding, but also with expectancy.

During the last fortnight the Turkish Press has been discussing the relations between Turkey and Europe, the question of alliances, and more especially the question of relations with England. The *Tanin* and the *Sabah*, reviewing the various suggestions that have been made for an alliance with one or other of the European groups of Powers, come to rather mournful conclusions. They point out that the question of an alliance would in any case be difficult to solve. Turkey would hardly ally herself with the group that includes Italy, and on the other hand, it would be very difficult for her, in view of Russia's present attitude, to enter into a combination which included the Muscovite Empire. But, adds the *Tanin*, there is one circumstance that for the moment effectually disposes of the question of an alliance, and that is that neither group has any use for Turkey, for in her present condition she would not be a help to, but a drag on, any Power with which she might be allied. The prosaic and humbling conclusion is that Turkey must set herself very diligently and very seriously to the work of reform.

This train of reasoning is not mere beating of the air. It is closely connected with a strong Anglophile tendency that has been manifesting itself lately in various forms. The origin of this tendency it is not easy to determine. Perhaps it has always existed, but was obscured for a year or two by a temporary revival of German influence. The Italian attack on Tripoli was a serious blow to German influence in Turkey, and a renewal of sympathy for England was in the circumstances only a question of time. The attitude taken up by the British Government on the occasion of the closure of the Dardanelles gave the very liveliest satisfaction in Constantinople, and every hint of goodwill towards Turkey contained in English public utterances is now seized upon with eager gratitude. The importance to Turkey of English support is keenly realised. England, at any rate, seems to be the most disinterested of all the European Powers, whose tortuous movements, whose cryptic utterances are now a matter of grave concern to the Ottoman Empire. The friendship of England is accordingly the most valuable at the present juncture. Observation shows that English sympathy for Turkey has declined because the promise of reform has not been fulfilled. Clearly, therefore, the only way to win back English sympathy is to make haste with reform, and, as the *Tanin* urges, the most effective proof that the Young Turkish Government can give of its earnestness in the work of reform is to invite the aid of foreign

advisers. And there the question stands at present, as far as practical proposals are concerned.

That a warm feeling of goodwill for England exists is evident at every turn. Civilians have throughout been friendly towards England, but military men, under the influence of German training, have hitherto inclined towards Germany, and although the collapse of the Hamidian *regime* injured German prestige, the fact that military men played the leading part in the Revolution made possible a continuation of German influence, even under the new *regime*. It is, as has been pointed out, the Tripolitan War that has thrust German influence, for the time being, into the background and has allowed Anglophile sentiment full play. England is, in fact, so popular at the present moment that, as one Young Turkish leader remarked, she has only to give the sign, and she could have her way in Turkey. It is the moral prestige of England that is influencing Turkey now. It is the name of England, as representing a tradition of civilisation, liberty, and justice, that is now so popular. And that is why this pro-English sentiment is so closely bound up with that keen consciousness of the urgent necessity for reform which has found expression in the articles of the *Tanin* and other papers.

It must be admitted that Turks know comparatively little about England, and one finds remarkably few traces of direct English influence in Turkish public life. There exist many translations of French novels and poems, and French literature has powerfully influenced the newer Turkish literature. English literature is hardly known. A few of Shakespeare's plays have been translated by Abdullah Jevdet Bey—not directly from English, but on the basis of French and German versions—and "Hamlet" was recently performed by a Turkish theatrical company. English influence is very clearly to be discerned in the novels and stories of Halide Hamun, who received her education in the American Girls' College at Scutari. The *Hakk* is now publishing a series of articles on English poets by Mehmed Rauf Bey, a naval officer and a well-known novelist. One or two newspapers have correspondents in London who occasionally write articles descriptive of English political and social life. A knowledge of the English language is not widely disseminated amongst the Turks as it is, for instance, among the Armenians. English is not taught in the Government High Schools, but there is an English lecturer in the University, whose classes are, I believe, well attended. English is also taught in the Naval College at Halki, and a number of the cadets speak the language fairly well. But, on the whole, it may be said that in Turkey a beginning has barely been made in the study of English literature and civilisation.

Yet English influence is strong, and might easily be made much stronger. It rests on a firm traditional basis. It draws nourishment from memories of the aid given by England to Turkey, during the last century, and from the circumstance that the idea of a Turkish Constitution was brought by Reshid Pasha from England, and by him transmitted to Midhat Pasha. Moreover, Turks have received a favourable impression of the general fair dealing of Englishmen in the Near East. If the Turks do not know England and English civilisation as a whole, they, at any rate, know Englishmen, and perhaps that is why the *Tanin* intimates, in hardly veiled terms, a desire that the specialists to be invited to aid in the work of reform should be first and foremost Englishmen.

Interview with a Leader.

(FROM THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE.")

July 4.

THE latest news received from Turkey shows that the military movement which originated at Monastir is seriously threatening the continuation in power of the Committee of Union and Progress. Ismail Kemal Bey, the Albanian leader, who in the time of Abdul Hamid was Governor of Tripoli, and during the last few years has vigorously opposed the Jacobinism of the new *regime*, is at present in London, and we are indebted to him for the following details of the origin and the aims of the revolt now in progress:—

The cause of the whole trouble is to be found in the political conceptions of the Committee. Up to the present time Turkey has been a confederation of communities and groups, each of them having a strong individuality of itself, either ethnically, nationally, or religiously, and being at liberty to develop its particular character under the supremacy and leading of Othman's successors. Brought up in the tradition of Western Radicalism, the men of the new *regime* have started with the idea of absorbing into a highly centralised State all those particularisms. They have only succeeded in breaking up the Empire, since they are severing the bond of tradition and common interest that holds together the different pieces of the fabric.

Among the groups within Turkey, none is more fond of its ancient privileges than the Albanian. With Abdul Hamid, who,

as a rule, was very careful not to interfere with the interests of the national and religious bodies in his dominions, they were real favourites. The change has been all the more unbearable for them, since from Constantinople so-called reforms have been pressed upon them: the taking of a census, the imposition of new taxes, the establishment of a sort of compulsory service, as a consequence of which they have been sent at times to far distant Arabia, the destruction of the kulchs, or fortified houses, and so forth.

Having opposed the new policy, they have been made the victims of three punitive expeditions during the last three years. Repressive laws have been passed, such as the law of 1909, whereby it is stipulated (Art. 30) that "if a band, after having attacked either the regular army or a section of the population, enters a village, the cottagers are bound to report to the authorities. Failing that, they become individually liable to a fine from £10 to £100." Art. 31 enacts that every family of which a member has joined a band shall be sent into exile. Such is the situation.

There are no regular means in existence for obtaining redress. Parliamentary elections have become a farce. In the former Chamber an Opposition group of about sixty was to be found. As a result of the last elections—they have taken place in many districts under martial law—this has been annihilated. The recent tour of inspection undertaken through Macedonia and Albania by Hadji Halil Bey, the Home Secretary, was hailed as pointing to the adoption of a more friendly policy. The outcome has been sadly disappointing. To the Albanians nothing has been offered beyond new military roads, Turkish schools, and the formation of 280 bodies of gendarmes.

To-day, with a view to retaining European sympathies while changing nothing in their drastic methods, the Turkish ministers are taking steps to secure the appointment of a distinguished English official—Mr. Robert Graves—as Inspector-General in Macedonia. The significance of this will be clear to all who remember that the present *regime* owes its very existence to the protestation that arose in Turkey when the Anglo-Russian programme, including among other items the appointment of a foreigner as Inspector-General, was made known. It amounts to a plain avowal of failure.

The only way left open is the way of battle. The Albanians, up till now divided between themselves and separated in rival clans, have united in face of the common foe. They will not disarm before a measure of large provincial autonomy allowing of their development on national lines has been conceded to them. Their programme was drafted in June, 1911, at a great assembly of leaders that gathered at Gertche. There is no question of a secession from Turkey, and Ismail Kemal Bey wants the point to be strongly emphasised. He goes even so far as to consider that the Albanian nation has a safer future before it if it continues inside the Empire than if it is left outside, exposed to the danger of European competition. However, by the Gertche programme the Albanians will stand and fall. In a few days' time important decisions will be taken by representatives of Northern and Southern Albania, who will gather at Cettinge and Corfu respectively.

What raises hope at the present time is that around them are rallying all the victims of the present *regime*, and that the array is more and more adopting a sympathetic attitude. About two months ago sixteen Albanian officers belonging to the garrison of Constantinople started a league of which every member has sworn not to take part in any campaign directed against the Albanians and their just claims. From the fact that a few days ago Abdullah Roba Pasha, who holds command over 40,000 men at Smyrna, refused to obey the orders to go to Albania wired from Constantinople it appears that the sixteen officers' league has wonderfully extended its branches.

The fact ought not to be wondered at. For a long time dissatisfaction has been rife in the army. Following upon the abortive counter-resolution of April, 1909, the Young Turks have dismissed from the army every officer suspected of being hostile to the Committee, trying at the same time to soothe them by granting a pension of a higher amount than the pay they were in receipt of for active service. On another hand, the truth about the state of the military preparations in Tripoli at the time of the Italian attack is spreading at last. It is known that the garrison in the vilayet was 480 strong, whereas in the time of the ex-Sultan it was never less than 20,000 men.

It is known that in spite of the numerous petitions sent to Parliament from Tripoli itself the compulsory service law has never been carried out in Africa. It is known, too, that, when the blow came, a chief accountant was acting as general governor and a major was in command of the troops. In short, the vilayet had been practically evacuated. All those facts are drawn from the report drafted by the acting Governor himself and handed by him on his arrival at Malta to the Ottoman Consul there.

All these details account for the military revolt that has originated at Monastir. Captain Teyar Bey, the leader, it may be noted, was serving with the Salonika Rifles in 1909, and revolted with them against the Committee. That detail is sufficient by itself to put the situation in its true light.

The Dardanelles Raid.

THE raid perpetrated by Italian torpedo boats, though it has been hailed with delirious exultation in the Italian newspapers, will not advance the reputation of Italy as a combatant. It is beyond dispute that the Turkish Government, after closing the Dardanelles, opened the straits in deference to the wishes of the Powers, whose trade was put to great inconvenience. To take advantage of this concession on the part of the Porte can scarcely be regarded as a chivalrous proceeding, and it is difficult to understand on what grounds the Italian journals declare that the persons who thus violated the comity of nations are heroes who "have written the most glorious page in the naval history of the world." The Italian press should reserve some epithets for their first bit of real naval warfare, which has still to come. Meanwhile the Powers are bound to take some notice of the extraordinary behaviour of Italy, which has placed them in a false position.—*The Statesman*.

One regrets the lack of a certain amount of the sporting spirit in the Italians. Up to now the Turks have generally allowed the invaders in Tripoli and elsewhere to report the killing of several hundred defenders with comparatively no losses on their side without publishing a series of contradictions. When the Ottomans got in first with the news of the raid on the Dardanelles and the sinking of two torpedo boats, the Italians might have permitted them that little victory. But no; they vigorously deny any damage to their vessels and also cast reflections upon the bad marksmanship of their foes. The good effect of the latter portion of the message is, however, rather lost when one realises that the Italian Commander practically confesses that it was by good luck rather than anything else that his squadron escaped. It appears that the "No Change" war has not yet exhausted its possibilities of amusement for the world at large.—*The Empire*.

The Mediterranean.

MR. LUCIEN WOLF, writing in the *Daily Graphic*, says:—The conclusions arrived at by the Prime Minister and the First Lord during their cruise of investigation in the Mediterranean a month ago are still an impenetrable secret. Lord Cromer last week in his otherwise very enigmatic speech in the House of Lords gave us a broad hint that something would be done to secure British interests. Whether that "something" will take an exclusively diplomatic or naval form or that of a combination of both cannot yet be stated. So much, however, may be averred—the question on its diplomatic side has been very fully considered by the Foreign Office, and it has already been decided to take steps for the negotiation of a new *status quo* agreement to which it is intended that Great Britain, France and Italy shall be parties. The scheme originated in Paris, and was under discussion even before Mr. Asquith and Mr. Winston Churchill returned from Malta, I believe, indeed, that I am correct in stating that it was settled in principle between Sir Edward Grey and M. Cambon on 5th June. Later on the opinion of the Cabinet was taken, and, this proving favourable, the necessary instructions were given to our Ambassador in Rome to bring the matter to the notice of the Italian Government.

As the proposals now stand the *status quo* to which they relate comprises the recognition of the Italian annexation of Tripoli, but excludes any further territorial changes, such as for example, the alienation from Turkey of the Aegean Islands even in a modified form. But, of course, it cannot take effect until Italy has obtained a legal right to Tripoli through the consent of the Ottoman Government. The reason why the negotiations have been set on foot now is that it is feared that unless the chief Mediterranean Powers come to an early agreement with Italy he may be compelled to look elsewhere for support, and in that case the result may be that new elements of a necessarily disturbing nature would be introduced into the Mediterranean problem.

During the last twenty-five years we have had two such agreements, and they have both proved useless. One was negotiated with Italy in 1887 and was virtually repudiated by her in 1901. The other, signed in 1907, was a triangular arrangement between ourselves and Spain on the one hand and France and Spain on the other, and lasted rather less than four years.

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The Week.

The Ministry.

THE *Times* of August 5th states that there is reason to believe that changes in the Ministry are pending, involving a by-election in Scotland. The rumours that the Master of Elibank is relinquishing his duties have been revived. It is possible that Lord Gladstone, who has just arrived in England, may not return to South Africa.

The alleged impending changes in the Cabinet are the chief topic of conversation. The changes are said to be based on two certainties, namely, the retirement of Lord Morley and the return of Lord Gladstone to England. It is also believed that Lord Crewe is feeling the strain of the India Office and it would cause no surprise if he succeeded Lord Morley, while the name of the Master of Elibank is coupled with the Governor-Generalship of South Africa. Other reports are that Mr. Birrell will go to the Lords with a less exacting post, and that Mr. Herbert Samuel will succeed to the Irish Secretaryship.

Reuter's Agency is authorised to say that there is no foundation for the rumours in the press with regard to the Master of Elibank. The Colonial Office denies the report of the resignation of Lord Gladstone, who, it is stated, intends to return to South Africa in October. Mr. Birrell likewise has issued a denial of the rumour in connection with himself.

However, in spite of these denials Cabinet changes are undoubtedly expected prior to the meeting of Parliament in October, but a definite announcement will probably be deferred until after the holiday's. The papers of August 6th are busy Cabinet-making. They concur that the Master of Elibank will shortly be promoted and that Lord Morley will remain till the Home Rule Bill has been passed. The *Daily Chronicle* states that the Master of Elibank will succeed Lord Crewe, who may become Lord Privy Seal. The *Daily News* says that Earl Beauchamp may become Secretary of State for India.

It is officially stated on August 7th that the Master of Elibank has been raised to the Peerage and that Mr. Illingworth will succeed him.

In a letter to his constituents the Master of Elibank regrets his resignation but says that relaxation is imperative after the strain of recent years. The cause of Liberalism, he continues, is nearest his heart and his retirement from the position of Whip is not due to difference on any part of the policy of the party for which he will continue to work.

The *Times* says there is a very general feeling that the Master of Elibank's gifts should be utilised in an Ambassadorship.

The Master of Elibank has become Managing Director of Messrs. Weetman Pearson, Limited.

Franco-Russian Alliance.

M. POINCARÉ, the French Premier, starts for Russia on the 4th instant.

It is announced in Paris that there have been conversations between the chiefs of the French and the Russian staffs with the object of placing on a more precise basis the Military Convention of 1892, by extending it to the Navy in view of the modified naval situation.

The French newspapers applaud the conclusion of the naval convention with Russia, regarding it as a natural corollary of the existing military convention. They recognise that it cannot become operative for some time, inasmuch as the Russian fleet is still in the course of construction. They insist that it will conduce to the interests of peace.

Consequent on the Franco-Russian Naval Convention which has recently formed the subject of conversations between the French and Russian staffs rumour is crystallising into the speculation as to how it affects the Mediterranean and whether it provides for the co-operation of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in certain eventualities.

The Austrian press discusses the possibility of the establishment of Russian, French, and Italian naval bases in the *Ægean* in which case Austria would certainly submit a similar claim.

The *Times* correspondent in Paris says that there are good reasons for believing that exchange of views between the British and French naval authorities preceded the conclusion of the Convention.

China.

Reuter wires from Peking on August 4th :—China has agreed to the Russian demands for compensation in the case of the killing of Said Effendi, a Russian Mussulman in Khotan. The Prefect and Magistrate have been dismissed and an officer will be responsible for the trial in open court. The Russian Consul at Kashgar and local officials will fix the amount of the compensation.

Dr. Morrison, says the *Times* correspondent in Peking, has accepted the post of Political Adviser to the President of the Chinese Republic for a period of five years. He begins his duties in October.

Afghanistan.

A deputation of tribal headmen from the Khost Valley is proceeding to Kabul to receive from the Amir a "firman" confirming the settlement recently made by General Nadir Khan with Mangal and Ghilzai Maliks. It is reported from Peshawar that the annual visit of certain Afridi jirgahs to Kabul will take place this month.

With a view to securing a line of communication between Logar and Khost the Amir has ordered a chain of posts to be established and reserved supplies to be placed in them. This will facilitate the movement of troops from Kabul in case of trouble at any future time with the Mangals and other local tribesmen.

Mr. Montagu.

At a meeting at Cambridge, on August 3rd Mr. Montagu confirmed the report that he would visit India for the opening of the new Council.

MR. MONTAGU, accompanied by his brother Lionel, embarks on the *Malaja* on the 4th. October. He will proceed to Delhi, after which the brothers will tour through all parts of India. They will probably spend Christmas as the guests of the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. They will visit Burma and leave for England early in February. The tour will be entirely unofficial.

Indian Council Chamber.

In the House of Commons, on the 7th August, Captain Arthur Murray complained that the Imperial Legislative Council in India would not have its own building in New Delhi but would be obliged to meet in the wing of the Viceroy's building.

Mr. Montagu replied that though under the same roof, the rooms of the Legislative Council would be completely separated from the Viceroy's residence.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

THE *Times* of August 2nd, discussing the Indian Budget statement, which it generally approves, suggests that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's appointment to the Indian Public Services Commission be reconsidered. The paper strongly condemns the appointment of Mr. Mallet as Secretary for Indian students which it regards as an indefensible departure, as was the appointment of Mr. Clark, from the principles usually supposed to govern the choice of public servants.

The *Times* of August 3rd publishes prominently a letter signed "Imperialist," drawing attention to the remarks made by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in the discussion on the Indian Budget about persons who went to India and got sun-baked and were not good for anything, although they thought they knew everything. They reproduced in the end all the vices of the Western and Oriental worlds, and showed very few of the virtues of either. "Imperialist" says these remarks applied to His Majesty's public servants in India, and asks whether Mr. Macdonald is a proper person to hold a place on the Indian Commission.

The *Daily Chronicle* of August 3rd strongly resents what it describes as "the unwarrantable attack" on Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in the *Times*, especially the suggestion that his appointment to the Indian Committee should be reconsidered. The paper criticises "Imperialist's" anonymity, and says it is gross unfairness to detach a single sentence from a long and able speech. It says that Mr. Macdonald did not cover the whole Civil Service in the sentence quoted; but anyhow Mr. Macdonald has closely studied perplexing problems in India and is fully entitled to express his opinions. The paper concludes that the public at large certainly regards the inclusion of a Labour member both as justified and necessary.

Mr. Asquith in reply to Sir Henry Craik in the House of Commons, on the 6th August, said that he declined to reconsider Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's appointment to the Indian Commission. He said he was convinced that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, like the rest of his colleagues, would not fail to show the necessary impartiality.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald hereupon rose to make an explanation of the speech which he made during the debate on the Indian Budget. He complained that a wrong construction had been placed on his remarks with regard to the "persons who went to India and got sun-baked," etc. He said he did not intend these remarks to apply to the Service generally but only to individuals. He believed that his written fair criticisms were not resented by the Service. He had always endorsed the just praise of the Service.

Public Service Commission.

No appointment as co-opted members to the Islington Commission had been made up to August 5th.

A similar experiment was made with the last Police Commission and some of the co-opted members, prominent among them Sir Robert Carlyle did useful work. As soon as the Secretary's appointment is settled the preliminary arrangement will begin and possibly each department will take steps to do some spade work for the Commission in which the members who are in India, particularly Mr. Sly, can co-operate as was done by Sir William Meyer for the Decentralisation Commission.

The United Provinces Congress Committee have appointed a Sub-Committee to draw up a representation to be submitted to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy expressing their disappointment at the constitution of the Public Service Commission, and in the meanwhile have sent a cable to Lord Crewe on the subject praying for the appointment of at least two more Congress members.

It is understood that the Royal Commission on Indian Services will begin its sittings in next January and will leave for England in April and then return to India in the following cold weather.

The Khan of Hoti.

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT in the House of Commons on the 6th August put a series of questions with reference to the Khan of Hoti Mardan.

Mr. Montagu replied that Lord Crewe was presenting papers from the Government of India immediately. He said that apart from the Khan's guilt or innocence, Lord Crewe fully concurred with the Government of India in thinking that the *prima facie* evidence in the case justified the action of the North-West Province authorities in arresting the Khan, who, he declared, was treated with all possible consideration. Lord Crewe had satisfied himself that the allegations against Sir George Roos-Keppel were absolutely baseless. The various earlier incidents connected with the Khan had no connection whatever with his arrest and trial.

Mr. MacCallum Scott persisted in making references to the matter defying the Speaker's summons to sit down. He was thereupon suspended for the remainder of the session, including the autumn.

In the House of Commons a statement by Mr. MacCallum Scott was read on the 7th August unreservedly regretting his disrespect towards the Speaker who accepted the apology. Mr. Asquith intimated that he would move that the suspension be rescinded when Parliament re-assembled.

Indian Educational Service.

The following *communiqué* was issued by the Education Department on August 6th:—The Government of India had last year decided to address the Secretary of State regarding the pay and prospects of the Indian and Provincial Educational Services. In view of the probability of the formation of a Royal Commission on the public services in India the communications were delayed. Pending the results of the Commission's enquiries no further action is possible.

The London Moslem League.

The annual report of the All India Moslem League at London was presented at a general meeting on the 9th August. It says that the course of events in Tripoli and Persia implying pressure of strong nations on weak, European or Asiatic, is doing a great deal to create a solidarity of interest and sentiment among the different nationalities of India.

Fresh efforts for a Hindu-Moslem *modus vivendi* should be made and the report suggests the formation of a representative joint board at which questions affecting the general interests of the country be discussed and afterwards placed before representative associations. It suggests also the interchange of delegates between the Congress and the League as a means of educating people gradually to fuller co-operation. The success of the scheme depends not merely upon the spirit of amity and toleration on both sides but also on the full recognition of the principle of co-ordination.

The report suggests a mutual and purely voluntary arrangement for avoiding where Muhammadans are in a minority the sacrifice of kine out of regard for Hindu sentiment and the substitution of goats and sheep, Hindus on their part abandoning the proscription and disparagement of the Urdu language, and allowing Muhammadans peaceably to enjoy the constitutional privileges accorded to them and the participation on equal terms of the benefits of the British Rule.

Presiding at the meeting of the Moslem League at London on the 7th August Mr. Ameer Ali, referring to Lord Macdonnell's criticisms, said Moslem organisations were much less exotic than many similar bodies. They came into existence without outside impulse and worked without outside inspiration. He strongly

depreciated the attack on Indian civilians, who were loyally devoted to their duty and sympathetic to the people. If the commission evolved a system attaching less importance to examinalational aptitude than to training, decision of character and breeding, it would do real good.

The Hon. Mr. Sarbadhikary, seconding the report, said that after the extension of the right hand of fellowship to Hindus as demonstrated in the Report, it would be unpardonable if progress were not made towards mutual good-will and co-operation.

Mr. Harold Cox said that the most important work of the League for many years would be in London in forming and influencing public opinion.

Haj Pilgrims.

THE following Press *communiqué* is issued by the Punjab Government on the 8th August:—All pilgrims proceeding to the Hedjaz are advised to purchase their passages to Jeddah at the port of embarkation through a broker licensed by Government and *not* through an unauthorised broker who may take advantage of a pilgrim's ignorance. As all licensed brokers are subjected to certain rules and to the supervision of Government officers, pilgrims applying to them can be certain of benefitting to the fullest extent by the reductions to which the rates for passages to Jeddah are liable owing to the competition of rival steamship companies engaged in the pilgrim traffic. The benefit of these fluctuations is likely to be lost to pilgrims who are induced possibly by entirely misleading announcements to purchase their passages from a single agency in advance and at a centre remote from the play of competition. Pilgrims are further advised that the only recognized protectors of pilgrims are the officers appointed by Government at the ports of Bombay and Karachi.

Moslem Education.

DELEGATES from important cities in the Deccan were present at the Islamia School where the annual Muhammadan Educational Conference began on the 7th August. His Excellency Sir George Clarke opened the Conference and a number of European gentlemen including the Hon. Mr. Claud Hill, General Sir Arthur Barratt, the Hon. Mr. Prior and Mr. Justice Shah Din of the Punjab Chief Court were present.

The Hon. Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, Secretary to the Conference, in welcoming His Excellency said this was their fourth Conference the objects of which were first, to bring together annually the wise heads of their community to take counsel together regarding Muhammadan education; and, secondly, to bring to the notice of the Government the educational requirements of their community. He trusted the presence of so many distinguished statesmen there that day was an earnest of the sympathy of Government with the cause of Muhammadan education.

His Excellency Sir George Clarke in addressing the Conference said, he noted with pleasure that the Muhammadan community had made notable advances during the four years he had been in India. There had been a visible awakening to the needs of education which should lead in the direction they wished to move and they possessed a Moslem organisation which, if directed consistently on sound lines, must go far in uplifting the Muhammadans of India and winning for them their rightful place in the nation that is still to be born. From his point of view the awakening of the spirit of a new life was of infinitely greater importance than anything which Government had done or could have done for them. What had Government done for the Parsis but given them law and order where chaos once reigned? The moral was plain for them to read. If the Muhammadans had dropped back in the race they could regain all and more than they had lost by adapting themselves to the age. This Conference was a favourable omen. His Excellency spoke of the efforts to establish a Muhammadan University and of the munificent contributions of Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim to the Royal Institute of Science and his thoughtful provision for special scholarships which would prove of immense value to Muhammadan students. His Excellency strongly advised his hearers to have nothing to do with compulsion at the present premature stage in the development of education and concluded with words of well-meant advice.

Mr. Justice Shah Din after the departure of His Excellency delivered his presidential address.

The Muhammadan Educational Conference, Mr. Justice Shah Din presiding, passed resolutions on August 8th urging, (1) extension of education amongst girls; (2) raising the Poona camp school to the status of a high school; (3) establishment of a separate Government inspecting agency under an educational Inspector for Urdu Schools in the divisions of the Bombay Presidency not so provided; (4) establishment of an Urdu Training College for the Bombay Presidency; (5) allowing all first grade Urdu schools to teach English up to the third standard; (6) increasing the number of Muhammadan members of the Text-Book Committee and (7) prescription of an Urdu course for all Middle High Schools with Urdu teachers.

TETE À TETE



REUTER'S messages from Constantinople, though not sufficiently clear, disclose, nevertheless, a very grave and disquieting state of affairs in Turkey. Until we get more detailed and authentic information, it is obviously difficult to gauge

The Situation in Turkey.

the trend of events and estimate the strength of the rival forces that render the situation so full of peril. As we noted in our survey of the situation a fortnight ago, the new Ministry has begun its career with a decisive and radical change of aim and policy. The fact was bound to react on the internal situation. Albania is still unpacified; Bulgar bands are active again with fresh virulence; disturbing incidents have occurred on the Montenegrin frontier; Bulgaria is growing bellicose; Parliament has been dissolved; and a state of siege has again been proclaimed in Constantinople. The Government seems to be pursuing a campaign of active hostility against the Committee of Union and Progress. This is very unfortunate. The Committee is the most powerful and, with all its faults, the most patriotic and active organisation in the country. Any attempt to break its power would inevitably lead to a bitter war of faction and imperil the safety of the Empire. We trust, however, the sense of responsibility and patriotism of the Government will help it to speedily rise above petty personal rivalries and antagonism of aim and method and restore peace, order, and harmony in the affairs of the Empire. The internal crisis is grave; the foreign situation is full of menace. The task of Ottoman statesmanship was never heavier than it is to-day. The whole Islamic world is watching the disquieting events with deep anxiety and concern. We believe the Ottoman statesmen realise their responsibilities and will make every needful effort and sacrifice to close their ranks and achieve a unity of aim and purpose and present a united front to the enemy who has twice knocked at the gates of the capital. The situation, though grave, is by no means hopeless or irremediable. There is no reason to believe all what the alarmist telegrams portend and there is no occasion for despair. Such crises are by no means uncommon in the affairs of a State undergoing constitutional adjustment and reconstruction. The outlook would have indeed been hopeless if the Turkish leaders were men lacking in patriotism, grit, and resolution. We shall deal with the whole subject later on when the situation clears a little and the contending forces emerge in feature and outline.

We are extremely gratified to find that the Government of India

The Moslem Education Cess Bill.

has declared its approval of the principles of the Bill which the Hon. Mr. Bhurgri introduced, some time ago, in the Bombay Legislative Council for the levying of a cess for the promotion of Moslem education in Sind. We believe this is the first occasion on which a section of the Indian people has voluntarily come forward with a proposal for being taxed for its educational needs. We are in perfect sympathy with the Sind Moslems in the commendable attempts they are making to realise their aspirations for intellectual and moral progress, and we wish them the fullest measure of success. The Hon. Mr. Bhurgri, in introducing the Bill, made out a very strong case for the measure. The statistics bearing on the state of Moslem education in Sind reveal a state of affairs which should be immediately remedied. It is to be deeply regretted that in a province where they represent more than 75 per cent. of the population, the Mussalmans should be the most backward community "in all departments of social and political life and in all the arts and activities of civilisation." We are in perfect agreement with Mr. Bhurgri in thinking that "the main reason for this is the Mussalman's lack of education." It is this educational backwardness which is responsible not only for "that lack of initiative and stolid, fatuous conservatism"

which gives birth to "a positive hostility of the Muhammadans to modern methods and implements in agriculture," but also for "the hopeless thriftlessness and improvidence which places them at the mercy of rapacious money lenders." In reviewing the present condition of Moslem education in Sind, Mr. Bhurgri first deplored the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the mektebs which absorbed a considerable portion of the Moslem children of school going age. He quoted the opinion of an educational inspector to prove that these mektebs were "a fraudulent farce" which tended to "no mental, moral or physical development" and in which nothing was taught beyond an unintelligent memorising of the Koran. The students "could not even sign their own names." The Hon. Mr. Bhurgri, again, quoted statistics to prove the frightful backwardness of the Moslems in primary education and showed that the actual number of Moslem boys in primary schools was only from 29 to 34 per cent. As regards the secondary education, the state of things was "even more deplorable." In higher education the Mussalmans approach an almost vanishing point, for "with a population of over 2½ millions in Sind there are to be found in that province hardly more than a dozen and a half Muhammadan graduates." Mr. Bhurgri attributed this great educational backwardness to the fact that the Muhammadans, the bulk of whom were agriculturists living in distant villages, were unable to attend the educational institutions, which were "few and far between," and that the majority of them were too poor to pay the heavy tuition fees and the expenses "of making special arrangements for board and lodging in far off educational centres." Self-taxation was, under attendant circumstances, the only possible remedy. The Hon. Mr. Bhurgri assured the Council that the Sind Moslems had welcomed the Bill with alacrity. It was circulated to 4,000 landholders, and their verdict was almost unanimously "in favour of the measure." The main object of the Bill is to provide an annual recurring revenue of Rs. 1,25,000 by "empowering the Government to levy on all Sind Mussalman landholders a cess of a quarter of an anna on every rupee assessable to ordinary land revenue." The ordinary official machinery for the realisation of the land revenue is to be utilised in the collection of this cess; and the cost of collection, which would else be prohibitive, is to be thus avoided. The recurring revenue thus realised is to be used for "creating a sufficient number of scholarships for secondary and higher education, for opening new primary and secondary schools where urgently required, for improving the mektebs and bringing them up to the standard which the Government schools maintain, for introducing elementary instruction in agricultural subjects, for providing hostels wherever there are efficient Government and private schools and for making arrangements for religious instruction in them." The objects set forth above are worthy of all sacrifice and endeavour. Every sincere well-wisher of the community will rejoice at the admirable example of self-help shown by the Sind Moslems and will be thankful to the Government for accepting the principles of the Bill. We have, however, observed with surprise, not unmixed with amusement, that the "nationalist" press has been actively opposing the passage of this Bill into Law. We fail to see how the efforts of the Sind Moslems for self-amelioration can be hurtful to "nationalist" aspirations, unless, indeed, an ignorant and helpless Moslem community is necessary for the growth of swaraj. Our only consolation is that the objects of the Bill are absolutely harmless and beneficial and cannot be easily covered by the facile cry of "separatism."

IN AN earlier issue we had noted with satisfaction that H. H. the Aga Khan and the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali were taking the necessary steps to establish Red Crescent Society as a permanent institution and secure for it the recognition of the Hague Tribunal. It may be noted in this connection that the All-India Moslem League had some time ago passed a resolution on the subject. The League had requested Mr. Ameer Ali "to take measures for the establishment of the British Red Crescent Society as a permanent institution, thus ensuring its recognition by the Hague Tribunal." We trust the Provincial Leagues will also express their views on the matter at an early date and submit them for information to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The ultimate success of the plan depends on the active sympathy and help of the British Foreign Office. We have every reason to think that Sir Edward Grey will gladly render assistance in the attainment of an object so obviously beneficent and humane.

THE Secretary of the Moslem University Constitution Committee has, it seems, hit upon the convenient method of issuing occasional bulletins to justify his inactivity. The community has been waiting for months past to know what sort of Regulations and Bye-Laws have been framed by the Constitution Committee. The Secretary takes a number of vernacular papers into his confidence every fortnight and elaborately explains why the draft Regulations and Bye-Laws have not been published. The latest bulletin seems to make a grievance of the insistent public demand, and the Secretary protests innocence almost with a groan. He seems to say:—"I have prepared the draft Regulations. They are

so far incomplete because the Bye-Laws have not yet been framed. How cruel, therefore, to blame me for the delay for which the Bye-Laws Sub-Committee alone is responsible." Very true and very reasonable! Only the Mussalmans must still remain in ignorance of what the constitution of their university is to be. The spectacle of pots accusing pans may be a not unedifying relief to a whole community weary of waiting in the dark. Perhaps another ukase of the Education Department is needed to move the officials of the Constitution Committee out of their ruts.

WE ARE glad to note that the Mussalmans of India are making steady and continuous efforts to send material help to their suffering brethren in Tripoli. Moslem sympathy for the victims of the Italian aggression is widespread in this country, and contributions to the Relief Fund are being collected even in distant villages and out-of-the-way places. Only recently the "Imam" of a small village mosque in the United Provinces raised some money from amongst the small Moslem community of his place and sent it to the Imperial Ottoman Ambassador in London. In acknowledgment of this act of sympathy the Imam has received the following letter from the Counsellor of the Embassy:—"I beg to acknowledge receipt of a money-order for four pounds eight shillings and eight pence enclosed in your letter of 25th June and to present to you and the other Muslim contributors the sincere thanks of the Imperial Ottoman Government for their generous donation, which will be sent at once to our suffering brothers in Africa. The Ambassador has asked me to convey to you the great satisfaction he has felt at this fresh proof of the deep attachment of our Muslim brethren of India to the Caliphate and the cause of Islam."

WE PUBLISHED in our last issue a letter from a correspondent in Ajmere-Merwara, complaining of the treatment which is being meted out to the Moslems of the province in the matter of their representation in the public services. The correspondent has shown by a comparison of actual figures that the Mussalmans do not receive their fair share of public appointments. Surely, things must be in a rather bad way when out of 40 appointments with salaries ranging from Rs. 600 to Rs. 600 per mensem, the Mussalmans hold only three posts in the lowest grades. Representations have been repeatedly made, but nothing tangible seems to have so far resulted from them. We understand the Judicial Department of the province is about to be re-organised. We trust the provincial authorities will make some effort to redress the balance and remove the just grievances of the Mussalmans. The existing state of affairs is obviously unfair. The Mussalmans represent nearly 25 per cent. of the total population of Ajmere-Merwara, while their proportion in provincial appointments is 8 per cent. and that, too, in the lowest grades of the service. Moslem candidates of requisite capacity can be had in abundance, only the silent but formidable opposition of the monopolist stands in their way.

THIS week we are forwarding along with the *Comrade* a copy of the appeal issued by the authorities of the Calcutta Muhammadan Orphanage, which we had noticed in our columns some weeks ago. Subsequently we had announced that Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal had, with her characteristic generosity, made a munificent annual donation in response to this appeal. We need not reiterate all that we have said about the extreme urgency of the needs which have dictated this appeal or of the duty of the Muhammadans all over India to contribute liberally in helping the Orphanage authorities to continue their philanthropic work, which they have hitherto been doing in face of so many difficulties. We hope this appeal will be responded to very heartily all over India. We have already received several letters asking for information as to the address to which contributions are to be sent. The requisite information is contained in the closing passage of the appeal.

DESPITE the optimism affected by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the assurance given, only the other day, by Mr. Asquith in his statement in the Imperial Defence Committee that "our relations with the great German Empire are relations of amity and good-will," the only impression left on the mind, after reading the reports of the Supplementary Naval Estimates debate, is that the two great Powers are breathlessly engaged in active rivalry for naval supremacy. That such feverish preparations to meet the possible eventuality of a deadly struggle in no distant future are suddenly taken in hand at a time when extensive schemes of far-reaching social reforms are being launched, gives a rude shock to the snug self-complacency of the international pacifists who failed to see in these "exigencies of certain places" any "need for panic or alarm." We can safely dismiss Mr. Churchill's subsequent expla-

THE Secretary of the Moslem University Constitution Committee has, it seems, hit upon the convenient method of issuing occasional bulletins to justify his inactivity. The community has been waiting for months past to know what sort of Regulations and Bye-Laws have been framed by the Constitution Committee. The Secretary takes a number of vernacular papers into his confidence every fortnight and elaborately explains why the draft Regulations and Bye-Laws have not been published. The latest bulletin seems to make a grievance of the insistent public demand, and the Secretary protests innocence almost with a groan. He seems to say:—"I have prepared the draft Regulations. They are

nation of the drastic measures as flimsy official apologies. It seems to us a very faulty logic to say that the Mediterranean squadron was "useless because of the presence of new and more efficient ships" of other Powers. That, if any thing, should be the very reason why, instead of crippling the naval power in the Mediterranean, it should have been greatly strengthened—the more so in view of "the vital importance," as the Earl of Selborne put it, "of the Mediterranean as our shortest and most direct route to India." The Mediterranean is, just at the present moment, the scene of a great international convulsion which threatens imminently to embroil several European Powers with one another. The only acceptable explanation of this forced temporary neglect "in safeguarding vital interests in the Mediterranean," was given by Mr. Asquith when he said that "the redistribution was necessitated by a shifting of the naval centre of gravity" to Home waters. This seems to be thoroughly borne out by the whole tone and language of Mr. Churchill's pronouncement, made while introducing the Supplementary Estimates. The new German Navy law is responsible for that "remarkable constant and instant readiness for war," which, by Mr. Churchill's own admission, "finds no example in the previous practice of modern naval Powers." To what "goal" this closely competitive policy of naval expansion of the two great rival Powers is "marching unswervingly," it is not difficult to surmise. But we are confident there is no adequate reason for all this flutter in the British Diplomatic dovecot. After all, the desire for colonial expansion is very natural on the part of Germany, which is universally admitted to have passed beyond that "margin of cultivation" after which no national expansion is possible within the limits of a country. And we have more pity than sympathy for that nervousness and suspicion which characterises the attitude of the British public towards Germany. However, according to Lord Charles Beresford, "for Britain the one bright spot in the outlook" seems to consist in the growing earnest desire of the Dominions to be "conscious partners in the burden and the right of the Empire." In fact, this was by far the most important feature of the whole debate and constitutes a turning point in the history of the British Empire. Mr. Borden gave an unmistakable exposition of the attitude of Canada towards the Mother-country; and the Premier made a ready "response to this obviously reasonable appeal to be heard in the determination of the Empire's policy and the direction of its affairs."

"FULL many a stroke would fell an oak." And it does our soul good to find that some slight effect has been produced by our repeatedly reminding a certain well-known Calcutta clique of self-

Wanted Known.

constituted representatives of the Mussalmans of the universe that the public at large is not quite prepared to take them at their own valuation as patriots, politicians, prophets, and law-givers. The presumption, which some time back dictated the tall order to the Caliph of all true believers to "cede Dar-ul-Islam to Christendom without bloodshed," though by no means annihilated, seems to have been considerably tamed. It is at least some consolation to find that these self-advertising gentry have realised that the responsibility of representing the Moslems of the whole universe is a little too heavy even for their audacious shoulders. As it is, this time they contented themselves in the recent Calcutta mass (thin) meeting with putting forward the very modest claim of being the mouthpiece of only the "Indian Moslems." They have even deigned to stoop to a disreputable "respectfulness for the benevolent personal influence of His Majesty the Amir-ul-Mineen" and seem to have adopted "the watchword of 'hope'," which His Britannic Majesty lately gave us, as a variant to break the monotony of constantly "expecting" the Ottoman Empire, the Moslem world, and the Universe in general to accept as gospel truth whatever falls from their august lips. It is sweet to see these "Lords of humankind" fall on their knees and implore "all Ottoman parties, civil and military, to sink differences and make every sacrifice to protect the Caliphate" and bow implicitly to the "veteran leadership of new Grand Vizier Field-Marshal Mukhtar Pasha." What makes these periodical solemn farces really deplorable is that the Red Crescent Society, of all institutions, is the organisation which is used as a tool for this self-flaudation. So far as we know, the Calcutta R. C. S. "representatives" have not yet made public any accounts of their financial dealings. However, we trust these "leaders" of the Calcutta Moslems would give up the questionable procedure of utilising the situation in Turkey as a stepping stone to popularity and fame. It is nothing short of stark madness to presume to dictate "counsels of perfection" to "veteran leaders" and Grand Viziers of a far-off kingdom. And we would strongly counsel our Indo-Ottoman lawgivers to spend more of their time and energies in justifying their existence in the land they live in and less in these occasional outbursts which must very much discredit Moslem political sagacity in the eyes of their neighbours.

The Comrade.

Hindu-Moslem Relations.

THE vain, self-complacent and irrepressibly busy type of public man, who admirably contrives to keep himself in the limelight as "communal patriot", is a product of a complex environment. Like many other things that are a little difficult to account for in India's problem, he is sometimes described as a creature of the British rule. That does not, however, explain him as he should be explained if we are to get a correct measure of the race antagonism he represents in Indian politics. He is a concrete, a visible symbol of the vital forces of creed and history that divide the Indian communities into rival camps. He has been abused and maligned with, perhaps, a little too much show of righteousness. The invective has not killed him, and he still bestrides the situation as a colossal riddle. An effort to understand him and enter into his skin would be more effective if he is to be dislodged from his position of immense prestige and power than the thousand horse-power phrases with which he has hitherto been bombarded.

How does India justify her "communal patriots"? The "nationalist" of the Congress school would swear by "nationality" and "patriotism" and vehemently deny that any such monster could exist in his ranks, and point, with a mild, deprecating gesture, to "Moslem Leagues" and their cries for "separate electorates." The Mussalman would hold forth on the woes of "minorities," the imperative duty of self-preservation and the aggressive spirit and character of Hindu "nationalism." These self-righteous attitudes prove not only that the problem is not even half-understood, but also that the "patriotism" in vogue in this country is exclusively Hindu or Mussalman. Discussions on this subject have seldom been inspired by intellectual honesty and courage. Much of the "patriotic" literature is fumbling, shallow and jejune. Not only it lacks sincerity and breadth of outlook, but it also betrays inordinate fondness for crude subterfuges and cheap claptrap with a view to secure some paltry advantage in the struggle for race ascendancy. The "communal patriot" only reflects in his inadequacy, narrowness and fanaticism the temper of his people. Without attempting a detailed analysis of the factors that hamper the growth of a truly Indian patriotism, it may be worth while studying how the communal fanatic has been evolved. Many centuries of Moslem rule in India had given the Hindus an immense power of adaptability to varying political conditions. They readily availed themselves of the facilities for education and material progress which British rule brought within their reach, because they were not burdened like the Mussalmans with a pride of race and powerful traditions of empire. Western literature gave them a free access to ideas of political freedom and democracy; and they naturally and justly began to dream of self-government and organised national existence. They looked back and searched for fresh inspiration, but the oracles of the past were dumb. Before them lay a boundless sea of hope, aspiration and experiment. If the past could not offer a chart and a compass for the new voyage, clearly the fault lay with the Mussalmans who had viciously strayed into Bhurat and demolished its political features and landmarks. Instead of accepting philosophically what could not be undone, they began to quarrel with history. This attitude speedily produced amongst the majority of the educated Hindus the unfortunate habit of ignoring the one great reality of the Indian situation—the existence of about 70 million Mussalmans who had made a permanent home in this country. Whatever may be the inspiration of Hinduism as a religious creed, the educated Hindus made it a rallying symbol for political unity. The aspiration for self-government arrested all movements for social reform, which the early impulse towards liberalism had called forth amongst the educated Hindus. Past history was ransacked for new political formulas; and by a natural and inevitable process "nationality" and "patriotism" began to be associated with Hinduism. The Hindu "communal patriot" sprang into existence with "swaraj" as his war-cry. He refuses to give quarter to the Mussalman unless the latter quietly shuffles off his individuality and becomes completely hinduised. He knows, of course, the use of the words like "India" and "territorial nationality", and they form an important part of his vocabulary. But the Mussalmans weigh on his consciousness, all the same, as a troublesome irrelevance; and he would thank his stars if some great exodus or even a geological cataclysm could give him riddance.

The Moslem "communal patriot" owes his origin to a very different set of circumstances. His community lagged behind in the race by moodily sulking in its tents and declining, for a considerable time, to avail itself of the facilities for intellectual and material progress. When it made up its mind to accept the inevitable and move with the times, it suddenly found itself face to face with a community vastly superior to it, in number, in wealth, in education, in political organisation and power, in a word, a united community uttering new accents and pulsating with new hope. The spectacle of a go-ahead Hinduism, dreaming of self-government and

playing with its ancient gods clad in the vesture of democracy, dazed the conservative Mussalman, who was just shaking himself free from the paralysing grip of the past. He realised that the spirit of the fight had changed. The weapons were new and so were the ways to use those weapons. He felt as if he was being treated as an alien, as a meddling freak, who had wantonly interfered with the course of Indian History. Strange incidents were raked up from his long and eventful career, which he was called upon to justify. He had come as a conqueror and had freely given to India the best that was in him. With the loss of empire he felt as if he were to lose his self-respect as well. The "communal patriots" amongst the Hindus treated him as a prisoner in the dock, and loudly complained of him as an impossible factor in the scheme of India's future. Then, again, the new conditions of political success alarmed him. It was to him a painful education to learn that wisdom consisted in lung-power multiplied by the millions and political strength lay in the counting of the heads. His community was small in numbers, ignorant and poor. He was a negligible quantity in the visions of the Hindu "patriot." His religion and history had given him an individuality which he was very loth to lose. As a consequence he drew within his shell and nursed ideals of communal patriotism. He has been scared into this attitude in self-defence. The Hindu "communal patriot" has an advantage over him in the choice of his formulas. While the former boldly walks at road in the garb of India's champion, the latter, less mobile and more unfortunate, formulates even his unimpeachable right to live in terms of apology.

This is, in broad outline, the atmosphere in which the Hindu-Moslem problem has taken its rise. The race antagonism owes its virulence mainly to a false reading of history. The past has flung out its dead hand to paralyse the present. Practical issues of politics are swayed by the foolish but eminently real resentment of the Hindu "patriot" at the political domination of the Mussalman in a bygone period of Indian history and by the equally foolish yet powerful sentiment of the Mussalman about his vanished power and prestige and empire. The temper of the "communal patriots" has grown aggressive and bellicose on the one hand and suspicious, sensitive and irritable on the other. The Hindu tries to ignore the Mussalman; the latter retaliates by assuming that all "nationalist" desires are a snare, if not a delusion. Yet the fiction is industriously kept up about the identity of interests, and the organs of Hindu "nationalism" use facile phrases about Indian unity, as if there existed no vital differences of feeling, temper, ideals and standpoints. The first step towards the solution of the problem is to recognise honestly and courageously that the problem in all its magnitude and many-sided aspects exists. We must clearly recognise that the Hindus and the Mussalmans dwell apart in thought and sentiment, that the Hindu "patriot" is, at times, intolerant and grasping, that he dreams of the India that is to be as a modern shrine he is going to build for his gods, that the Mussalman is getting a little too clannish, that he is only dimly aware of what it means to feel a generous enthusiasm for such great secular causes as self government and nationality, and that he broods over his loss and moves about in a world of unsubstantial shadows. It is when we have recognised all this that any progress in the direction of Hindu-Moslem *rapprochement* will become possible. The Mussalman who imagines his community to be entirely free of blame is either a man of simple texture or a politician of a very complex type. The Hindu who talks of his community as wholly innocent must be talking with his tongue in his cheeks.

Let us look at the facts. To take an important instance, separate representation of the Mussalmans in the legislative chambers of the country has been denounced with a vehemence that must have struck even the Hindu "communal patriots" themselves as a little tactless and crude. With the existing state of racial feeling, the cry for mixed electorates cannot but alarm the Mussalmans and create in their minds a strong suspicion of Hindu motives. Surely, the cant about the interests being identical has grown too barefaced even to serve as a tag for newspaper "patriotism." It is because the immediate, the practical issues of the day divide the Hindus and the Mussalmans that communal representation has become a cardinal feature in the political evolution of the country. If the Hindu "patriot" is not thinking of an exclusively Hindu India, if he wants the Mussalmans to exercise their due influence on Indian affairs, his demand for the mixed electorates is an insoluble riddle. The temper that inspires this demand has many facets; and it is when we study all the facets together in their right perspective that the Hindu attitude becomes intelligible and, indeed, alarming. Let us take another question which is said to have been a powerful factor in the growth of racial bitterness. Cows have been responsible for many riots in the country and many riotous campaigns in the Press. If only the Mussalman gave up eating beef, we are told by many well-meaning persons, the Hindu-Moslem relations would grow in goodwill and cordiality at a bound. Professor Hamersham Cox has made an appeal to the Mussalmans in the latest issue of the *Modern Review* to give up the use of beef for the sake of their Hindu neighbours. The appeal is inspired by sincerity and by Professor Cox's anxiety for the welfare of the Indian people. We

thoroughly appreciate the motive, though we are constrained to say that the learned writer has not taken note of all the elements that constitute this curious problem. Let us allow at once that the cow is sacred in the eyes of the Hindu and that the killing of the animal causes him considerable distress and pain. And it is because we accept these facts in their fullest import, that we regard any wanton offence caused by a Mussalman to Hindu sentiment as a social crime. But it is possible, at the same time, to try to make the problem appear more grave and portentous than it is, or ought to be. It is sometimes forgotten that to a non-Hindu a cow is an ordinary quadruped and no more. A Mussalman who eats beef does so on the score of its comparative cheapness. Is it not possible that the Hindu, while retaining all his reverence for the animal, should leave others to their own notions of its utility, as long as they are not wantonly offensive? The educated Hindu who assures us that cow-killing lies at the root of racial bitterness makes rather a large demand on our credulity. India may be in varying stages of development from the twelfth century onward, but the sense of proportion of her educated sons is surely quite abreast of the twentieth's.

We need not multiply instances to show how the attitude of the Hindu "communal patriots" has alarmed the Mussalmans and driven them into a comparative isolation. The walls of separation can be broken down only if a radical change takes place in the conceptions of communal duty and patriotism. The responsibility of the Hindus is much greater in the matter, because they are more powerful and have sometimes used their strength with strange disregard to consequences. The Mussalmans stand aloof because they are afraid of being completely swallowed up. Any true patriot of India working for the evolution of Indian nationality will have to accept the communal individuality of the Mussalmans as the basis of his constructive effort. This is the irreducible factor of the situation, and the politician who ignores it has no conception of the task that awaits India's statesmen. People talk sometimes of the need of the Mussalmans joining hands with the Hindus, because some incidents in contemporary history have not been exactly to their liking. They conceive of Moslem "policy" as something wholly apart from Moslem interests, entirely unrelated to contemporary facts and past history, something necessary for a bargain, a toy that one might have for the mere fun of politics. Soft-headed and some self-advertising folk have gone about proclaiming that the Mussalmans should join the Congress because the Government had revoked the Partition of Bengal or because Persia and Turkey are in trouble. We were simply amused at this irresponsible fatuity. But when a responsible body like the London Branch of the All-India Moslem League talks of closer co-operation between the Hindus and Mussalmans because the Mussalmans of Tripoli and Persia have been the victims of European aggression, we realize for the first time that even sane and level-headed men can run off at a tangent and confuse the issues. What has the Moslem situation abroad to do with the condition of the Indian Mussalmans? Either their interests come actually into conflict with those of the Hindus, or they have been all along guilty of a great political meanness and hypocrisy. Has the Indian situation undergone a change? Are the Hindu "communal patriots" less militant to-day and have they grown more considerate and careful about Moslem sentiments? Have the questions that really divide the two communities lost their force and meaning? If not, then the problem remains exactly where it was at any time in recent Indian history. Boards of arbitration, peace syndicates and solemn pacts about cows cannot solve it any more than we can, by a spell of occult words control the winds and the tides. The communal sentiment and temper must change, and interests must grow identical before the Hindus and the Moslems can be welded into a united nationality. The problem is great, in fact, one of the greatest known to history. None, however, need despair, as the influences of education, and the levelling, liberalising tendencies of the times are bound to succeed in creating political individuality out of the diversity of creed and race. Any attempt to impose artificial unity is sure to end in failure, if not in disaster.

Education in India.

LIKE every people newly roused to a sense of their inadequacy, the Indians have been chasing one mirage after another with a hope that has sometimes amounted to religion. The failure of stark enthusiasm to wrest from a universe of false appearances the secret of national well-being has in itself been a liberal education. The Indians have at last been taught to feel that panaceas do not exist, that it is possible to mistake a consequence for a cause, that a full-grown national life is like a tree bursting into leaf and flower and fruit and not a house upholstered to order. To the awakening mind of India the first sight of European democracies was a dazzling

experience. The political institutions of those democracies appeared as the open sesame to a life of beauty, joy, and power. Politics, therefore, became the first love of Young India. The intoxication of effort, the desire to possess a thing that looked so delightful and fair, the self-confidence that comes from inexperience, inspired the early generations of educated Indians with a hope of easy victory. Politics, however, is a jealous and heartless muse. Gradually it began to be realised that the path to success was steep and weary, that politics was not the whole thing and that it was doubtful even if it was the most necessary thing. Millennium was not to be had by importing institutions ready made.

The disillusionment has, nevertheless, been fruitful of good results. Educated Indians are fast acquiring a true sense of proportion. Political grievances of the people have ceased to be the only theme of public discussion. A knowledge of their true needs and limitations is growing apace, and the activities of public men are attaining the necessary balance and direction. It is being recognised at last that the Indian people must get a thorough training and preparation for a full-grown national life. The problem of preparation is difficult beyond measure, and years of patient work and co-ordinated endeavour will have to be devoted to its study before a way can be found to a sure solution. An ancient society in a process of dissolution, with a past offering little guidance for future, with great differences, of creed and race, of culture, ideal and aspiration, can work but slowly to a new and complete synthesis. The first thing needful under the circumstances is to prepare a rallying centre for the best intellectual and moral impulses of Young India and create facilities for the growth of collective mind. In other words, it is in the highest degree important to organise a process of training that would eventually lead to the development of a unified system of national education. The teacher is the supreme need of the present and the future, not only the professional teacher of schools and colleges, but every thinker who can throw out a fresh idea, every speaker who can influence large masses of men to fresh purpose, every writer and poet and artist whose book and song and art can furnish men with new glimpses into life and new aspiration for a better future. The supreme need is to create an atmosphere for the birth of collective mind and conscience.

It is pleasant to see that the best minds of the country are concentrating their energy and attention on the task of training and educating the people. The Government, too, is at last beginning to feel that the education of India is a great imperial concern. Mr. Montagu, in the course of his Budget statement in Parliament, outlined a programme which the Indian Government would pursue for the organisation and development of Indian education. The programme, though not ideally perfect, covers an extensive area and would lead to good results, if worked out with energy and vigour. The principles underlying State education in India have been shaped by expediency and a sort of low utilitarianism. The main idea of Government has been to train men for the ministerial posts in the public services; and naturally enough, the type of public instruction hitherto in vogue in this country has provided a mere mechanical training of a few intellectual faculties. It has absolutely failed to train personality because it has been innocent of ideals, has been inspired by no collective will and has consequently failed to touch character and mind with a unifying purpose. Public education organised and directed by a foreign government cannot become national in the broad sense of the term. It may produce useful and clever men. After immense labour and expense it may even produce men with highly trained faculties and initiative to strike out new lines of career, men who may succeed in business enterprise or become captains of industry. But it will rarely give birth to men of large purposes and great ideas, who would sum up in their personality the hopes and the intellectual and moral possibilities of the race and would in turn enlarge the scope of those possibilities and enrich the common life with new hopes. Only a national education can evolve this virile, ample and gracious type. And yet, a truly national education for India are a remote possibility; and all plans for the training of the younger generations are at present to be in the nature of compromise. For, it cannot be too often repeated that the only efficient instrument for the organisation of modern education is the State. Decentralisation may be good for some administrative purposes, but the vast problem of education can be treated satisfactorily only on wholesale principles. This is specially true of elementary education. A person without elementary knowledge of the things necessary for a purposeful existence cannot be a good citizen. The contrivance of civilisation for a rapid circulation of ideas and the despatch of the work of daily life, which the knowledge of the three R's represents, is as much necessary for the purposes of efficient citizenship as the organisation of the social services and the apparatus of public justice. Every recognised duty of the State means, in a sense, a corresponding surrender of individual right. Public law implies compulsion. The State in its modern sense is an instrument of social readjustment according to the varying needs of the community. It has already assailed some of the most intimate

personal prerogatives of the parent. Collective will and mind, as expressed through State organisation, have been declared to be far better fitted to look after the training of the younger generation than the caprice, the inadequate will and imperfect intelligence of the individual. Elementary education, therefore, is one of the primary duties of a modern State, and the Indian Government can never enjoy an easy conscience as long as that duty remains undischarged.

As regards Secondary and Higher Education, we think the highest results can be attained only if its organisation and control are in the hands of the Indians themselves. The only key to the solution of this aspect of the problem is to encourage private enterprise. Indian Government, by its very character and constitution, can only be a very clumsy instrument in evoking the collective mind of India. The State schools and colleges and universities, however efficient and well-equipped, cannot train character and personality on national lines. It is only a Hindu or a Moslem University that can furnish the necessary ground for the germination of the people's genius. The restriction of the scope of these Universities, from the standpoint of India's collective educational needs, is the most short-sighted blunder committed by the Secretary of State. The impulses for wholesome national life, which a contact with Western culture has called forth amongst the Indian mind, want a home for a full, many-sided expression. The decision recently announced in regard to the scope of the Hindu and Moslem University Schemes, would choke those impulses and retard the development of Indian education on right lines. Mr. Montagu is satisfied to think that "the Government might be proud of their record, and if their educational ideals were realised, they would have laid the foundation of a national system of education by a network of really valuable schools, colleges, and universities, so that Indian students would be able to qualify themselves in India for the highest position in every walk of life." The last ideal may be realised, but "a national system of education" can only be evolved on "national" lines and in accordance with the inspiration of "national" hopes and genius. The control and direction of higher education must be in the hands of the Indians themselves if India is to grow through unity of purpose and training to a vigorous and complete national life.



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CORRESPONDENCE



An Unjustifiable Attack.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—I happened to read the other day a speech by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Editor of the *Zamindar*, published in his paper. It was a rather lengthy discourse covering a variety of subjects; and, among other things, it dealt with a book called "Islam and Rationalism" written by Mr. Zarif, M.A., of the Imperial Record Office. I would not like to say anything against the spirit that inspired the speaker in his rough criticism, though one might reasonably expect a responsible critic like the Editor of the *Zamindar* to deliver an estimate of the book rather than of the author. Mr. Zarif, if I understand aright, repudiates the fundamental creed of Islam; and to try to hold him up to public ridicule and derision as a "Mussalman" uttering heresies would, therefore, be so much breath wasted away. But I need not say anything on this score. My object in writing this letter is to clear a misrepresentation contained in the speech. The speaker told his audience that Mr. Zarif was dismissed from the service of the Aligarh College on account of his religious views. Now, I happen to know something of the circumstances under which Mr. Zarif left his post of Assistant Professor at Aligarh, and I am, therefore, in a position to say that there is no ground whatever for the serious allegation made by the Editor of the *Zamindar*. As a matter of fact, Mr. Zarif gave up his post at Aligarh because he found a better one elsewhere, and he gave it up of his free and deliberate choice. I hold no brief for Mr. Zarif. In fact, I hold in scant esteem the thesis he has evolved. But one must be fair and should not in his zeal play fast and loose with facts. I doubt if Islam would best be served by an indiscriminate abuse of its critics.

I hope, Sir, that you will, in common fairness, give these lines a space in your esteemed journal.

FAIRPLAY.

The Moslem University and Affiliation.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Since the publication of the official *communiqué* by the Education Department there has been a considerable show of uneasiness on the part of both the sister communities of India. The hope of getting powers of affiliation, actively countenanced by the Hon. the Education Member, was, it seems, the last valuable asset of national aspirations. All along the development of the Moslem University Scheme, the independence of Moslem control was being curtailed piecemeal. Some points the framers of the Draft Constitution themselves meekly dropped as being "too much to ask for," while the little that remained has been taken away by the recent *coup-de-grace*. The promoters of the cause are simply taken aback to see the turn which matters have taken. Their expectations—all legitimate and perfectly reasonable—have been for the time being "finally" falsified; the Mussalmans are in a disappointed mood; and the masses feel miserable for having parted with their precious pies for nothing. The situation is, indeed, one of peculiar difficulty. The leaders are on the horns of a dilemma: if they take the named University, they incur the odium of their people; and if they forego the idea, they lose the one possibility of intellectual emancipation. Either course is equally unpleasant. The only satisfactory way would seem to be to approach the Government with a strong request to reconsider the question of affiliation. It yet remains to be seen that the Government would fail to recognise the reasonableness of the demand.

The power of affiliation has from the first been believed to be the essential part of the scheme of the Moslem University. India is not England: their physical as well as economic conditions vastly

vary; and, therefore, we should never expect Aligarh or Benares to grow into a veritable Oxford or Cambridge. What India needs is that both the Universities—Hindu and Muslim—by exercising their healthy influence over the length and breadth of the Indian continent, should harmonise the growth of educational ideals, and lead the people safely on in the hurried march of intellectual advancement. Once confine these Universities within local limits and you will see that their utility would be gone; large sections of the public not finding a practical interest in the central institution will fall off; and communal aims will cease to grow in unison. It is, therefore, one of the basic considerations, that the Universities should be given powers of affiliation under reasonable conditions to guard against the deterioration of the standard. It is earnestly hoped that the Government will be pleased to respect the popular feelings, and thus increase the value of their gift a hundred fold.

MOHD. AHMAD KHAN.

The McCormick Case.

(Continued from July 27th.)

Mr. Hamlyn: Who examined the little girl in your Court for the purposes of the case?

Witness: I examined her.

Mr. Hamlyn: There were no advocates representing the complainants at all?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: And the complainants are examined in Malay? Do you understand Malay?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Have you an interpreter in your Court?

Witness: No, when I want one I send down to Victoria Point. I have never had a Malay interpreter except on this occasion.

Mr. Hamlyn: Who acted as interpreter on this occasion.

Witness: Moosajee. He was a man from Victoria Point. He was formerly a clerk in the Customs.

Mr. Hamlyn: At that time he was in the employ of McCormick.

Witness: I did not know it until I saw it in the papers.

Mr. Hamlyn: Is that false or true? You have not tried to find out that this man was a paid servant of McCormick. Since then have you tried to ascertain the fact?

Witness: No, I have not.

Mr. Rutledge to the Court: Your Honour, the suggestion is that at the time of the trial Moosajee was the paid servant of McCormick. I would like that recorded Your Honour. It is very important, Sir."

Mr. Hamlyn: Mr. Andrew, I understand you were trying this case *in camera*.

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Were the doors closed?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you swear it?

Witness: I swear it.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you swear that the people were not kept out from coming in.

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: You had durwans.

Witness: I had some chaprassies. The Sub-divisional Officer brought all the witnesses into the Court. I then called their names and sent them all out and called them in one by one as required. My bench clerk called them.

Mr. Hamlyn: Besides yourself there were present the interpreter Moosajee, McCormick and McCormick's advocate, Maung Shwe Yun, and the particular witnesses under examination, the Inspector of Police and the bench clerk—these were the sum total?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: There was no one in Court representing the complainants?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you say no objections were made to Moosajee being interpreter?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you know that Fatima, the mother of the child, said that what he was interpreting was "lies, lies."

Witness : No.

Mr. Hamlyn : You have no Government Prosecutor in Mergui ?

Witness : No.

Mr. Hamlyn : Who generally prosecutes ?

Witness : Maung Shwe Yun has been employed—I won't say that we generally employed him—he was employed in two or three cases.

Mr. Hamlyn : Who else have you employed as Government Prosecutor during your term of office down at Mergui ?

Witness : I don't think anybody else.

Mr. Hamlyn : Who is employed in the other Court ?

Witness : The Police Officer.

Mr. Hamlyn : The Police officer is employed in the Court sometimes ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Why was not the Police Officer in your Court employed in this case ? It was his business to examine the witnesses. You took it out of his hands. He did not examine them.

Witness : No, I often do that.

Mr. Hamlyn : They wanted an advocate very much ?

Witness : I don't know about that.

Mr. Hamlyn : Will you kindly think and answer my question ?

Witness : Well, as they did not bring an advocate, I thought they wanted an advocate at some one else's expense.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did they not want and try to get Maung Shwe Yun, the man whom McCormick engaged ?

Witness : I tried to get him for them. I tried to get sanction to engage an advocate for them.

Mr. Hamlyn : And Maung Shwe Yun was the particular advocate they wanted ?

Witness : They selected him. Yes. I offered them the choice of two, one was a barrister Maung Lat and the other was Maung Shwe Yun, and they, after some delay, wired back, Maung Shwe Yun.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then you did know that they wanted an advocate ?

Witness : I knew that they were willing to accept an advocate.

Mr. Hamlyn : You said a little while ago that you did not know. And you know now that they wanted this particular man. Do you know that McCormick engaged him for Rs. 500 ?

Witness : I know that he appeared for McCormick. I don't know what fee he got.

Mr. Hamlyn : And the other advocate was Maung Lat, a Burman gentleman, who is quite a new barrister ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : He was not employed ?

Witness : No, I was only empowered to engage an advocate on certain conditions.

Mr. Hamlyn : Well, Maung Lat was not employed ?

Witness : I was not allowed to employ an advocate by the Commissioner except on certain conditions.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did the Commissioner give you such orders ?

Witness : I started with a formal letter, a demi-official, then I sent a wire asking for instructions.

Mr. Rutledge : Is this a copy of your letter to the Commissioner ? Is that the one where you mention about an advocate ?

Witness : The 4th August, the official letter asking the Commissioner for sanction.

Mr. Hamlyn to Mr. Rutledge : Are you to put in that letter for me or will you allow me to conduct my own case ?

The Court to Mr. Hamlyn : You asked for the letter, well here it is.

Mr. Hamlyn : Very well you wrote to the Commissioner on the 4th August and the complainants were urging the necessity of having an advocate.

Mr. Rutledge interrupted and Mr. Hamlyn objected to the interruption.

The Court to Mr. Rutledge : I think Mr. Rutledge, you had better not interrupt.

Mr. Hamlyn : As early as the 4th of August they were urging upon you the necessity of having an advocate and a good advocate ?

Witness : I do not know. I took these steps on my own initiative.

Mr. Hamlyn : The next letter is dated the 10th August and then an S. O. wire reading. "My numbers 4865D 4th August

asked for Mahomed Ayoob, Second Grade Advocate, who asks a fee of Rs. 500. I consider this reasonable, kindly reply, as Mahomed Ayoob (Maung Shwe Yun) has been approached by the defence." Then you knew on the 10th that they were very anxious to engage an advocate ?

Witness : No.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then you received a telegram from the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division ?

The Court to the witness : You say that your first letter of the 4th August was sent on your own initiative ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then on the 10th of August you acknowledged that they wanted Mahomed Ayoob (Maung Shwe Yun), Mr. Andrew did you not ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then you say that Mohamed Ayoob (Maung Shwe Yun) had been approached by the defence ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Was he engaged by the defence ?

Witness : I asked him to keep himself open until I got final orders from the Commissioner. There was a man by the name of Green, who I understand was an engineer in a boat running there, who came to me and told me that he had been asked to engage Mohamed Ayoob for the defence of McCormick. I told him that I had an arrangement with Mahomed Ayoob, a lien on his services, until I had settled the matter with the Commissioner, as to whether or not I could engage an advocate.

Mr. Hamlyn : How came Green to volunteer that information to you ?

Witness : I presume that Green had been to Mahomed Ayoob and Mahomed Ayoob told him what the position was.

Mr. Hamlyn : You had a lien on Mahomed Ayoob's services. Did you tell Mr. Green that ?

Witness : Yes, I told Mr. Green that I would let Mahomed Ayoob know as soon as ever I received a wire from the Commissioner to say whether I could engage an advocate or not.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then you received this on the 11th August, I see, from the Commissioner—"If after perusing Police papers believe charge of rape to be false..... wire whether you are engaging pleader or not." Did you read the Police papers ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did you believe the charge of rape to be false from reading those papers ?

Witness : See my telegram.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then on the 11th August you sent a telegram—"Don't think charge of rape can be substantiated. Charge of abduction remains. Complainants ignorant—peoples—require assistance. Then you had come to the conclusion that only a *prima facie* case of abduction had been made out ?

Witness : Well, I say that an enquiry should be made. I say that the rape charge could not be substantiated, the charge of abduction remains. I should like to say besides that I thought the question should be gone into before a Magistrate.

Mr. Hamlyn : I put it to you that you were of opinion that a *prima facie* case of abduction had been made out ?

Witness : I considered that the question should be investigated by a Magistrate.

Mr. Hamlyn : You thought that there was a *prima facie* case.

Witness : Yes, I thought that there was a *prima facie* case in the face of the facts.

Mr. Hamlyn : The complainants were ignorant people and required assistance ; you said that ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : You recognised when you entered upon this trial that the complainants were at a great disadvantage in not being represented by an advocate ?

Witness : No, I would not say so.

Mr. Hamlyn : You are urging the Commissioner all the while to engage an advocate. Then you had made up your mind that in the interests of justice at the enquiry the complainants should be represented by an advocate ?

Witness : If possible.

Mr. Hamlyn : Very well, when you entered upon the enquiry you were under the impression that they were not properly represented ?

Witness : No, I did my best to assist them myself.

Mr. Hamlyn : Don't you recognise that they were at a great disadvantage in not having an advocate ?

Witness : That is a matter of opinion. No, not necessarily.

Mr. Hamlyn : Now, in the face of what you said to the Commissioner in this correspondence, will you still say they were not in a disadvantageous position is not having an advocate?

Witness : That is a difficult question to answer.

Mr. Hamlyn : I don't see where the difficulty comes in.

Witness : Well, I may say that I would have preferred them to have had an advocate.

Mr. Hamlyn : They were clamouring for one?

Witness : Clamouring to whom?

Mr. Hamlyn : The correspondence speaks for itself. Is this the correspondence between you and the S. D. O.?

Witness : Yes, on the 3rd August I wired to the S. D. O. that I would engage an advocate to prosecute.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then you took it upon your own shoulders to engage an advocate to prosecute?

Witness : Yes, and on the 4th August I wired asking the complainants to choose between Maung Lat and Mahomed Ayoob and I said they must reply early.

Mr. Hamlyn : Mahomed Ayoob and Maung Shwe Yun are one and the same man and the accused engaged him?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : How many years has the other man been practising in Court?

Witness : I don't know what experience he had in Rangoon before he came to Mergui.

Mr. Hamlyn : Will you kindly continue your telegrams?

Witness : On the 7th I got a reply—"Israel Khan, wakil, Moslem League, Rangoon before choosing lawyer to take case."

The reply I gave was "Give them all the attention required. Kindly do so and name advocate . . . as regards interpreter your Court interpreter must come along to assist . . . interpreters here are not easily obtained."

Mr. Hamlyn : What was the reply that followed?

Witness : On the 7th I wired and on the 9th I wired—"My 43. Have received certain information that McCormick has asked to retain Maung Shwe Yun. If complainant does not decide to-morrow inform Maung Shwe Yun that he is at liberty to be engaged by McCormick."

Mr. Hamlyn : What did you mean by that? You were trying to engage one of these two advocates and you engaged neither. Whom do you blame for that? Do you blame your Commissioner?

Mr. Rutledge : I object to the question, your Worship, "do you blame your Commissioner."

The Court to Mr. Hamlyn : You can make all the comments you like later. It is not for the witness to say who is to blame for it.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then Mr. Andrew, you finally got a telegram from the Commissioner saying "Your 163.....if you believe charge of rape is false pleader should not be engaged to conduct the case for abduction."

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Do you know why any distinction should be made between rape and abduction? Did you understand the meaning of this telegram?

Witness : Yes, I should think so.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did you solve the mystery why you should have an advocate if it was a case of rape and not if it was only a case of abduction?

Witness : Well, I obeyed my orders, that is all.

Mr. Hamlyn : Then your orders put you in a false position?

Witness : For what reason?

Counsel : For this reason, that you had busied yourself, and informed the complainants that you were getting an advocate for them, and at the last moment you did not do so.

Witness : Well, I am content to let the facts speak for themselves.

Mr. Hamlyn (interrupted by Mr. Rutledge) said to the Court : I want your Worship to know why these people were deprived of an advocate. No advocate appeared on the day of the trial, and the Deputy Commissioner, who was enquiring into the case, knew that they were begging and praying for an advocate and they had not one, and the case in consequence was not properly laid before the Court, and I say that this is a most important point in the case.

The Court to Mr. Hamlyn : The witness says that he did his best to get an advocate.

Mr. Hamlyn : I ask your Honour to record the question.

The Court : Very well, this is what I am recording "I think the question is an improper one. It was asked and was disallowed."

His Honour then remarked—"I may say that I am not going to finish this case. . . ."

Mr. Hamlyn : "Then I understand your Honour intends to send it to the Sessions without hearing any defence."

The Court : I merely say that I am not going to finish the case as it is going on just now.

Mr. Hamlyn, resuming his cross-examination of the witness, said :

"The complainants put in a petition requesting that you should not try the case?"

Witness : No.

Mr. Hamlyn : A petition came to your notice that they did not want you to try the case at all?

Witness : There was a petition addressed to the Sub-divisional Magistrate.

Mr. Hamlyn : You ignored that petition?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Why did you ignore it?

Witness : I thought they might apply to me. I thought, if they could send a petition to the Sub-divisional Magistrate, they could have sent one to me.

Mr. Hamlyn : Victoria Point is 200 miles away, you told us.

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : And in the face of that petition did you consider it your duty to go on with the case?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did you not consider it your duty to have it transferred from your Court to some other Court?

Witness : No.

Mr. Hamlyn : I will put it to you, Mr. Andrew, when a party is dissatisfied with a tribunal to try a case and you know it has another Magistrate who can try the case, is it or is it not your duty to adjourn the case to have it transferred to another Court?

Witness : Yes, but I was not asked to do so.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did you examine them on the point?

Witness : No.

Mr. Hamlyn : What was your reason?

Witness : Because I did not consider that petition a *bona fide* petition.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did you examine them on that point?

Witness : No.

Mr. Hamlyn : And then who did you think it came from?

Witness : I thought it came from Mohamed Din.

Mr. Hamlyn : What reason had you to think that it came from Mohamed Din?

Witness : Because the woman Fatima, the mother of the child, is an absolutely ignorant woman of Selong descent and she could not possess that knowledge of facts which the petition contained. I would like to see the Police records. (After inspecting the records, witness added) : How could they possibly know he is a friend of McCormick, or who was a friend of whom.

Mr. Hamlyn : You just now stated that you did not enquire into the *bona fides* of the petition?

Witness : No, I did not.

Mr. Hamlyn : The child's father, Fatima's husband, was dead?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : And Mohamed Din was Fatima's deceased husband's brother?

Witness : No, not that I know of.

Mr. Hamlyn : Will you be surprised to hear that it is so?

Witness : Yes. After a little hesitation witness added : Will you ask the question again please?

Mr. Hamlyn : No, I won't.

Mr. Hamlyn : Now, Mr. Andrew, would it make any difference if he had not been the brother of her deceased husband, the fact of the filing of this petition? Fatima, the mother of this child, is an ignorant woman and cannot write. Do you challenge her right to get her deceased husband's brother to assist her or any one else or even a petition writer?

Witness : If they had presented it to me it would have been a different thing.

Mr. Hamlyn : A little matter of pride?

Witness : Not at all.

Mr. Hamlyn: You did not think it your duty, having seen that petition, to stop the proceedings and get the case transferred from yourself?

Witness: No.

The Court here rose for the day, his Worship postponing the case to Thursday, the 27th instant. (June)

THURSDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE hearing was resumed on Thursday, the 27th, at 11 A. M.

The Court to witness: Have you read over the deposition?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: "I understand, Your Honour, the witness has read over his deposition and wants to make some alterations. I think if I may say so, with all due respect to the Court, that that should be left until after the witness has been finally examined."

The Court: I think it is well to get the deposition corrected as soon as possible.

Mr. Hamlyn: I think it a universal practice to leave it until after the witness's final examination.

The Court: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: I understand the witness has read it over and desires it to be altered.

The Court: He desires to point out inaccuracies.

Mr. Hamlyn: The corrections will be in the margin.

The Court: Yes, with my initials.

A few corrections were accordingly made as pointed out by the witness.

The Court to the witness: Is there anything else that is not correct?

Witness: Not that I remember. I should like to read through it again. I had not sufficient time that afternoon.

Mr. Hamlyn, resuming his cross-examination, said:

Mr. Andrew, you remember my putting certain questions about the trouble McCormick was giving in connection with land on the last occasion?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you acknowledged that he did give trouble with regard to the rules.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now allow me to refresh your memory. Did he not give a lot of trouble about fencing in three miles of land?

Witness: I don't remember, give trouble to whom?

Mr. Hamlyn: To the revenue authorities, to Mr. Buchanan, that is, the Revenue officer at Victoria Point?

Witness: Well, there was trouble. I don't remember specifically what it was.

Mr. Hamlyn: He fenced in a considerable portion of land without authority.

Witness: I could not say how much.

Mr. Hamlyn: He had no authority to fence it in?

Witness: You say so. I have got a very vague recollection of something of the sort occurring, but what it was I really cannot tell you.

Mr. Hamlyn: Very well. Perhaps I will be able to refresh your memory. Did he fence in three miles of rubber producing land without authority, without having paid revenue?

Witness: I don't know whether it is true he fenced in these three miles.

Mr. Hamlyn to the Court: May I have the petition, Your Worship, that was filed on the trial. Continuing to the witness.

Now the petition, Mr. Andrew, that was filed and desired that you should not enquire into this case was signed by some eight persons.

Witness: It purports to be.

Mr. Hamlyn: Why do you say it purports to be?

Witness: Because I have no knowledge of the authenticity of the signatures. They are mostly marks.

Mr. Hamlyn: Have you knowledge otherwise?

Witness: The principles of the case were not interested in having the case transferred and for that reason I have reason to doubt the genuineness of their signatures.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now you had all the parties who signed this petition before you. Did you examine any of them on the point?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: You have already acknowledged that Moosajee was employed as an interpreter. Now you know that McCormick himself brought Moosajee from Victoria Point and all his family and paid their expenses?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, Mr. Buchanan, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Victoria Point, was present on the day of the trial?

Witness: Yes, he brought in the witnesses.

Mr. Hamlyn: Thank you. I take it that it was under your instructions that he was present. He would not leave his sub-division without that?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Mr. Buchanan was at hand at any moment if you wanted him?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Mr. Buchanan understands Malay thoroughly?

Witness: No. He understands a certain amount of Malay.

Mr. Hamlyn: Have you examined him?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you profess to understand where his knowledge of Malay commences and where it ends?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did Mr. Buchanan get a reward of Rs. 1,000 from Government for his knowledge of Malay?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: You are of the opinion that the Government had no right to give him that Rs. 1,000?

Witness: I say nothing about it. I have no opinion on the subject at all.

Mr. Hamlyn: You say nothing about it?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, this is your diary. It commences on the 21st August 1911?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: That was the day you commenced the enquiry?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: I notice that you have made no note that Moosajee was employed as interpreter?

Witness: Yes, I think. On the depositions you will see that Moosajee was employed as interpreter, written by my clerk I think.

Mr. Hamlyn: There is nothing on the record to show that you swore Moosajee?

Witness: No, but I did.

Mr. Hamlyn: Nothing on the record?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: What oath did you make him swear on?

Witness: On the ordinary Mohamedan oath.

Mr. Hamlyn: He was affirmed?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And who paid his expenses?

Witness: What expenses?

Mr. Hamlyn: For acting as interpreter?

Witness: To the best of my knowledge I did, the Court did.

Mr. Hamlyn: You heard before you took up the enquiry that there were no interpreters in Malay at Victoria Point that both parties could trust?

Witness: Mr. Buchanan wired so, that there was no interpreter.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Moosajee was at Victoria Point?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you take the trouble to ascertain why a man from Victoria Point should be in your Court?

Witness: I thought he had been brought by Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. Hamlyn: Then you are astonished to hear that he was brought by McCormick, he and his family?

Witness: Quite.

Mr. Hamlyn: Mr. Buchanan sent up a list of witnesses who should be examined on behalf of the complainants?

Witness: Mr. Buchanan? Yes, it is on the record.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Lieutenant Finnie sent up another list?

Witness: I don't know if he sent a list. He sent all the depositions of the witnesses.

Mr. Hamlyn: Is it not the practice to send up a list?

Witness: This was not a Police case.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you seriously say that?

Witness: It was not.

Mr. Hamlyn: And in your enquiry you enquired under Chapter XVIII of the Criminal Procedure Code?

Witness: I do not know. I would like to consult the Criminal Procedure Code (after consulting the Criminal Procedure Code.) Yes

Mr. Hamlyn: And you wound up your order directing the accused to be discharged under Section 209, Chapter XVIII?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Were your proceedings conducted in accordance with Chapter XVIII of the Criminal Procedure Code?

Witness: To the best of my knowledge.

Mr. Hamlyn: I put it to you that you made no distinction whatever between the witnesses for the prosecution and the witnesses for the defence?

Witness: How do you mean?

Mr. Rutledge: Don't bully the witness.

The Witness: Continuing his answer to Mr. Hamlyn: I took all such evidence that was called for by the Magistrate.

Mr. Hamlyn: Will you answer my question?

Witness: Well, I say I don't understand the question.

Mr. Hamlyn: I will make you understand. You made no distinction between the witnesses for the prosecution and the witnesses for the defence. You called witnesses for the prosecution that were not mentioned in Mr. Buchanan's list?

Witness: No, I do not know whether I did or not.

(To be continued.)

Persia.

News of the Week.

The *Times* publishes a letter from Teheran drawing the gloomiest picture of the condition of Persia. The Regent departed, having virtually abdicated his functions and the country is in process of decay with a powerless ministry and an empty treasury and is a prey to the rivalries of Bakhtiari and Cashgais. The hope of the Persian Government of establishing order in the South is dwindling, it being nearly two years since the British note on the subject was sent. It should be realised, the letter adds, that the sands are running out.

In the course of a discussion on the Appropriation Bill in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey, replying to questions by Mr. Morrell regarding Persia, said that he did not think it was at present possible to find a group of financiers willing to lend money to Persia without an Anglo-Russian guarantee. The guaranteeing of a large loan, Sir E. Grey continued, would be one of the steps towards incurring a responsibility which he had been trying to avoid in Persia and elsewhere, but he contemplated a further advance of £200,000 to be equally divided between England and Russia. He believed that Russian conditions would not be onerous. The English condition would be that the money be spent on the promotion of the gendarmerie or other means for restoring order in the South. He hoped that the advance would lead to such an improvement that a large loan would be brought nearer in sight.

News received on the 6th August from Persia continues to be of a reassuring character, showing that internal affairs are settling down and that the Teheran authorities are taking a most hopeful view of the situation and regard Sir Edward Grey's fears about the loan as groundless. Sir Dawood Khan, the Persian Consul-General, in the course of an interview, said that, according to official intelligence from the Central Government received during the past three months, he could unhesitatingly say that the situation in Persia at the present moment has greatly improved. He pointed out that, apart from official reports from Teheran, he had seen nothing in the press in India or in England to cause anxiety in the public mind regarding Persian affairs. Several months ago there was, of course, trouble in parts of Persia, but since the defeat of the ex-Shah and Salar-ed Dauleh, both of whom have now disappeared from Persian politics, and since the death of Dawood Khan, the chief of the Kalohor tribes, and his son, affairs in Persia are regaining their normal condition. The disturbances in Kerman have been completely put down; Bundar Abbas is quiet and the road to Shiraz and Bushire is now open. The Persian Government is continuing the work of reform and reorganising the gendarmerie. It was with the intention of introducing far-seeing internal reforms that their Government wanted a loan. Official circles in Teheran believe that if the entire loan can be raised then the elaborate programme of reform can be carried out.

Answering a question, the Persian Consul General said, he is quite hopeful that the present situation in Persia justifies the expectation that the loan will be raised without any difficulty to the satisfaction of both the British and Russian Governments.

News has been received at the Persian Consulate of the death of Haider Khan, which took place on 2nd August. Haider Khan was responsible for the dispute between the Kashgooly and Kazewony tribes. It is hoped that his death will remove all causes of disturbance on the Shiraz-Bushire road.

News from Persia on 6th August states that the Russians are at last reducing the number of their troops at Meshed, which has been perfectly quiet for weeks past.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—Two hundred and sixty gendarmes left Shiraz on August 5th under the command of the Swedes Siefert and Nystrom, to fight the bandits who have lately been interrupting traffic on Bushire road. The gendarmes were routed at Diringan, losing a gun and almost all the rifles. Siefert was wounded.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE Persian Government (telegraphs Reuter's correspondent in Teheran) has accepted the Russian demand for an increase in the Persian Cossack force at Tabriz to 700 men, with two additional Russian Officers, on the understanding that the Persian Cossacks shall remain, as heretofore, under the authority of the Ministry of War. The Government, in notifying its acceptance, expresses the hope that Russia may now see her way clear to removing the Russian force of occupation from Tabriz.

In a message dated 10th July the Teheran correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* writes:—"Russia has presented a Note demanding the abrogation of the clause in the Treaty of Turkmanchai which forbids foreigners to acquire landed property. By way of

supporting this claim the Russians have once more moved 1,300 men into Azerbaidjan. Russia further demands that the Bakhtiari should resign from the Ministry and leave Teheran, and warns the Government against summoning the Mejliss. The population is giving credence to the rumours according to which the ex-Shah, Mohammed Ali, may yet return to Persia."

The situation at Tabriz seven months after the alleged massacres of Russians by the Nationalists and the occupation of the city by Shudja-ed-Dowleh is illustrated by the following brief telegrams which appeared in the *Novoe Vremya* of Monday last:—

"Syed Mir Husain, who with inflammatory speeches was inciting the mob in the bazar to create disturbances, has been sent by the Governor-General Shudja-ed-Dowleh to Maraga in chains. Syed Mir Husain had raised the red flag in the name of the Constitution and tried to persuade the mob that the arrival of the Sipahdar would bring with it better times. The agitator was surrendered to the Governor-General by the mob itself. The house of the Persian revolutionist Syed Mir Husain, who had been inciting the mob in the bazar to create disturbances, has been destroyed by order of Shudja-ed-Dowleh. Shudja-ed-Dowleh is taking strict measures for the suppression of the activity of objectionable elements of the population, which are trying to make use of the arrival of the Sipahdar for the purpose of fomenting disturbances. To-day the well known Fidai Mami (?) was publicly hanged by order of Shudja-ed-Dowleh."

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, July 12.

A strong effort is now being made by the British Minister to secure the opening of the Bakhtiari trade route, otherwise known as the Lynch road, from Teheran to Mohammerah. Owing to the insecurity which prevails, Messrs. Lynch recently stopped all transport, and this appears to have brought the Bakhtiari to their senses. It has now been agreed to appoint the Sardar Jengh as Ilkhani of the Bakhtiari for a term of five years, to reside at Behbahan with despotic powers. His principal task will be to secure the safety of the trade route and to maintain good relations with the Sheikhs at Mohammerah. For initial expenses the Imperial Bank has advanced him £8,000 worth of guaranteed shares in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Amir Mofakhem, a Bakhtiari, is also to be appointed Governor of Kirman.

This attempt to solve the problem of the southern roads results in a considerable measure from the recent visit of Captain Gray, British Consul at Ahwaz, to Teheran, and its success is highly desirable, although confessedly problematic.

The Government has accepted the Russian proposal for the establishment of the Cossack Brigade at Tabriz, to be at the disposition of the Persian Minister of War. The budget for the brigade will be under the supervision of the Treasury.

Teheran, July 14.

Russian enthusiasm for the Trans-Persian railway project continues, but English official interest seems now to be in abeyance here. The British and Russian Governments are being brought more and more face to face with the problem of reconstruction in Persia. The existing machine is rapidly running down, and the search for a constructive policy continues.

Some commercial moves, chiefly Russian, are, however, being made. Russia has secured a sub-concession for the navigation of Lake Urumiah and is about to extend the rails from the terminus at Russian Julfa across the Araxes to Persian Julfa. Russia also shows a disposition to press forward the Julfa-Tabriz-Teheran railway scheme step by step with the English Khoramabad project. Both these schemes appear to have a real commercial basis and the two lines would assist each other ultimately. Therefore concentration of energy upon these rather than upon the Trans-Persian scheme is inherently more probable. Russia also desires to construct a line from Julfa to Urumiah, which would immensely strengthen her strategic position in regard to the Turkish frontier.

I have reason to believe that Russia proposes shortly to ask for a revision of a clause of the Treaty of Turkmanchai which only allows foreigners to hold land for residence and business premises. Many Russian subjects desire to purchase agricultural and urban land. Moreover, inability to hold land as security is regarded as a serious obstacle to loan or railway proposals and banking business in the absence of other adequate securities. The creation of mixed tribunals is also advocated by Russia. It is recognized, however, that such measures will not solve the problem of reconstruction and that much larger issues, involving fresh definitions of the Anglo-Russian position in Persia, may force themselves upon the attention of the two Governments.

The Shiraz Correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette* writes under date 18th July:—The state of roads shows no improvement. The rate on transport on the Bushire road has risen to an unheard of figure owing to the increasing exactions of tribesmen and their Khans. As for the south-east districts not a single caravan has come in. This means a serious dislocation of trade and business in Shiraz is paralysed.

Foreign Affairs.

Debate in the Commons.

July 10.

THE House went into Committee of Supply, with Mr. Whitley in the Chair, on the Foreign Office Vote.

The Earl of Ronaldshay (U.—Hornsey) moved a reduction of £100 in the salary of the Foreign Secretary. He said that while he did this he could congratulate Sir Edward Grey on the success with which the continuity of foreign policy in this country had been maintained. Our foreign policy to-day, he said, was based on the *Triple Entente*. The foundations of the policy were laid by Lord Lansdowne, but Sir Edward Grey had succeeded in raising up a superstructure on the foundations which had already stood the test of no inconsiderable strain. It was incumbent on the right hon. gentleman to do nothing which would impair the relations of this country with France and Russia, and to take every opportunity of cementing and improving those good relations. It would be the height of folly if anything were to be done which might create in the minds of the Russian or French people the idea that we were not absolutely sincere in our intentions to co-operate cordially with them. Lord Ronaldshay went on to say that in some ways Russia could perhaps have reciprocated the good feeling of this country. Both Russia and Great Britain had special interests in Persia and recent events had shown that those interests were not altogether identical. A perusal of the correspondence published seemed to show that Russia had been a little backward to recognise our special position in Persia, and that as a result the diplomatic wheels in that part of the world had not been moving quite so smoothly as they could have wished in the last few months. The prime necessity from our point of view was the necessity of maintaining the independence of Persia. We must maintain a buffer State between our Indian dominions and a great military and Continental Power; and we had also to take into consideration the sentiments of the Muhammadan world. He had not liked the incidents associated with the return of the ex-Shah to Persia. He travelled from a Russian port in a Russian ship, which also carried arms and ammunition. When he (Lord Ronaldshay) had travelled through Central Asia he had had to get a special permit to carry a single gun, and he had had to subject the permit to the inspection of innumerable officials.

THE House must be forgiven if it saw in the situation in North Persia last autumn a striking and disconcerting reproduction of the situation which existed in Merv and in Bokhara and other parts of Central Asia on the eve of their absorption by Russia. It was with the greatest satisfaction that he observed that Russian policy in that part of the world had recently undergone considerable modification. It was true that the Russians had shown considerable reluctance to withdrawing troops from Northern Persia, but he hoped that the Foreign Office would be able now to give the House reassuring information on the point. Lord Ronaldshay went on to accuse the Foreign Office of pursuing a policy that was devious and not predetermined, a policy subject to periodic oscillations. He congratulated the Foreign Secretary, however, on having in conjunction with the Russian Government advanced £200,000 to Persia. This was understood to be the forerunner of a still larger loan. He wished to put specific questions to the Foreign Office. Was the further large loan to be made to Persia in the near future, and, if so, what was the approximate amount? Was the Foreign Secretary of opinion that when the Persian Government was supplied with funds it would prove capable of dealing with disorders in the south of the country? Was the Foreign Office's policy for protecting British interests confined to financing the Persian Government, or were any other steps in contemplation? What was the British policy with regard to the construction of railways in Persia? As to the trans-Persian Railway, he objected to the conditions laid down first, that the railway should be carried down to the Persian Gulf on the Russian gauge. From the strategic and commercial point of view that appeared to be a most foolish concession for any British Government to have made. If there was to be a break of gauge it should be as far away from the Gulf as possible, say at Ispahan. That part of the line which lay in Persian territory should be constructed neither on the Russian nor the Indian gauge—5 feet and 5 feet 6 inches respectively,—but on the standard gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches used in many other countries. Another condition which it was understood the British Government had laid down as necessary for British co-operation was that Russia should not oppose the application by Great Britain for the concessions of certain other lines into the interior of Persia. It was understood that such lines were to be internationalised. Surely they should be British?

Mr. A. A. Ponsonby (L.—Stirling Burghs) regarded the trans-Persian Railway with a great deal of misgiving. To be considered there were the commercial interest of Great Britain, the commercial interest of India, strategic interest, and last, but by no means least, the interest of Persia itself. We should benefit a great deal more by railway development in the south-west of Persia than by any projected line extending right across the south-east. Any project for

the development of British trade from the head of the Gulf up to Ispahan and Teheran would undoubtedly be a great benefit. Speaking generally of the state of affairs in Persia, Mr. Ponsonby held that all the fears expressed at the beginning of the session had been justified. Persia was to-day in a state of complete chaos. Russian troops still occupied the country, and there was grave danger of the ex-Shah being brought back to power under the direction of Russia. On the general question of the control of the House of Commons over foreign affairs, there were a great many members who believed that the House would gain greater control if a Foreign Affairs Committee were officially set up as in some other countries. He was disposed rather to doubt the efficacy of a scheme of that sort.—(Opposition cheers.) On the other hand, he felt that the House was confronted with a grave problem. Foreign affairs were being relegated to a very subordinate position. The Foreign Secretary had not the opportunity of telling the House what his policy was. It was to be wished that the House would commit itself to a resolution by which the Government, before concluding any treaty, before sanctioning any acquisition, cession, or exchange of territory, and before entering into any commitments which involved national responsibility, should consult the House of Commons and get a vote upon the question. That was not an impracticable proposal.

The success of any foreign policy could best be tested by the degree of sacrifice which was demanded from the taxpayer with the view of meeting expenditure on armaments. Subjected to this test, British foreign policy of the last six years had been rather a serious failure. New methods had been adopted. Till recent years the opinion of the Government on international matters was exercised by the Foreign Secretary alone. Negotiations, secret or open, were conducted by Ministers accredited to foreign Courts. This recognised method of negotiating had been superseded by a new and exceedingly dangerous system. Now the annual naval statement was used as a means of speaking to Europe, as a method of suggesting alliances and of preserving what was called the balance of power in Europe, and more especially as a means of cautioning, warning, and even threatening foreign countries. This official jingoism did not really represent the feeling of the people. He thought it unfortunate that there was not, as in former years, a day given to the discussion of Imperial defence so that the House could combine discussion on the Services with foreign policy. He would make two specific suggestions to the Government. As this country was responsible for the great increase in the expenditure on armaments which had seized the whole civilised world, this country should, on her own initiative, propose a conference in Europe for the limitation of the expenditure on armaments.

In conclusion, Mr. Ponsonby appealed to the Foreign Secretary to make a more definite advance towards friendly relations with Germany. It was not impossible, he believed, to arrive at a completely friendly relationship with Germany.—(Hear, hear.) In this connection he wished to protest against the constant singling out of Germany during naval debates in language only just short of provocative. We should get rid of the habit of mentioning foreign countries on those occasions, and classifying them as friends or possible enemies. Such references only stirred up ill-feeling and suspicion. The Foreign Secretary should be allowed to negotiate with foreign countries without the "assistance" of the Admiralty. Nothing could make him believe that we could not arrive at a clear and more friendly understanding with Germany, and if that were once established it would lay the foundations for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

Mr. G. A. Lloyd (U.—West Staffordshire) said many Liberals and several newspapers had lately decried the *Triple Entente*, partly on the ground that it was conceived with hostility to the Powers excluded from it, and partly on the ground that there were no reasons why we should interfere in the internal policy of Europe. The truth was that we had been forced to have that *Entente*. Without feeling any antipathy to any other Power, we were bound as a sensible nation to weigh up the forces that might conceivably be used against us among the Powers of Europe, and to take precautions accordingly. Two main considerations determined our foreign policy—the defence of India and the prevention of the domination of Europe by any one Power. For the past hundred years our attention was fixed almost entirely on the defence of India, for there was no one Power that could dominate Europe. In the last few years, however, Germany had arisen as the great dominant military Power in Europe. She first exerted pressure on the independence of Holland, then there was pressure on France which resulted in the fall of M. Delcassé, then pressure upon Russia over Bosnia and Herzegovina, and finally pressure upon France and other Powers over the Agadir incident. If we had ignored all those obvious factors in the balance of power in Europe we should have been little short of criminal with regard to our own national safety. To ignore those factors would be to draw the design of our own sarcophagus. The position in Europe was still very clouded, and in view of that the Opposition, who supported the Government consistently on matters of foreign policy, were entitled to some explanation of the escapade which took place recently affecting the

Triple Entente and Germany. He would deprecate sudden peace missions by War Ministers to Germany. They were a usurpation of the proper functions of the Foreign Secretary and the British Ambassador in Berlin. The War Minister had gone to Germany to preach Goethe *versus* guns. Such missions did not tend to improve international relations. They rather tended to accentuate bitterness of feeling between the two countries, and to rouse passion which had better be dormant. He hoped the Foreign Secretary would give some explanation of this mission and its results.

Referring to the Trans-Persian Railway, Mr. Lloyd said he realised that there were in the project the germs of much danger to India and Persia. He would much prefer to see a railway constructed which would have not a postal *tracé*, but an economic *tracé*. In that respect the project failed, for his present *tracé* was not economic. At the same time he did not believe it was possible permanently to isolate India for railway expansion. The enormous increase of her population and the political and economic changes which were taking place there were likely to force a demand for rapid communication between Europe and India before very long. Under the Anglo-Russian Convention of a few years ago Russia could to-day build a railway in Ispahan provided she obtained the consent of the Persian Government. She could get the money in Paris, or perhaps even in Russia, because such a railway might be an economic and paying railway. If Russia did that Russian goods would find their way—fostered probably by a system of railway rebates—in ever-increasing quantities to the central markets of Persia, which were now mainly furnished by British and Indian goods, and there would at once be pressure from India and elsewhere upon the British Government to provide a railway through Southern Persia to meet the competition from the North. That would probably be the best solution of the difficulty. He understood that negotiations had been proceeding for the acquisition of a concession for a British Railway in Southern Persia which should force its way into the central zone. What had become of that proposal? So far as he knew there was no immediate prospect of anything being done at all. In those circumstances he did not feel as hostile to the trans-Persian Railway project as some members did. After all, we must remember our European interests as well as our Indian interests. We must, however, see that the railway did not mean the loss of the independence of Persia. Above all we must see that there was no repetition of what happened in Manchuria, where the country was lost to China through the political guards that looked after the railway through Manchuria.

Sir G. S. Robertson (L.—Bradford) said he was decidedly adverse to the trans-Persian Railway project. It seemed to him obviously strategic instead of commercial. For instance, how could it possibly pay beyond Ispahan unless it was supported by a substantial guarantee, and who was to pay that guarantee? Again, who was going to benefit? About Russia he would say nothing, except that she no doubt had power to extend her present railway as far as Ispahan, irrespective of this scheme. It was doubtful whether Persia would derive any advantage from the scheme. It could not be shown, he thought, that Persia could bear the heavy guarantee the railway would require. As to its advantages to England, he could see only one, and that was that the mails and a few passengers might be able to get to India a few days quicker than by the present routes. On the other hand, such a line would surely interfere with us more or less commercially. It must interfere with the traffic through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, where our share greatly preponderated. Most important of all was the strategic position of India, and the great expense which could be caused by any change in our frontier which we had made enormous sacrifices to maintain. There was an alternative route which seemed to him more worthy of support. He hoped that things in Persia itself would now improve. A large portion of the loan ought to be earmarked so as to ensure that the chaotic state of South Persia might be remedied. As far as Persia itself was concerned, he had personally no hope in the Mejliss. It was only by a strong Persian Government that reform could be effected. He hoped Sir E. Grey would be able to give some reassurance about the state of things in Persia generally, and more especially as regarded the turmoil and chaos that had so long prevailed in the South.

Mr. J. L. Baird (U.—Rugby) expressed his fears of a reduction of our forces in the Mediterranean, and quoted the leading article in that day's *Daily News* as showing that his fears were not groundless. Had the withdrawal of ships from the Mediterranean, he asked, taken place after consultation and with the consent of His Majesty's representatives at the Courts of the Mediterranean Powers. Did it meet with the approval of the Military and Naval Commander-in-Chief at Malta? It would perhaps, he said, be impossible to tell the House whether we had arranged to have our interests in the Mediterranean looked after by some other Power, but he thought at any rate before the ships were withdrawn the country should have the opportunity of saying whether they were not prepared to spend more money sooner than have the ships withdrawn.

Mr. John Dillon (Nationalist—East Mayo) called attention to the present situation in Egypt, and to the "calm" which had

existed since Lord Kitchener went there. They had been treated, he said, to a series of articles dealing with this calm, and the *Times* described how Nationalists had fled to the Bosphorus. Before the change in Turkey members of the Young Turks party had to fly from Constantinople to Cairo. Now the Nationalists of Cairo had to fly to Constantinople. He thought the change was rather a painful one for Great Britain. There had been a very severe Coercion Act brought into operation against the Nationalist party, and Nationalist newspapers had been suppressed. This was the way the calm had been brought about. Now they were told by the press that a plot to assassinate Lord Kitchener, the Khedive, and the Premier had been discovered, and arrests had been made. From a careful study of the Denshawi trial he had come to the conclusion that no person charged with a crime which had a shadow of political colouring attached to it could hope for anything like a fair trial in Egypt. He strongly appealed to the Government, in view of the condition of justice in Egypt at the present time, to lay on the table all the information that could be obtained relating to these charges and to state the character of the tribunal before which the men would appear.

Turning to Persian matters Mr. Dillon said that his claim for the Persian people was this, that having by their own exertions, unaided by external power, put an end to one of the most abominable Governments any nation ever groaned under, the Governments of Russia and England should give them fair play, and allow them to work out their own salvation in their own way. From the hour on which the rebellion succeeded, however, the Persians had not for a single day obtained fair play. The Government there had been deliberately paralysed by Russia, and this country had weakly consented to it. The very disorders which were the direct result of the continual interference of Russian agents had been used as an argument to discredit the Persian Government and blacken it in the eyes of the world. At this moment Northern Persia was a Russian province. Yet we talked about preserving the independence and integrity of Persia! Great Britain had sanctioned the appointment of the ex-Shah's lieutenant and chief agent as Governor of Tabriz, and all the leading Nationalists of that town had been beheaded. He appealed to Sir Edward Grey to make some strong statement that would convey to the people of Persia the assurance that the British Government intended to stand honourably by pledges given in the past.

Mr. M. Sykes (U.—Hull) condemned the trans-Persian Railway scheme as not being a business proposition and as not likely to lead to the development of Persia. He advocated British support of schemes for the construction of railways northward from the head of the Persian Gulf and connection with Russian railways so that Russian traffic might find its way to the Gulf.

Sir E. Grey (Secretary for Foreign Affairs) said he gathered that the Committee wanted to make use of this opportunity to get information on the special points that had been raised, rather than to have a general statement on foreign policy. With regard to the criticisms passed by Lord Ronaldshay on the Anglo-Russian Agreement, these criticisms rather tended to show that the Agreement was being worked rather in the Russian interest than in ours. It was a counterpart of the sort of criticism which the Russian Government had to meet from a section of opinion in its own country. This section said that the Anglo-Russian Agreement had been a most one-sided affair, because Russia had given up a great deal and received very little in return. In judging the state of things in Persia they really had to consider, not whether the Anglo-Russian Agreement had brought about a perfect state of things, but whether it had brought about a better or worse state of things than there would have been if no such Agreement existed. They had also to bear in mind the fact that Russian influence before the Agreement was supreme in the north of Persia, and that in the chaos which succeeded in Persia the Government might, but for the Agreement, have made its influence still more supreme at Teheran than it had ever been before. Russia might practically have annexed the north of Persia, and if she had done so she could have pursued from that base a forward policy of railways, and so forth, towards the Indian frontier.

Generally, under the Anglo-Russian Agreement, the Russian Government had given up that forward policy which some people thought she might pursue in that part of Asia, and from that point of view the Agreement had been a self-denying ordinance on the part of Russia. Take the case of the Afghan Agreement. The Ameer had not signed it, but Russia had entirely waived that condition in practice and loyally observed that part of the Agreement. When they looked at the Anglo-Russian Agreement as a whole, and when they considered all the trouble there had been and what would have happened, not in Persia alone but in the general relations between Russia and Great Britain if the Agreement had not been in existence, he said that the maintenance of that Agreement was more than ever necessary, and that the state of things, unsatisfactory as he admitted it was to-day, was as nothing compared with the complications that would have arisen if there had been no such Agreement. But for the Agreement Russia would have been constantly under the apprehension that we in the south of Persia were going to take advantage

of the chaos of the situation there to prejudice her interest, and the old state of suspicion and intrigue and squabble which existed formerly would have been intensified many-fold. Instead of that, however, that might have differed about details; there had never been a suspicion for a moment that either side had been attempting to exploit the situation in Persia to the disadvantage of the other, and the fact that that had been so had been not only to the mutual interests of the two countries but to the interests of peace. That was a truer perspective than that given by Mr. Dillon, who left out of account past history and material facts of the situation which were essential in forming a true judgment of the working of the agreement.

Passing to the questions raised by Lord Ronaldshay, the Foreign Secretary said he had been charged with inconsistency. He quite admitted that in one or two things there had been verbal inconsistencies. But there had been no inconsistency about British policy in Persia. The British Government had always been opposed to sending anything like an expedition into the south of Persia. They did reinforce the Consular Guards last year, because they were told there was real danger to life at Shiraz, but they purposely restricted the action of those Guards so that they might not be committed to a large expedition. It was true that there had been less disorder and less interference with trade in North Persia because Russia had had so many troops there than there had been in the South. It was also true that if the British Government had chosen to use troops and undertake serious liabilities in the south of Persia they might have done much to keep the roads open. But the Government were most reluctant to embark on a policy of that kind, because, though the beginning was easy, the end was difficult. They still held that they should, so long as they possibly could, avoid intervention which was likely to be of a permanent kind, even in the south of Persia. He had been asked whether a further large loan was likely to be made to Persia in the near future. He wished he could say "Yes." But with the state of things in Persia as it was, it was very difficult to see how a large loan was to be made on attractive terms. Persia wanted money, but it was no use to lend her money until the money was likely to be effectively spent. The Swedish officers employed by the Persian Government were now engaged in organising gendarmery for the south, and if any money was lent or any support given by the British Government they would certainly stipulate that some of the money should be spent on the restoration of order on the Southern roads. Lord Ronaldshay had asked whether the British Government contemplated any measures for restoring order in the South, except financing the Persian Government. They did not at the present moment contemplate any measures, because no measures would be effective. They would, of course, do everything they could by diplomatic influence to help and encourage the work of the Swedish officers, but they did not contemplate taking such measures as sending a British force to keep the roads open, for the reasons he had already given.

Turning to the question of the trans-Persian Railway, Sir E. Grey said that before the Anglo-Russian Agreement was made the apprehension in this country always was that Russia would use her influence in the north of Persia to make a railway towards Seistan or into Seistan, which would be strategically most prejudicial and alarming to the Indian Government. What was feared was that with Great Britain and Russia holding themselves at arm's length, suspicious of each other, we should one day find that the Shah, under Russian influence at Teheran, had given a concession for a railway of a nature most damaging to us. The Anglo-Russian agreement had put an end to any possibility of that kind. Under that Agreement, Russia could get concessions for railways in a certain sphere in North Persia, but it would be an entire breach of that Agreement if Russia were to get any concession for a railway into Seistan, for instance. He would go further. It would not be an altogether undesirable condition of affairs if Persia could always remain undeveloped, unpierced by railways—if, in fact, the whole of it were a desert without any inhabitants—so far as our strategic position in India was concerned. But Persia was not a desert without any inhabitants. It was a country capable of being developed. Therefore we could not possibly construe the Anglo-Russian Agreement as meaning that railways were not to be made in Persia at all. In fact everybody admitted that a railway from Mohammera would be a desirable railway. Russia, of course, had her views as to railways. She would like to bring her trade in from the north, just as we desired a railway from Mohammera to bring Indian trade up from the Gulf. He foresaw then that railways must be made in Persia sooner or later. And they would be for the good of Persia. Someone had said there would have to be guards, and so forth, and that would infringe the independence of Persia and the authority of the Persian Government. But without railways he doubted whether the Persian Government would have any authority, especially with the tribes in the south. It would remain in the uncontrolled and semi-chaotic state in which it had always been. Railways would, therefore, have to come sooner or later if Persia was to become a developed and ordered State. When railways had been made in Persia, the question was sure to come up of connecting them

with the Indian railways. The moment an overland route to India became a possibility it could not be indefinitely resisted. The Government came to the conclusion, therefore, that when the idea of a trans-Persian Railway was mooted they ought not in principle to oppose it and say that their policy was never to have a trans-Persian railway at all, and that they would always oppose an overland route to India. That would not be a wise or practical policy for His Majesty's Government to adopt in the long run, and so they said that they had no objection to the Société d'Etudes being formed to go into the question from a financial and economic point of view.

The hon. member for Bradford had asked if such a railway could be made without a guarantee. The Government were absolutely uncommitted with regard to any guarantee, and even if the Government or any Government that succeeded them decided that it was desirable to recommend a guarantee it would have to be submitted first to the House of Commons. They thought it right to make it quite clear that if a trans-Persian railway was to be constructed the Government must reserve great liberty of action before they could support any particular line. They had told the Société d'Etudes that, though in principle they did not oppose a trans-Persian railway and would under proper conditions be favourable to it, they must reserve full freedom of action when it came to the actual construction and the subsequent management. (Hear, hear.) They had reserved their opinion with regard to the alignment of the railway, the constitution of the Board, the representation of British interests, the question generally of freight and passenger rates, and also specially with regard to the break of gauge. Even if a trans-Persian railway became feasible, before it could receive the support of the British Government they would have to come to an agreement with Russia with regard to the branch lines of the railway to be made—(cheers)—and the retention of control of the lines in the British sphere and the equality of treatment for British trade. The question of break of gauge was an important one, and must be carefully considered before the Government were committed to any scheme. When the Société d'Etudes had reported as to whether it was feasible to make a railway, and if so what railway should be made, the House ought to be informed as to what the proposals were, to hear from the Government on what conditions the Government were prepared to consent to any definite scheme. He had always contemplated that the southern part of a line from Mohammera should, if a concession were given, be conceded to a British company. If it went further north into the Russian sphere they could not have a British company with a concession in the Russian sphere. He would bear carefully in mind what construction was to be put on any internationalisation which might be applied to the southern part of the railway. With regard to the negotiations with Turkey about the Baghdad Railway, the British Government had not committed themselves to any scheme. Turkey had made an agreement with Germany under which she recovered her liberty of action, subject to one or two conditions with regard to the railway below Baghdad. Negotiations were going on between Britain and Turkey in regard to this portion of the railway. Germany was perfectly aware of these negotiations, and directly German interests were affected—if they were affected—by the negotiations the British Government would be perfectly ready to discuss the matter with the German Government. At the present moment the basis of the negotiations was as to whether we should give our consent to the increase in the Turkish Customs duties which Turkey wanted, and one great object the British Government wished to secure was that there should be an understanding between us and Turkey about the *status quo* of questions relating to the Persian Gulf generally. When the negotiations had reached a conclusion the result would be made known, but he could assure the noble lord that they were not committed to any syndicate, and that they would not commit themselves to any syndicate on conditions that the railway should go beyond Bussorah.

In reply to Mr. Dillon, concerning a plot in Egypt, he said that as yet he had received no evidence. It was the business of the authorities in Egypt to look after this, and it was impossible yet to discuss the matter in the House. His own feeling had undoubtedly been one of immense relief that if there had been a plot it had been discovered in time. He had not the least doubt that there would be a perfectly fair trial, and he could only say that the policy of Lord Kitchener in Egypt had, from all the accounts which reached them, been not only an unqualified success, but had been exceedingly popular with the native Egyptian opinion itself. Lord Kitchener had been most accessible to native Egyptian opinion, and the zeal and energy he had shown in developing the interests of the natives themselves had been deeply appreciated. He believed that the press prosecutions were under an old law. We could not judge these prosecutions from the point of view of a Western country. Of course, here or in Western countries attacks upon the Government went on, it was perfectly well known, unchecked because there was a general understanding that there was to be freedom of the press and no interference, but in Oriental countries a Government was always in this difficulty, that if violent attacks were made upon it, and especially upon persons of the

Government, the impression given was not one of liberty and justice but simply one of fear, that the Government would never allow the attacks to be made unless there was some reason or other to be afraid of the people who made the attacks. He did not like these press prosecutions, and he would like them to be as few as possible, but they had to bear in mind that the Egyptian Government and the British Consul-General in Egypt had come to the conclusion that the prosecutions in the given case were necessary. They could not judge it entirely by Western standards. He did not wish to put the matter higher than this, that attacks upon the Government would weaken authority and alienate people who were well-disposed, but who would think that if the Government would not stick up for itself it could not be supported.

Mr. Dillon: What did Lord Cromer do?

Sir Edward Grey said that if his recollection was right Lord Cromer, during the last few years he was in Egypt, had come to the conclusion that the great latitude allowed to the press was causing great mischief in Egypt, and some action would have to be taken. In regard to a newspaper printed in this country which had been suppressed in Egypt, he said that one article he read in this contained information absolutely inaccurate as to British policy in general, and the result of which, if it were believed, must be to make people believe that our policy was actively anti-Islamic. There could be no more mischievous statement made. When the Egyptian Government decided to exclude the paper from Egypt, from what he had seen he certainly came to the conclusion that it was an action in which he could not interfere with the discretion of the Egyptian Government. Lord Kitchener and the Egyptian Government in fact were perfectly right. —W

Turning to what he described as larger questions, Sir Edward Grey said he had been asked about a statement as to a reduction of our force in the Mediterranean. The question really raised, was one of the greatest importance, so much so that it was difficult to handle it definitely. It was the question of the relation between foreign policy and naval strength. The hon. member had read a quotation from a newspaper saying we had surrendered our naval predominance in the Far East to Japan, in the West to the United States, and that now we were going to surrender in the Mediterranean to a third Power. He did not know whether it was the opinion of the editor that we should maintain separately a sufficient margin of strength to protect our own islands in the home waters, a sufficient margin to rule independently in the Far East, and a sufficient margin of strength to keep us pre-eminent in the west of the Atlantic and the east of the Pacific, and then a separate standard for the Mediterranean altogether. Of course this was absolutely out of the question. He must ask the Committee to bear in mind that it was exceedingly difficult to be definite about this question. He would try to put two definite issues. In the first place we must not rely upon our foreign policy to protect the United Kingdom. That was to say, if we let our margin of naval strength in home waters fall below that which might be brought to bear against us, we were setting our foreign policy a task which it ought not to be set.

If we did not keep up our naval strength our foreign policy would become impossible, because in every diplomatic situation which arose we would have to give way, and our position would not be that of a great Power. Whatever our foreign policy was, we must keep a sufficient margin in home waters. —(Hear, hear.) But when they got further afield into other parts of the world it was a different matter, and our foreign policy and naval strategy did to a large extent depend on each other. Take the question of the Far East. The relation between the Japanese alliance and naval strategy in the Far East had been most intimate. It was worth while considering at the present moment that with all the instability there was in China at the present moment, and all the difficulties which arose, there had been no fear whatever of international complications. —(Hear, hear.) The good working of the Japanese Alliance in recent years had been a great factor in that. In the last few years that alliance had worked nothing but good. It had not brought us into worse relations with any other Power: it had not brought Japan into worse relations. On the contrary, the relations between Japan and Russia were now exceedingly good, and he believed the alliance was more than ever in the mutual interests of the two countries. —(Hear, hear.) They had worked it with great restraint and perfect loyalty to each of them, and it had been a great and beneficent factor in keeping peace in the Far East, and preventing the disturbances in China, which were due to internal causes, from giving rise to international apprehensions between the Powers whose interests were concerned.

Having said that, he came to the Mediterranean question. At the present moment he had no hesitation in saying that we either have sufficient force, or could put into the Mediterranean at short notice sufficient force, to meet any emergency. We had not incurred any peril at the present moment. The hon. member was doubtless thinking of our future policy when he asked if we were going to abandon our position, which would put us in a state in which we could not protect our interests. He quite agreed that if we did

anything like abandoning the Mediterranean we could not make our position there secure by any skilful diplomacy or foreign policy. On the other hand, it was certainly not necessary that we should keep a force in the Mediterranean which was to be put out on a moment's notice to hold its own against all the other fleets. He admitted that if we abandoned the Mediterranean altogether—although at present we had no prospect of quarrel with any Power in the Mediterranean, and although he did not think there was a single Mediterranean Power which was contemplating hostile or prejudicial designs against us—there would be a tendency for us to be left out of account, to slip out of account, and we would find that the diplomatic situation was hardened against us. Therefore he admitted that we ought to keep a sufficient naval force available for use in the Mediterranean at any moment so that we should count as one of the Mediterranean naval Powers. Of course, that left out of account what force we might in an emergency be able to put there from other places. Further than that, he did not think he could take the Committee at present.

Our general foreign policy remained unchanged. The starting point in any developments in European foreign policy was the maintenance of our friendships with France and Russia. With that as our starting point, let us have the best possible relations with other countries. —(Hear, hear.) When they saw France or Russia coming to an agreement with another European Power and being on good terms with it, as was emphasised by the meeting between the Russian and German Emperors recently—when they saw that they had every reason to congratulate themselves.—(Ministerial cheers.) He was convinced that France and Russia were as loyal to the friendship with us as we were to our friendship with them. Nothing which took place on occasions such as the meeting in the Baltic the other day was going to take place to our disadvantage. Just as if there were difficulties between France and Germany or Russia and Germany, that was going to exercise a disturbing influence on diplomatic relations between ourselves and Germany, so anything which removed difficulties between France and Germany or Russia and Germany—as the Morocco settlement did last year, and as the recent conversations between Russia and Germany might have done—smoothed the path of relations between Great Britain and Germany too. A very significant statement had appeared in the official *communiqué* published after the meeting of the Emperors in the Baltic the other day. It was this sentence—"There can be no question either of new agreements, because there was no particular occasion for them, or of producing alterations of any kind in the grouping of the European Powers, the value of which for the maintenance of peace has already been proved." He entirely endorsed that statement. He had always felt that though there might be separate groups, they need not necessarily be in opposing diplomatic camps. Our own relations with the German Government at the present moment were excellent.—(Cheers.) We were perfectly frank about all questions of mutual interest. He believed that when questions came up, whether, for instance, in connection with the two countries, respective interests in Southern Africa or whether in connection eventually with the Baghdad Railway, both Governments were convinced that their mutual interests could fairly be reconciled. He had done all he could to establish such relations. On the question of China, for instance and the action of the six Powers he had been perfectly frank in expressing this country's views, believing that thus it would be found there was no real opposition. So he would conclude by saying that separate diplomatic groups there were, as had been recognised in the *communiqué* he had read, but he did not think that ought to prevent frankness and the exchange of views upon questions of mutual interest. If that took place, the separate diplomatic groups need not necessarily mean opposing diplomatic camps.—(Cheers.)

Colonel C. E. YATE (U—Melton) said that information he had received from Persia served to show that dishonesty and corruption were to be found on every side. One after another Nationalist Ministers seemed to fall into bad practices. At the present moment Persia could not stand alone. Unless she was helped and controlled by her neighbours she must fall to pieces. But for Russia and England she would have gone to pieces long ago.

Mr. NOEL BUXTON (L.—North Norfolk) said that if reform in Turkey was to come from within the rivalry between the British and German Embassies at Constantinople was a lamentable obstacle. This disastrous rivalry also blocked the way if reform was to come from without by small Powers. There was only one small Power that could cut the Balkan knot. But could Bulgaria move while this division in Europe existed? While this rivalry existed, to talk about the Persian and other questions was like attempting to make a watch go when the main spring was broken. A feeling of uneasiness widely prevailed as to the Anglo-German relation, and he hoped the Foreign Secretary would be able to make a still more reassuring statement.

Sir J. D. REES (U.—Nottingham) said with regard to Sir Edward Grey's speech he would be glad to know whether the right hon.

gentleman really suggested that Russia had any idea of trade in promoting the trans-Persian Railway. He thought it was notorious that in Moscow, the commercial capital of Russia, the projected railway was viewed with the greatest apprehension, and was regarded as purely strategic. He asked for information as to the position of the opium traders of India who had five or six million pounds worth of stock laid up in treaty ports. China would not cease to use opium, and the Indian-grown opium was the best and the least harmful.

Sir G. TOULMIN (L.—Bury) feared lest the great opium crime of the last century should again be an evil influence at the commencement of a new *régime* in China. The resolution of 1906 was an instruction to put an end as soon as possible to the conditions which were existing. There were also the decision to take ten years to right the wrong and the conferences at Shanghai and at the Hague. The latter was an indication that the question had assumed an international aspect. The argument as to the poor Indian taxpayer had rather lost its force during the last year or two, seeing that the great surplus owing to the rise in the price of opium had really given to the Indian revenue almost as much in the year or two that had gone by as was expected to be received during the ten years. The new agreement came to in May 1911, recognised the sincerity of the Chinese Government, and their pronounced success in diminishing the production of opium in China. Yet, this very agreement had been made an instrument for forcing into China in advance of the instalments agreed upon quantities of uncertified opium. Now it was said that there were large stocks, and the opium speculators desired that the British Government should back their speculation and put pressure on the Chinese Government to enforce or encourage wholesale buying, and to discourage the Chinese local authorities from putting impediments in the way of retail trade and smoking. He trusted that no pressure of this kind would lead the Government to reverse its policy.

Mr. Bonar Law (Leader of the Opposition) said he supported as strongly as he could the broad lines of policy pursued by Sir E. Grey.



Morocco.

The Situation at Marakesh.

For some years Marakesh has been almost forgotten. Since Mulai-el Hafid left the southern capital on the march or flight which ended in a more or less triumphant entry into Fez, political interest has been almost entirely confined to Fez and the north.

Once indeed again, when Mulai Abd-el-Aziz was making his last attempt to preserve his throne, Marakesh was brought into notice. For one memorable day when the prisoners and booty, which announced the defeat of Abd-el-Aziz, were being brought in from one side of the city, and the dead and wounded of the Glawa party, which had made an unsuccessful attack on the Mtoogi, were being carried in at another, the fate of the city seemed to hang in the balance. A day later the arrival of Si Aïssa and Si Madani from Fez compelled the retreat of the Mtoogi, and ended the last hopes of Mulai Abd-el-Aziz.

Now again the grim, crumbling old city is passing through a crisis. This time it is not the fate of a Sultan who, confiding in the support of his European friends, had lost the respect of his subjects, which is at stake, but the safety of all those Europeans who, trusting in the strength and prudence of France, have remained in Marakesh despite the shock which events in Fez must have given to their trust.

The state of affairs appears to be comparatively clear. Outside the walls the chief factor in the present disturbance is the tribe of Misfawat, whose country lies between Marakesh and the Glawi pass. The tribe refuses to allow the passage of any Glawa, so that the Glawa in the city are for the moment completely cut off from their fellow tribesmen and from their base.

Within the city there are three powers—the governor, the Mtoogi, and the Glawa—and the cause of the trouble is the fear that, through French influence, the Glawa are to be placed in a position of even greater power than they previously enjoyed. The governor and the Mtoogi are of one mind on the question of disliking the re-establishment of the Glawa, and the Mtoogi, or rather, as the Mtoogi is still outside the city, his fiery representative, who is leading the Mtoogi at present within the walls, is prepared to go any extreme to prevent the carrying out of the scheme, and to oppose the announcement, believed of the expected appointment of the Glawi to the governorship of the city.

At his strongest it is doubtful if the Glawi would fight the Mtoogi with much hope of success; but now that he is cut off from the mountains, can expect no help from the present governor, and is hated by the population, his chances of success in an appeal to arms

seem slight indeed. There seems no reason to doubt the existence of a widely spread belief that the Glawi relies on French support, and it is this belief alone which makes the situation dangerous to Europeans.

The Glawi's brother, Haj Thami, was a strong and on the whole a good governor of Marakesh for several years, and it is not unlikely that the Glawa family are better suited than any of their rivals to carry out the peculiar duties which will fall to the lot of kaid under the new *régime*, but that is not the chief point at present.

The French are now at their own wish responsible for seeing that the steps necessary for establishing their hold on the country shall not unnecessarily prejudice European interests or endanger European lives. For many years Europeans in Marakesh have suffered anxiety, at times extreme danger, owing to the steps and incidents which have led to the establishment of the Protectorate. During the last few years, however, a series of indications—such as the presence of French military officers, and the establishment of a French consular officer—has led naturally to the belief that France felt herself strong enough to disregard native prejudice, and Europeans, quick to take the hint, have gone in increased numbers to Marakesh confident that France believed herself able to insure the safety of themselves and their property.

It would be absurd to expect that immediately after the signatures of the Protectorate, order should be firmly established all over Morocco. The difficulties to be surmounted are very great, and even such a miscalculation as caused the recent events in Fez, and which perhaps, delayed steps which would otherwise have been taken in Marakesh, however, deplorable, cannot well be resented. The dangers were unknown or underestimated, and the awful consequences were nearly as much a surprise to the Moors as to the French.

In Marakesh the case is quite different. The dangers are obvious and avoidable, and if a disaster came there will be little doubt as to where the blame must be placed. A few weeks ago everything in the city was quiet. The population was perfectly peaceable and well disposed towards foreigners, the shock of the news from Fez had been received with unexpected calmness, and there was no reason to expect any disturbances.

The danger has arisen entirely owing to the belief that the French authorities intend to use their influence to make the Glawa family all powerful. The present moment seems so unpropitious for bringing on a trial of strength between the Glawa and their enemies that the general belief as to the French policy seems almost absurd; but, absurd or not, it exists and is infinitely dangerous.

The Glawa and the Mtoogi have for weeks been ready to attack each other, and when, almost a fortnight ago, the Mtoogi under arms were awaiting the expected announcement in the mosque of the first dreaded Glawa appointment to begin the fight, the whole of the city was listening for the first shot as the signal for an outbreak, the direction and extent of which none could foresee.

Many Europeans have left Fez, but many still remain, and prefer to run all risks rather than abandon the duties or interests for which they are responsible.

The French authorities have it in their power to remove all danger in either of two ways. They can destroy the belief that it is their influence which is supporting the Glawa, or they can, if it be not too late, request all Europeans to leave Marakesh, and guarantee them against unavoidable loss.

In the first case all cause of excitement except hostility to the Glawa family would be removed, and a purely native quarrel alone remain. In the second case the utmost to be feared would be material losses such as the French Government has on previous occasions exacted payment for from those held responsible for them.

Before this time it may be that the necessary steps have been taken, and that the crisis has passed. That perfectly obvious dangers should be knowingly run, and the risk of ultimate disaster willingly taken would be intolerable.

It is a sad truth that many stages in the growth of French influence in Morocco have been accompanied by tragedies. The murder of Dr. Mauchamp, the outbreaks at Casablanca and at Fez, have each marked an advance, and each has exceeded its predecessor in the scale of bloodshed and horror. Surely the establishment of French influence in the south is not to be preceded by yet another tragedy, perhaps more terrible, certainly more easily foreseen than any of the previous ones.

It after Fez has convinced the most dull of the existence of dangers which many have long known, want of prudence, skill or strength leads to a repetition on the south of the horrors of the north, the best friends of France will doubt if they have been well advised in helping her to undertake a responsibility which she either fails to realise or is unable to bear, and the consequences will be felt in the questions which still remain to be settled.

That innocent people should have suffered as Europeans in Marrakesh must already have suffered, is bad enough. No words could fully describe the crime of permitting the suspense of the last few weeks to continue until put an end to at the hands of a fanatical mob.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Replying in the House of Commons to a question by Mr. Noel Buxton, Sir Edward Grey said that the Italian occupation of the Aegean Islands must occasion considerable discussion when the war is over.

Reuter wires from Cetinje on August 3rd:—An all night engagement took place between the Albanians and Turks yesterday but with no decisive result. The revolution is spreading.

On the 2nd instant two bombs exploded in the market at Uskub. Two Jews, four Moslems and 32 Bulgars were killed and three Moslems and 11 Bulgars wounded.

Reuter wires from Salonika:—The explosion reported on August 2nd took place at Kochana and not at Uskub.

The situation at Constantinople is disquieting. The Committee of Union and Progress has induced the Chamber to adopt a motion to interpellate the Minister of War, whom it accuses of complicity with the Military League. Eighty officers and partisans of the Committee, at a meeting in Liberty Hall, passed a resolution in favour of preventing the illegal dissolution of the Chamber. The Cabinet is sitting late and it is believed that it has decided to act vigorously and arrest a number of officers.

Reuter wires from Cetinje on August 4th:—Fighting between the Turkish and Montenegrin Frontier Guards broke out yesterday morning and lasted till late in the evening. Montenegrins allege that the Turks were the aggressors. Montenegrins stormed the Turkish entrenchment. They say that 50 Turks were killed and that they themselves lost 12 killed and 15 wounded.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on August 4th:—The Senate has adopted the Government motion interpreting the Constitution as meaning that the present Chamber is merely a continuation of the last and that, therefore, its mandate has expired.

The Trade dissolving the Chamber is expected to-day.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Chamber, so far from accepting the Government's and Senate's interpretation of the Constitution, on August 4th passed a vote of want of confidence in the Government, which then adjourned *sine die*. Thus a direct conflict has arisen between the Committee of Union and Progress, who dominate the Chamber and are supported by a considerable section of the Military, and the Government, which is backed by a strong Military force and is confronted with the Albanian rebellion, the leaders of which insist upon dissolution.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on August 5th:—In spite of the vote of censure, the Grand Vizier to-day went to the Senate and the Chamber and read the decree of dissolution ordering new elections.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The President of the Chamber went to the Palace on August 4th to inform the Sultan of the vote of censure of the Government. His Majesty refused to receive him.

An Imperial rescript was read in the Chamber on August 5th stating that the Cabinet enjoyed the full confidence of the Sultan.

It is reported that the Cabinet has decided to arrest some of the principal members of the Committee of Union and Progress, including Talaat Bey and Djavid Bey.

The Cabinet has decided to proclaim a state of siege in Constantinople for forty days.

Reuter wires from Cetinje:—The Turkish Minister has demanded satisfaction for the recent frontier fight within twenty-four hours, otherwise there will be rupture in diplomatic relations.

Reuter wires from Salonika:—Travellers from Kochana declare that over a hundred persons were killed in the recent bomb explosions.

Bulgarian bands are entering Turkey and distributing arms to the villagers in Ishtip District.

The troops at Prizrend and Mitrovitza have joined the insurgents and have sent delegates to the Albanian Conference at Pristina.

Reuter wires from Cetinje on August 6th:—Frontier fighting continued throughout the 5th August. Montenegrins were ordered to retire from the border and to adopt a defensive policy. The Turks, however, crossed the frontier and attacked. They were repulsed with loss however by the Montenegrin infantry and artillery. General Vuxotych has been ordered to the scene empowered to urge the Turks to common action to restore tranquillity. After repulsing the Turks, the Montenegrins followed them over the Frontier and captured three fortified positions.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—Djavid Bey and Talaat Bey, whom it is reported the Cabinet have decided to arrest, have gone to Salonika to confer with the Committee of Union and Progress.

Reuter wires from Cetinje:—Montenegro has replied stiffly to Turkish complaints and insists that none of its soldiers was on Turkish territory. The encounter was the result of continuous provocation by Turkey.

Reuter wires on August 8th:—The dissolution of the Turkish Chamber has apparently calmed the Albanians who have abandoned their intention of marching on Uskub.

A state of siege has been proclaimed in Salonika.

Reuter wires from Sofia:—In consequence of the report that the troops and gendarmes massacred the Bulgarians at Kochana after the explosions on the 4th and 5th instant, the Premier has instructed the Minister at Constantinople vigorously to demand an enquiry and the punishment of the culprits.

It is announced in Athens that a veritable massacre followed the bomb affair at Kochana lasting seven hours. Fifty Christians were killed and upwards of two hundred wounded.

The massacre at Kochana is producing great excitement in Bulgaria. The newspapers at Sofia denounce Turkey in unmeasured terms and declare that unless Europe restores order in the Balkan States she will be obliged to act on her own account.

A telegram to the *Times* from St. Petersburg states that an alliance has been concluded between Serbia and Bulgaria.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

St. Petersburg, July 17.

In well-informed circles here considerable importance is attached to rumours that Turkey and Italy have begun direct *pourparlers*. The possibility of serious complications in the Balkans renders this consummation highly desirable. On Russia's part the utmost satisfaction would be evoked by confirmation of the rumours mentioned.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London states that the Turkish commander in Tripoli has informed the War Ministry in Constantinople that the Italians have begun poisoning the wells. A bottle of poison was found on an Italian spy arrested at Zwarra on 10th July, who confessed that he had been despatched for the purpose of poisoning the wells, that he had already poisoned one, and that two other spies had left in order to poison the wells near Bonoma.

According to Reuter's correspondent in Rome, the Italian Minister of War has published a list of the Turkish prisoners of war who have been captured since the outbreak of hostilities. It is as follows:—88 officers, 57 non-commissioned officers, 160 corporals and 1,430 soldiers. 1,693 are at present in Italy.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 14.

Rumours, which it is impossible to confirm, but which are believed in diplomatic circles to have some foundation, are current here that certain Turkish politicians are now engaged in attempting to open up direct negotiations with Italy, on what basis is unknown. The names of Hussein Djahid Bey, editor of the *Tanin*, and Prince Said Halim, President of the Council of State, who are said to have been staying at Evian-les-Bains, are mentioned in this connexion.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 17.

Notwithstanding the practically unanimous vote of confidence accorded by the Chamber on Monday the Cabinet of Said Pasha has resigned. The reasons for this step, as given by the Agence Ottomane, are that the Grand Vizier did not succeed in his negotiations for the nomination of a Minister of War, while, on the other hand, the Minister of Marine, Hurshid Pasha, sent in his resignation to the Sultan yesterday. In addition to this the Ministry of Finance was without an occupant.

Said Pasha went this morning to the Palace and handed to the Sultan the collective resignation of the Cabinet. The news of the Cabinet's resignation took Constantinople by surprise. In view of the generally accepted belief that Mukhtar Pasha was ready to accept the portfolio of the Ministry of War and that the Cabinet was ready to accept his original conditions, speculation has been naturally busy finding an interpretation of the impossibility of nominating a War Minister. With regard to Hurshid Pasha's resignation nothing was known until this afternoon. It is explained as due to his disinclination to work with Mukhtar Pasha—an explanation which, if correct, would indicate the latter's appointment as being at one moment as good as a *fait accompli*. Inter-

esting as speculation on the course of events during the last 48 hours may be, the important point at the moment is that the opponents of the Committee left have gained their immediate object, though what the composition of the new Cabinet will be remains to be seen.

In Ministerial circles Tewfik Pasha, the Ambassador in London, is mentioned as a possible successor to Said Pasha, and it is understood that he has already been communicated with. Meanwhile Assim Bey, the Foreign Secretary, was summoned to the Palace this afternoon.

In an interview with Reuter's representative the Grand Vizier said that the resignation of the Cabinet was due to internal dissensions in the Ministry.

Salonika, July 17.

On Saturday night the President of the Djakova Municipality personally handed in at the telegraph office a despatch signed by officers and civilians addressed to the Sultan and couched in the following terms:—

"The incapable persons who have composed the Cabinet during the past four years have driven the Empire to the verge of liquidation. This clique recently used the power of the Government to dissolve Parliament in order to form a new Chamber which permits it to take uncontrolled possession of the country. You, as Khalif, must observe the march of the Empire towards catastrophe. You have the power immediately to dissolve Parliament and command the re-election of Deputies in accordance with the desires of the population. If you continue to remain inactive and indifferent to our demands, while there is yet time to apply a remedy, the day is not far distant when you will see Albania, plunged in bloodshed, pass under the protection of another State."

Presumably because of the absence of a reply to this message, a crowd, composed of officers and civilians, stormed the telegraph office and demanded to converse telegraphically with the Sultan. There appears to be no doubt of the determination of the authors of the telegram to fight for the realization of their demands.

The incident has made a great impression in other districts of Albania, particularly in Prishtina, where the excited population crowded the mosques, closed the doors to all non-Albanians, and proceeded to deliberate upon the situation.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 17.

It has been decided to despatch to Albania a peace mission composed of three prominent Albanians who are senators. They will try to persuade the rebels to suspend hostilities, giving them assurances of a satisfactory settlement of their grievances.

Salonika, July 18.

The decision of the Council of Ministers to send a Commission to Albania in order to inquire into the causes of the rising has made an excellent impression and the feeling on both sides is so hopeful of good results that a condition of affairs amounting to a virtual armistice now prevails in the disturbed districts.

News from Turkish Sources.

(Specially Translated for The "Comrade.")

Benghazi, July 15.

THE *Al-Moayed* correspondent wires:—The opening ceremony of two new *Madrasas* was performed here yesterday with great pomp. So that now there are four *Madrasas* altogether in our camp, in which 600 students are studying.

Our soldiers are very comfortable. Trade is flourishing. Not a single day passes in which fresh caravans do not come into the town. There is an ample supply of water and provisions. The Italians, as usual, are concealed behind their fortifications, and do not dare to come out for fear of the night attacks by the Arabs. The leaders of the Arabs have heard that the Italian premier has sent a threat to the Porte that the Italians are shortly going to strike a decisive blow. They are jubilant over it; for they hope that now the Italians will come out of their fortifications at Benghazi, Derna, Tobruk, Khoms and Tripoli, and try to give battle in the open field. At present they are practically immured within these fortifications and their self-imprisonment is simply shameful.

Tobruk, July 17.

The special correspondent of *Al-Neel* wires from the field of battle:—This morning at 10 A.M. the Italians fired fifty shells into the Turkish camp. The diameter of each shell was about 10 centimetres. The Turks began to reply to the Italian shots, but on coming out from their fortifications they found that the Italians were safely ensconced behind their fortifications and it was from there that they were firing the shells. All the 50 shots were wasted and not a single soul was injured.

Tobruk, July 20

The firing of the shells was continued to-day by the Italians. But like yesterday no harm has been caused.

A new correspondent of the German newspaper *Gazette de Frankfurt* has reached here to-day.

Mahmud Shevket's Fall.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 11.

THE only newspaper which refers with any freedom to the resignation of the Minister of War is the *Tanin*. A leading article which is published in this journal under the signature of Ismail Hakki Babanzadeh after copious praise of Mahmud Shevket Pasha's military qualities and private virtues, expresses regret that he should have resigned during a foreign war. His resignation has no connexion with the mutiny at Monastir, and has merely strengthened the determination of the Government to deal promptly and energetically with the mutineers. The new Minister of War must be imbued with the revolutionary spirit which on 24th April three years ago wiped out the stain of the mutiny on 13th April.

July 12.

There is still no indication as to the effect which has been produced upon the discontented officers by Mahmud Shevket Pasha's resignation. The more moderate military men express admiration for his great services to the Ottoman Army and his genuine patriotism, but many consider some of his recent appointments, notably that of his cousin and his brother-in-law, Hadi Pasha, to be Chief of the General Staff, unwise, and hint at the suspicion that political motives underlay certain recent promotions and transfers. His opponents roundly accuse him of having shut his eyes to the continued employment and payment of Army officers by the Committee of Union and Progress, and of having been guided by the leaders of that body in the selection of his personal and departmental Staff. The Albanian members of the Opposition and not a few Albanian officers go further, and assert that his Arab origin made him a bigoted opponent of the employment of Latin characters in the Albanian schools. It may well be, however, that this last accusation really emanates from the Young Turk extremists, who, frightened at the results of their policy, desire to shift the responsibility for it on to other shoulders.

An interesting explanation of the causes of Mahmud Shevket Pasha's resignation is given by the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, who says: "The immediate cause of the resignation of the generalissimo was the highly alarming reports concerning the attitude of the officers at Damascus and Salonika, followed by an ultimatum transmitted early on Tuesday morning to the Presidents of the Chamber and the Senate in the name of the officers of the army demanding under pain of forcible removal the resignation of Mahmud Shevket within 24 hours. This explains why the Council of Ministers had no time to appoint a successor, and was obliged to transfer the post provisionally to the weak Minister of Marine, Hurshid Pasha."

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 18.

The local press generally expresses regret at the retirement of the Cabinet in the present crisis, owing to the unfavourable impression it is calculated to produce abroad.

The *Tanin* says: "The withdrawal of Mahmud Shevket Pasha damaged the stability of the Government structure, and notwithstanding the vain efforts made to prop it up it is now completely wrecked." The journal trusts that the matter will stop here, but fears that if the upheavals continue Turkey will fall into the abyss. It had expected greater firmness from Said Pasha. "Foreign opinion," says the *Tanin*, "will now attribute the fall of the Government to pressure on the part of the mutineers, and nothing will convince it to the contrary. We should prefer to see Said Pasha resume the reins of office, for the situation is not one for half measures. The Cabinet must be homogeneous; it must consist entirely of Unionists, or include none at all. Any combination would be like tying down a boiler head with string when the boiler is just about to explode."

Other Turkish papers content themselves with expressing the hope that the new Cabinet will be composed of men enjoying the confidence of the country.

According to one paper, divergences also arose between Said Pasha and Hadji Adil Bey, Minister of the Interior, in respect to the despatch of a peace mission to Albania, Hadji Adil objecting to the proposal. None of the papers mention the fact, however,

that most of Said Pasha's colleagues did not know till yesterday afternoon that he had actually tendered his resignation, whereas he submitted it to the Sultan soon after midnight. The Ministers had been summoned to a Cabinet Council at the Grand Vizierate in the afternoon, and on their arrival they were told the news. Efforts were made by some members of the Cabinet to induce Said Pasha to withdraw his resignation, and a meeting of the Committee of Union and Progress held out an offer of the fullest support. But Said Pasha was immovable.

The course pursued with regard to Tewfik Pasha is remarkable because, inasmuch as he has just been appointed by irade to the Grand Vizierate, he ceases to hold the post of Ambassador in London, and therefore the only alternatives open to him are acceptance or retirement.

Turkey and the Powers.

THE Grand Vizier of Turkey made his eagerly awaited statement in the Chamber yesterday. Reuter's Constantinople correspondent says that it constituted a review of the entire external and internal situation, and the Minister concluded by saying that if the Chamber retained confidence in the Cabinet the latter would continue to do its duty, otherwise the decision was in the hands of the Chamber.

Asim Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, followed, giving an explanation regarding foreign relations, which he declared had much improved during the last ten months.

After moderate speeches by two Albanian deputies, to which the Grand Vizier replied, the Chamber passed a motion of confidence in the Government by 194 votes to 4.

Speaking of the war the Grand Vizier said that rumours had been circulating with regard to the attitude of Russia, but assurances had been received from St. Petersburg that Russia had no hostile designs. He paid a tribute to the warriors fighting for Turkey in Tripoli. Referring to the occupation of the Aegean islands he said that Italy was apparently endeavouring to counterbalance her defeats in Africa, but if anybody hoped to profit thereby the Turks would defend their island possessions to the last drop of their blood. The relations between Turkey and the Powers were good. He dwelt especially on their relations with Great Britain.

The speech of Asim Bey, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the outgoing Turkish Cabinet, the other day was of exceptional interest, and some of its passages deserve to be quoted textually. His first subject was, of course, the war. "If we had not accepted the war," he observed, "we should have been in a very bad position. We should have had all the world as enemies. By resisting we have improved the situation so far as external affairs are concerned—in fact, the present situation is very favourable. We are very optimistic on that head. What is wanted is to avoid internal feuds. Let us be united, and our position will be still better. Turkey is still necessary for the European balance of power."

Then turning to the relations with other Powers, Asim Bey began by pointing out the improvement in those with England. "The friendly relations of Turkey with England," he declared, "which have for centuries been based on mutual confidence and have undergone difficult trials, especially during the last thirty years of the old régime, have now, in spite of the present difficulties, been brought back to their normal state. To-day the old traditions are reviving with England.—(Applause.) They give great hopes for the future. We have many points of contact, political and economic, both on land and at sea, and the future development of our relations depends on the arrangements on those points. We have done our duty on this subject, but in order to reap it is necessary to sow."

With regard to Germany and Austria Asim Bey said:—"We are not unmindful of the fact that the position of the allies of our enemy, our friends Germany and Austria, as against the belligerents is exceedingly delicate. At the same time, since the very beginning of the war, they have shown themselves full of consideration for us, and this deserves our gratitude. You will still remember the important speech which Count Berchtold made before the delegations. The words of that high personage, who directs with such great skill the policy of Austria, and who is as much interested in the maintenance of the Balkan *status quo* as ourselves—do not these words constitute a brilliant proof of the intimate relations between Turkey and Austria?"

As regards Russia, Asim Bey denied the recent alarmist rumours, declaring that they were "far from the truth." He admitted that "there have been between Turkey and Russia certain divergencies of view, which were rather of the nature of remembrances of the past, but we examined them with equal good faith with one another. . . . Russia was as much pained by the present war as the other Powers. She has even taken certain steps with a view to putting an end to this sanguinary tragedy, but these steps had no effect, and have even been badly interpreted."

Truth About Albania.

(FROM THE "ENGLISHMAN" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

London, July 19.

EUROPE is inclined to take too pessimistic a view of Albania and the general situation in that portion of the Ottoman Empire. As one who has been much amongst the Albanians the writer would assure his readers that as fighting material the Albanian is greatly over-rated and his system of offensive war can never stand against an organized force trained upon modern methods. The whole theory of Albanian tactics is to catch your enemy unawares, and, if possible, to shoot him in the back, preferably if he can be found asleep. The average Albanian is a dead shot with his rifle up to 150 yards; beyond that range, however, he is of little use. In his national conceit that he knows more about everything than anyone else in the world, he dispenses with all artificial sighting and uses his thumb as a backsight. As often as not he files the foresight flush with the barrel and knocks the backsight off. Like the old Soudanese, who cut the barrels of their Remingtons short so that they might be conveniently strapped to a camel saddle, the Albanian subordinates modern aids in sighting on his piece to his own personal comfort in the carriage of the weapon. Besides, the Albanian is not really a brave man. He is a swashbuckler and a popinjay. He cocks his hat, and sports all the properties of bravery, but it mostly ends in this personal display. In the opinion of the writer the Ports Albanian difficulties, as long as they are purely Albanian, will not effect any great disaster. It is when they become Italian, Austrian and Russian difficulties that the danger is imminent.

The resignation of Mahmud Shevket Pasha from the portfolio of the Ministry of War and the practical military dictatorship, is a far more serious matter. It means one of two things. It means that either Mahmud Shevket has ceased to be the tool of the Committee of Union and Progress, or that the new military secret society, the "Saviour Officers," have undermined the power of the original committee. From the news of the resignation of the said Pasha Cabinet, it looks like the latter end. For about 24 hours Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha was Minister for War elect. He, it will be remembered, is a soldier of dashing type. During the Turko-Greek war he commanded a brigade of cavalry. Without waiting for orders he charged and overthrew the Greek batteries at Larissa.

It now seems that old Nazim Pasha is likely to be the new Minister of War. No one can accuse him of being anything but a patriot. He was the first Pasha connected with the Young Turk movement and was exiled to Erzerum 30 years ago by Abdul Hamid. Although kept in fortress confinement, he devoted the whole of his time to the study of his profession. Just before the Revolution he escaped from Erzerum and worked his way, dressed as a coolie, to Russian Tiflis. At Batoum he signed on to a Black Sea steamer as a stoker and thus worked his way back to the Golden Horn. On arrival at Constantinople, he found that the Revolution had taken place. This aged and dirty engine-room artisan made his way to Sir Adam Block, who had been a friend of his in the past, and disclosed his identity, begging the loan of some money that he might buy a General's uniform and appear in the streets in his proper capacity. Abdul Hamid fell on his neck and wept, and he was at once appointed to command the Adrianople Army Corps. Later he came to Stanboul as assistant Minister of War. In this capacity he resented the second revolution and very openly said what he thought of the Young Turk's régime. As a consequence he was not employed for some time. Then he was sent to Bagdad as military Governor. His military energies soon had ample scope. He was not, however, supported by the Constantinople authorities, and he came to grief over his Anglophile tendencies which induced him to grant to Sir John Jackson and Company a contract for the Irrigation of the Euphrates Valley. Since this date he has been living in retirement at Constantinople.

I have just had a conversation with a British Officer, who has spent four months with the Turks in Tripoli. The story that he has to tell of the Italian ineptitude for warlike operations almost makes one's hair stand on end. The Turks and Arabs are so few that it seems incredible that the Italians cannot do exactly as they like. The persistency of the few, however, is so great, and they have established such a moral superiority over the Italians, that the latter just refuse to leave their entrenchments. This officer says that the Turks have ample food and means of procuring ammunition that they could carry on the campaign indefinitely. Their practice is to maintain a campaign of unbroken night-sniping. My informant says that the reports published in Rome have not a word of truth in them when they describe victories with large numbers of Arab and Turkish dead. At the most the occupation of the points that these descriptions signalize has been effected by dislodging the thin line of observation posts with which the Italian entrenchments are surrounded.

England, Russia and Germany.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

MORE illuminating than any semi-official *communiqués* as to the nature of the Baltic Port meeting are the articles which the *Novoe Vremya* the faithful interpreter of the sentiments of the powerful cliques grouped round the Russian Throne, published on the eve of the interview. Its foremost publicist, M. Menshikoff, had a three column article entitled "The basis of friendship," in which, after a long excursion into the history of Russia's foreign policy, he says:—

"Once more, as a hundred years ago, the chief subject of European politics is England's rivalry with the strongest Continental Power. The object of the complex struggle is, as before, the predominance of England, and once more Russia is her most important tool. As Germany threatens nobody directly except England, the latter country is obliged to repeat Pitt's policy, which had for its aim to surround Napoleon with hostile coalitions. Fate willed it that it should be Russia who saved England a hundred years ago. By way of reward for this service of Russia England immediately after the overthrow of Napoleon, becomes our bitterest enemy for a period of almost a hundred years. Suppose we, in the event of the Anglo-German duel, help, with the assistance of France, to crush the Germans? We may on the very next day have caused to regret it and to seek allies against England. There is one more or less permanent factor of history—geography. So long as Russia remains the sole European country which has come near to India she will be regarded by England as dangerous. On the other hand, only the loss of India by England, from whatever cause, would establish permanent peace between us and her.

"What will happen should Germany be beaten? Her navy will be destroyed, but her army, which is dangerous to us, will subsist. And once more England's predominance at sea, so hard for us and for the whole world, will be established—perhaps for another century. If we had not become used to this predominance it would have seemed to us as monstrous as Napoleon's predominance on the Continent seemed to our forefathers a century ago. We then tried to save the world from the land conqueror, but now Germany is struggling to save the world from the sea conqueror, who has already grabbed one-fourth of the terrestrial globe. What could be better for us? Russia ought to rejoice that somebody has arisen to fight the enemy who for a hundred years stood in her way everywhere. Is it not England's hegemony at sea which has compelled us to stop dead, as before a stone wall, in all the Easts—the Near, the Middle, and the Far East? Is it not this hegemony which will keep us back in our natural evolution on two continents in the future?"

The leading article of the *Novoe Vremya* is as significant by its total omission of all allusion to either England or France as it is by the exceptionally warm terms in which the Kaiser is greeted. It assures him of "the complete unanimity with which the Russian people shares the sentiments of its monarch;" it calls him "a great sailor by profession and ideals;" it welcomes the meeting as "an event which is regarded as happy by all lovers of peace and all opponents of the cruel policy of the sword and blood;" it commends the majority of the German nation upon being "calm, industrious, good-natured in spite of all warlike pretences, and preferring the peace of the domestic hearth to the passing glory of military laurels," and extols the Kaiser as a man of "rare and many-sided gifts"—a "character and a talent to whom all hearts open." It concludes: "May the meeting in Russian waters prove a new link in Russo-German friendship!"

Italian Socialists and the War.

THE war in Tripoli has had its inevitable effect on the Italian Socialist party. At its Congress at Reggio Emilia last week it came to a split, and a new party has arisen to contest the claim of the older organisation to represent the interests of the "proletariat."

The Socialist movement in Italy has long been ailing. Some ten or fifteen years ago it stood in the forefront of the Socialist International and was distinguished by its revolutionary tendencies. It was then led by Professor Enrico Ferri, a scholar and strict Marxian, and enjoyed a large following among the then nascent industrial proletariat. Gradually, however, a more moderate wing arose led by Signor Turati and his Russian wife, Mme. Anna Kulishoff (Kuliscioff), and the internecine struggles which ensued brought about the complete disorganisation of the movement. It is sufficient to point out that though represented in the Chamber by over 40 men, the party at present only counts 29,000 members, and its chief organ, *Avanti!* had recently to be transferred from Rome to Milan in order to be saved from disappearance.

Shortly before the war, however, a marked reaction set in owing to the extreme opportunism into which some of the Moderates (or Reformists, as they are called in Italy) fell. Signor Ferri, himself turned Reformist, proclaimed his adherence to the Monarchy.

His colleague, Signor Bissolati, followed suit, and not content with advocating unconditional support of the Giolitti Ministry and the acceptance of office in the Government, actually entered into *pourparlers* with the King with the view to himself showing an example of political latitudinarianism. The negotiations ultimately fell through—ostensibly, as Signor Bissolati explained, because he would not don a court uniform; in reality, however, because by that time the working class and the generally democratic and Republican followers of the party were up in arms against this policy of compromise with the existing political régime.

The war brought matters to a head. Not only did Signor Bissolati, Professor Ferri, and a number of Reformist deputies declare themselves in favour of the Tripoli expedition, but they also joined in the Nationalist and Chauvinist campaign. An extraordinary Congress of the party immediately assembled at Modena to lay down the policy of the party with regard to the war and the Government which had begun it, but though the resolution, passed after a heated debate, emphatically condemned the adventure, expressed the "solidarity" of the Italian working class with that of Turkey, and strictly forbade any support to the Government, Signor Bissolati and his comrades persevered in their Jingo and bellicose course, voted in favour of the annexation decree, gave every support to the Giolitti Ministry, and even took part in the farcical demonstration that the Nationalists got up in honour of M. Carrère, the *Temps* correspondent in Tripoli, who had been wounded by an Arab. Impelled by this exhibition of contempt for the decisions of the party, even the more moderate section of the Reformists, led by Signor Turati, turned away from Signor Bissolati and his associates, and joined the Revolutionary wing in their protests against the Jingo current in the party.

The Congress at Reggio Emilia—the place where the party was born and is, perhaps, still stronger than anywhere else,—though in the nature of a regular annual gathering, almost confined itself to the question of the political conduct of the Right wing of the Reformists, or rather its leaders, Signor Bissolati, Cabrini and Bonomi—all three deputies,—and Signor Podrecca, editor of the comic paper *L'Asino*. The discussion, in which all the leaders of all the sections, including the accused themselves, took part, lasted two days, and in the end three resolutions were proposed—one by the Revolutionary wing, demanding the expulsion of the four accuseds and two by the Turati section and the local group at Reggio Emilia respectively, merely censuring them. The result of the voting surpassed all expectations the two milder resolutions received only from two to three thousand votes and the drastic resolution of the Revolutionists was carried by over 12,000 votes. The Congress, it may be noted, was attended by about 700 delegates.

The immediate result was that the four gentlemen above-mentioned withdrew, and were followed by nine other deputies in sympathy with them, and on the very next day a manifesto was issued by them announcing the formation of a new Socialist Reformist party, of which the constituent Congress is to be held in October. At the same time the older party elected a new executive, entirely consisting of Revolutionists, and a Revolutionist was likewise elected editor of the party organ *Avanti!* in the place of a moderate Reformist, who had voluntarily retired.

"The Second Prophet."

(Specially translated for the "Comrade" from "Al-Alam.")

THE *Egyptian Gazette* of Cairo publishes the following letter of its special correspondent, Mr. Slome, in its issue of the 18th July:—The unparalleled courage and resolution which the Arab tribes are manifesting in Tripoli and Barca are eloquent comments on their adamant firmness in religion and their national warlike tendencies. But it is also a fact that the abundance and valuable nature of the materials they capture from the Italians have considerably stimulated these warlike propensities of the Bedouin race. For the Arabs the uniform of the Italian soldiery is also a valuable booty—even when there is no money in the pockets. Ghazi Enver Bey has now made some arrangements for giving the Arabs a certain amount of monetary allowance. Enver Bey has been getting large supplies of money without any difficulty. He gets this money from the Egyptian merchants who realise their dues from the Turkish Consul in Egypt by submitting the receipts.

The question of ensuring a constant supply of provisions was one of the most difficult problems of the war, but Enver Bey has also solved this problem. Thousands of bags of dates are obtained from Sewa at a very low cost. And for the Arab soldier the supply of a few draughts of water and some dates is the best commissariat arrangement. Enver Bey is also trying to find out a remedy for the extreme dearth of water. Some Turkish engineers have begun to pump up water from the earth and send it on to all the places in which it is required. All that has been said in praise of that wonderful man,

Enver Bey, falls short of an adequate appreciation of his great and almost incredible achievements. I could go on praising him for years and yet not succeed in giving him his due meed. His superb administrative ability and powers of organisation cannot be overestimated; and in battling against difficulties he has been showing a resourcefulness which is simply unsurpassable. All that has been accomplished up to this day has been the work of that single master-mind unaided by anybody else. His greatest achievement is the magical power which he exercises over the hearts of the Arab tribes, all of whom almost worship him. They have unanimously dubbed him "The Second Prophet." No Arab ever calls him "Enver Bey," but they always use the more respectful designation of "Enver Pasha," and bow down their heads, as a mark of respect, every time they name him. There is hardly an Arab who has not got the handsome face of Enver Bey engraved within his heart. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that this veritable "hero" is being literally worshipped over all the desert and the interior of Tripoli.

A strong rumour is current here nowadays that Enver Bey is shortly going to make a great decisive attack on Derna and is busy making preparations for it. If there is any truth in this statement, there is going to be great bloodshed and the attack will be a very desperate one; for the Italian navy is stationed quite close to Derna and can cause fearful havoc by shelling the enemy without even landing their troops. But, to quote Madame Colera, "The Arabs do not pay any more heed to the shots from the Italians than if they were mere playing balls" and past experience justifies this statement.

The truth of the matter is that Italy is now bogged in a desperate situation. True, it is not impossible for Italy, by depleting its exchequer, to conquer the coasts of Tripoli by the help of its guns and its navy. And it was presumably on this assurance that Italy at first affected a most gallant attitude. But the real problem now is the question of the interior of Tripoli. When they first embarked on this desperate enterprise they were in utter ignorance of the nature of the country, the extreme difficulties of traffic, the frightful scarcity of water, the difficulty of securing beasts of burden and the unbearable inclemencies of the climate. But these are the very things which explain the hopeless failure of the Italians against a handful of Arabs, despite their stupendous preparations for the war. And to this day Italy has been in vain trying to solve the problem. Several regiments have been sent into the interior one after the other. But all of them were unsuccessful, and some were almost annihilated. They do not know what were the natural points of vantage in the deserts. At one place there are deep caves, at another a

huge ditch into which a whole army might leap and disappear from view in the twinkling of an eye, and the enemy not be able to find any trace of it. Then there are the mounds of sand which are equally serviceable to conceal a regiment from the enemy and to give it an elevated position from which to shoot them down. The Arabs know every inch of the ground and take full advantage of all these natural characteristics of the country, whereas the Italians, in their ignorance of them, expose themselves to utter ruin every time they advance into the interior.

Let us suppose a big Italian army marching fearlessly into a boundless desert. There is no trace of any enemy and silence reigns supreme all around. Suddenly, and without any previous notice, a shower of bullets is poured upon them and a horde of Arabs makes its appearance from a certain direction. The Italians prepare for action. But before they have recovered from the shock of this unforeseen attack, the Arabs again disappear as suddenly as they burst into view and as mysteriously as if it were all a magic play, without either fighting or fleeing. And the Italians are left alone to cudgel their brains with the problem as to whether the earth had swallowed the Arabs or they had disappeared into the heavens.

Generally the Arabs use rifles of a very old pattern. A numerous section of them is even content with its ancient desert weapons, and it is beyond doubt that the proficiency they have attained in their use by constant practice is so high that in the hands of the Arabs they are about as serviceable as the modern costly weapons. Enver Bey had got a supply of modern rifles and offered them to the Arabs, but the majority of them refused to give up their ancient rifles and weapons of the desert. And as to big guns, I am convinced the Turkish Officers, and particularly Aziz Bey, the Commander of Benghazi, have quite a sufficient number of them. At first Enver Bey had only two guns. But later on he captured some very fine mitrailleuse, from the Italians and also secured as booty an abundant supply of ammunition for their use.

The most wonderful characteristic of the Arabs is that at all times and under all circumstances they are so fearless and cheerful that it seems as if they were ignorant of the very existence of the 150,000 Italian invaders. I have made the acquaintance of many Arabs and sounded them well, but never did I find in a single Arab heart the least particle of fear for the Italians or concern at the present situation. The imbecility of the Italian army is a standing joke with them, and they burst out into irrepressible laughter when the elaborate schemes originally prepared by the Italians about the Tripolitan campaign is unfolded to them.

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statement says that the Naval Convention, while disquieting none, will prove that Russia while attentively following the events in the East is far from detaching herself from her allies in the West.

According to a message to the *Times* from Paris, the results of M. Poincaré's visit to Russia are that France will support Russian interests whenever necessary concerning the Chinese loan, the Balkans and Railways in Asia Minor, while Russia in return will do her utmost to strengthen the Alliance from military and naval standpoints.

Though nothing has yet been disclosed with regard to the nature of M. Poincaré's conversation with the Ministers in St. Petersburg, the French press is jubilant and supposes that the conversations have been a great success. It is stated that M. Poincaré has telegraphed to M. Fallières expressing complete satisfaction at his visit to the Russian capital. The press singles out the fact that the British Ambassador was the only foreign diplomatist invited to the banquets at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the French Embassy which were more than mere ceremonial, as the papers declare that Gambetta's prediction is fulfilled, *vis.*, that France supported by England and Russia would be unassailable.

Quadruple Entente.

REUTER wires from Paris:—In an interview with the Japanese Ambassador M. Poincaré informed him that perfect agreement existed between France and Russia regarding the loan and that as England completely agreed with Japan, the four Powers were at one for the defence of Russian and Japanese interests.

Anglo-German Co-operation.

THE *Pioneer's* London correspondent wires on August 14th:—The *Echo de Paris* states that Messrs. Lynch Brothers, have entered into an agreement with the Deutsche Bank, the driving force behind the Baghdad Railway, concerning the navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates and have jointly formed a nominally Belgian Company to purchase or build steamers, which, it is hoped later, will be taken over by the Anglo-German-Turkish Company. The *Echo de Paris* points out that this is the first instance of Anglo-German co-operation in Asia Minor. The paper refers to the relations of Messrs. Lynch with the Cassel group of financiers and mentions a rumour that the attempt to introduce Baghdad Railway bonds in the English market will shortly be renewed. Messrs. Lynch Brothers confirm the formation of the Belgian Company, which, they say, was advertised at the time and make no further statement.

China and Tibet.

The *Pioneer* of the 11th August learns that the Chinese in Lhasa have sent in their terms to the Tibetans but they are of a kind which the latter are likely to accept.

News from Tibet on August 14th goes to show that the negotiations between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese at Lhasa are proceeding favourably and that there is now good hope of terms being arranged. The Dalai Lama is exerting all his religious influence in the interests of peace.

The Week.

France and Russia.

M. Poincaré has been much fêted in St. Petersburg. He has had long conversations with M. Sazonoff and M. Kokovtsoff. M. Poincaré lunched with the Tsar on 10th August and afterwards inspected a camp of 60,000 troops at Krasnoeselo where he will attend a grand review on 11th August. The sole announcements bearing on the visit hitherto have been semi-official contradictions of reports that the opening of the Dardanelles or the raising of a loan for the reconstruction of the Russian Fleet are being discussed.

Reuter wires from St. Petersburg:—The Tsar reviewed 60,000 troops at Krasnoeselo on 11th August. M. Poincaré was present and afterwards lunched in the Imperial tent.

An authoritative French statement, summing up the effects of M. Poincaré's visit to St. Petersburg on the 14th August says:—That while the Alliance did not need strengthening, exchange of ideas has resulted in a clear definition of views. Agreement was easily reached on all questions pressing for solution in the East and also on all the great problems exciting public opinion in Europe. The

Egypt.

REUTER wires from Cairo on 13th August:—Sentences have been delivered in the case in which three men were charged with plotting against the Khedive, Lord Kitchener, and the Prime Minister of Egypt. One man is condemned to fifteen years' hard labour and two others to fifteen years' imprisonment.

Afghanistan.

The *Pioneer* says on August 16th:—The troops in Kabul that have been drilled by the Turkish instructors who have been attached to the Afghan Army for the last two or three years were recently inspected by the Amir on the big parade ground. Rewards were granted to all Officers and non-commissioned officers who should be sent to garrison the towns in the various provinces to instruct the regiments there. One of the Turkish officers in the Amir's service has been raised to the rank of General and he is to prepare a drill book for general use in the Afghan Army.

The *Pioneer's* Frontier correspondent states on 11th August that another venture in the arms traffic is being arranged at Kabul. Some Baluchi middlemen have arrived there and a Kafilah is to be organized to proceed to Perso-Baluchistan or Mekran. The Suleiman Khel Ghilzais are to arrange for camels and escort. The route is via the Helmand Valley and Seistan.

A correspondent reports that the road between Dhakka and Jellalabad has once more become unsafe owing to the presence of gangs of robbers. One Afghan official had his baggage looted a short time ago. The road guards are quite inefficient and the orders issued by the Amir during his stay at Jellalabad regarding the protection of travellers are disregarded.

The tribal levies which went from Jellalabad, Ningraher and Laghman to assist in suppressing the rebellion in Khost received ten rupees per man from the Kabul Durbar as batta.

The Amir has remitted all the arrears of revenue due by the Khostwals. The extraordinary clemency shown was doubtless due to the revelations of tyrannical methods followed by the late Governor which brought about the rising in the first instance.

In connection with the protest of some newspapers against the expulsion of Brahmins and Pundits from Afghanistan by order of the Amir it is understood that there has been no such general expulsion ordered, but certain Hindus who were under suspicion of being mischiefmakers were summarily directed to return to India. His action now is only against obnoxious individuals.

Hospital for Haj Pilgrims.

A communication addressed by the President of the Haj Committee, Bombay, to the Government of the Punjab, is published on 9th August in which it is stated that the pilgrims who journey annually to Jeddah on their way to and from Mecca and Medina are subjected to very great suffering and often die in the streets for want of medical aid. The British Ambassador at Constantinople is anxious to build a hospital for pilgrims at Jeddah. It is estimated that the cost of construction would be over a lakh of rupees for which philanthropic aid is invited.

New Delhi.

Extraordinarily rapid progress is being made with the buildings in temporary Delhi. The Secretariat south wing will soon be ready for occupation. Metcalfe House can be got ready for the Additional Members of the Council. The Post Office in the temporary city near the Secretariat is also well in hand. Telephone wires underground and overhead are nearing completion and will soon be in working order. The Central Exchange will be somewhere near the Secretariat, probably in the new Post Office.

The Moslem League.

The Council of the All-India Moslem League on 12th August unanimously elected the Right Hon'ble Mr. Syed Amir Ali to preside over the next annual session of the Moslem League to be held at Lucknow on the 30th and 31st December.

The "Burma Critic."

A full bench of the Chief Court on 12th August held the District Magistrate's order of committal to the Sessions Court passed in the Megui defamation case, (G. P. Andrew, I.C.S., vs. C. Arnold, Editor of the *Burma Critic*) to be illegal. Five separate judgments were given, four agreeing on its illegality since the Magistrate had not taken the defence evidence. Mr. Justice Robinson dissented.

The Moslem University.

A MEETING of the Muhammadans of Amritsar was held on Monday, the 12th instant, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—This mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Amritsar expresses its strongest disapproval of the proposed Moslem University with all the restrictions and without powers of affiliation and wishes the money collected to be utilised in awarding scholarships to deserving Muhammadan students.

The Moslem University.

The Moslem Community was much concerned on learning from the recent press *communiqués* the decision of the Secretary of State to confine the scope of the proposed Muslim University to Aligarh, and shortly after the publication of the *communiqués*, the Hon. the Rajah of Mahmudabad issued the notice of a meeting of the Constitution Committee for the 11th and 12th instant. The following responded to the invitation:—

The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haq (Patna), Rajah Naushad Ali Khan (Lucknow), the Hon. Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazilbash, C.I.E. (Lahore), Syed Jafar Husain (Aligarh), Mr. Mumtaz Husain (Lucknow), Mr. Shaukat Ali (Rampur), Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade* (Calcutta), Nawab Mahomed Ishaq Khan C.S. (Meerut), Syed Nabiulla (Lucknow), Mr. Mahomed Yusuf (Lucknow), Dr. Sulaiman (Jaunpore), the Hon. Captain Malik Mubarez Khan Tiwana (Shahpur), Abul Khair Syed Mahomed Mohsin (Bareilly), Shaikh Habibullah (Barabanki), Mirza Habib Husain (Lucknow), Mr. Wilayat Ali (Barabanki), Mr. Nawab Ali (Barabanki), the Hon. Mr. Fakhruddin (Bankipore), the Hon. Mian Mahomed Shafi (Lahore), the Hon. Nawab Abdul Majid, C.I.E. (Allahabad), Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan (Lucknow), Mr. Mahomed Yakub (Moradabad), Shaikh Abdullah (Aligarh), Mr. Syed Sultan Ahmed (Calcutta), the Hon. Shaikh Shahid Hosain (Lucknow), Dr. Naziruddin Hasan (Lucknow), Maulvi Bashir-ud-din (Etawah), Syed Hasan Askari (Partabgarh), Mr. Abdul Aziz (Aligarh), Syed Nasir Husain Khayal (Calcutta), Mr. Abdul Aziz (Peshawar), Munshi Ehtisham Ali (Lucknow), Mr. Mahomed Athar (Lucknow), Maulvi Nizam-ud-din Hassan (Lucknow) and Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmad (Aligarh), Secretary of the Constitution Committee.

In the meantime the Raja Sahib received by wire copy of the following letter from the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler which was being posted to him:—

"DEAR RAJAH SAHIB,

I am now in a position to communicate to you the decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State in regard to the proposed "University of Aligarh."

You will remember that the movement was started without any reference to Government. Not until May 1911 did a Committee, consisting of Nawab Mushtaq Husain, Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin and yourself, approach me informally. We had some discussion and I said that before going any further the Government of India must obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State in regard to the principle of establishing a university.

On the 31st July 1911, I communicated to you the readiness of the Secretary of State to sanction the establishment of a university provided, first, that your Committee could show that you had adequate funds in hand for the purpose and, secondly, that the constitution of the proposed university was acceptable in all details to the Government of India and himself. I added at the end of my letter that the Secretary of State had "reserved full discretion in regard to every detail of any scheme which may eventually be laid before him."

At that stage no details could be placed before the Secretary of State. The discussions which have taken place between us were conducted on this clear understanding, which I more than once repeated.

As regards what I may call the external relations of the university, His Majesty's Secretary of State has decided, after mature consideration, that the proposed university should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established. The hope of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was to convert Aligarh into a teaching and residential university, and this hope has been repeatedly expressed since by leading Muhammadans and others connected with the College. In the preamble of the draft constitution prepared by the Constitution Committee it is stated that "from the beginning the object of the founder and the Muslim Community was to raise such College to the status of a university."

The practical objections on educational grounds to affiliation are many. I need only instance the following:—

- (1). A university with branches all over India would lead to competition and probable conflict with the older territorial universities.
- (2). Such a university would inevitably keep down the standard of Aligarh degrees and would destroy the hope that the teaching university would become a genuine seat of learning at which examinations would be subordinate to teaching and teachers would be free to develop the intelligence of their students and not merely exercise their memories.
- (3). The value of the residential system depends upon the tone or spirit which pervades the college and which, handed on from one generation of students to another, constitutes its tradition and the traditions of Aligarh are quite local and peculiar, depending largely on personal associations.
- (4). The university at Aligarh would be quite unable to control colleges situated in different parts of India.

Experience is already demonstrating the inconvenient size of existing universities. Apart from these practical objections on the general principles of high educational policy, it is desirable that the

the University of Aligarh should be founded in harmony with the best modern opinion of the right road to educational efficiency, i.e., as a teaching and residential university.

The decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State is final and must be accepted as such. The Secretary of State and the Government of India recognise that it may be a cause of disappointment to the Community but they trust that it will be in their best interests in the long run.

As regards what I may call the internal relation of the proposed university, considerable modification of the proposed constitution will be necessary. The Secretary of State has decided that the Viceroy should not be Chancellor, that the university should elect its own Chancellor and that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council, with one exception, namely, that the professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General in Council. The distribution of powers between the various bodies of the university must be the subject of future discussion. I can only say at present that it is essential that all matters relating to curriculum, discipline and examinations should be in the hands of educational experts. This is the practice in the English universities on which the constitution of the proposed University of Aligarh has been based. It has been suggested that some seats upon the Council should be reserved for representatives of the Senate. I suggest that, with a view to expedition of business and the avoidance of misunderstanding, the Constitution Committee should consider the constitution *de novo* with reference to the main heads of discussion and not with reference to the drafts already prepared. It is desirable to obtain a clear and complete statement of the points on which the Conference agree, after which the Bill can be remodelled.

His Majesty's Secretary of State still reserves his discretion as to the constitution, in all details not specifically mentioned in this letter as decided, and particularly in regard to the distribution of powers among the component bodies of the university.

I am authorised to announce that, should the specified sum of thirty lakhs be collected and invested, and a constitution be framed satisfactorily to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, the Government of India will be prepared, in view of their deep interest in the movement, to make a liberal annual grant to the university contingent, as in the case of grants to universities in England, on the satisfactory results of inspection and audit.

In conclusion I must tell you that the Secretary of State has decided that the proposed university should in future be styled, the "University of Aligarh."

Yours sincerely,

HARCOURT BUTLER.

On the 11th instant the President opened the proceedings with a thoughtful speech, explaining the import of the Government's letter and invited the members to consider it carefully and dispassionately, advising them at the same time not to think of an agitation inconsistent with their traditional attitude.

Mr. Mohamed Ali, Editor of the *Comrade* (Calcutta), said it was not at all difficult to state what was uppermost in the minds of the Mussalmans, nor was it more difficult to foretell with reasonable accuracy what answer the community would give if a plebiscite were taken on the question whether they should accept or reject the local University to be styled the University of Aligarh. But they had not met to consider that question. It was not for the Constitution Committee to say whether they would accept or reject such a University. That question was beyond the scope of that Committee. It was for the Moslem University Foundation Committee and for the Moslem Community at large to say whether they would have such a University or not. The Constitution Committee had been constituted merely for the purpose of framing a constitution for the proposed Moslem University and it was only with a view to frame such a constitution that it had conferred with the Government on two occasions during the last year. The Committee had learnt the views of the Government in these conferences, and in the light of that knowledge it had revised the draft Constitution to the extent that it considered desirable. Since then the Committee learnt along with others in the recent *Press Communiqués* what the Secretary of State had decided in the matter of affiliation, and only a few hours ago the Committee was enabled to learn not only the reasons which the Secretary of State declared to have influenced his decision, but also certain other hardly less important decisions. Obviously the Committee could not accept the decision of the Secretary of State without further deliberation. It could only recognise one mandate and that was the mandate of the Moslem community. But it was its duty to consider the decisions of the Secretary of State as suggestions for the alterations of the Constitution it had drafted. The decision whether the Mussalmans should accept or reject a university on the lines suggested by Government would be a final decision and the last word must be uttered by the Moslem community itself.

The speaker's suggestion, which was supported by the Hon. Mr. Shafi (Lahore), met with unanimous approval.

Letters and telegrams received from absent members were then read which showed remarkable unanimity on the question of affiliation. The cablegram of H.H. the Aga Khan that this question should be pressed and the Government should be requested to reconsider its decision and the letters of Nawab Viqar-ul-mulk and Mr. Syed Karamat Husain, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court, containing the same views, the letter of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur, advising the community to comport itself rationally and with traditional sobriety, were heard with respectful attention. Resolutions of various Provincial and District Committees against the Secretary of State's decision were also read.

In reply to a question the President announced that henceforward all proceedings would be public and authorised the publication of the draft Constitution.

The Hon. Mr. Shafi opened the discussion of the points raised in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter. In a forcible speech, he said that the Panjab opinion clearly preferred no university to a local university and that the Panjab would refuse a university on the Government terms. He was emphatically of opinion that the community must be consulted before a final reply was sent to the Government. All classes of people and persons of all ages were agreed in the Panjab on these points, and the younger men even threatened to sue the promoters if a local university was accepted without reference to and approval of the community. He said that by its acquiescence for so long the Government was stopped from pleading want of knowledge of the condition on which funds had been subscribed. He also referred to some tentative suggestions about the disposal of the funds collected in the event of their ultimate failure.

Mr. Mohamed Ali said that even if a reference to their final verdict was permissible, he would still request them to say nothing about refusing the University. No; they would have the University and they were sure the Government would give it to them on their own terms. Any talk of refusing only betrayed a doubt in their ultimate success. He then discussed the reasons for and against affiliation, and in conclusion deprecated any reference to the future disposal of funds. The use of the capital for any purpose other than the Moslem University was *haram* and the use of its income on any thing except to promote its establishment was forbidden.

Mr. Syed Wazir Hasan (Lucknow), Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, supported Mr. Mohamed Ali and laid special stress on the sacredness of the funds collected for the University. The money must be reserved for the University whenever they might get it.

Khan Bahadur Syed Jafar Husain (Retired Executive Engineer) said they had not only to consider the question of affiliation but also whether their University should be a Moslem University or some other. He had collected funds in the Central Provinces and vouched for it that the subscribers had not paid anything for a university such as the one which the Government contemplated.

The Hon. Moulvi Fakhruddin (Bankipore) said it would be a breach of faith with the subscribers in Behar to use the funds subscribed by them for any kind of university other than one with powers to affiliate Moslem institutions that may grow up in Behar. Without such powers they could not come into being, but if such powers were obtained they would be established and those already in existence would grow and flourish. He impressed on the community the need of determination. They had flattered too long and a *pardanashin* policy was no longer possible. They were not so uneducated as before and they must act as educated people.

The Hon. Mr. Shahid Husain (Lucknow) referred to Mr. Montagu's curious assertion about Moslem unity and his subsequent recantation and he felt sure the Secretary of State's final decision would also be withdrawn.

The Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haque said he was not sorry but glad that the Secretary of State had decided as he had done. He was creating solidarity and self-respect among them. At this juncture courage, not cowardice, was required, and if the Mussalmans were a community they must comport themselves as a community.

The Hon. Captain Malik Mubariz Khan, Tewana, (Shahpore), in a simple but moving speech, described his own experience in the Panjab when he toured even in small towns and insignificant villages to collect funds for the University. It was only when the poor villagers understood that even their local schools would be linked with and improved by Aligarh that they subscribed liberally and often beyond their means.

After discussion of the form in which the Committee's conclusions should be embodied, the following resolutions were moved and unanimously carried. Almost every member spoke.

1. The Moslem University Constitution Committee, after carefully considering the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to its President, regret that it is unable to modify the Constitution framed by it, by confining the scope of the proposed Moslem University to the locality at which it is to be established without the power of affiliating the institutions outside that locality. The Committee is of opinion that further representation should be made to the Government to reconsider its decision.

Proposed by the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi, Lahore, and seconded by the Hon. Mr. Mazharul Haq of Patna, Syed Zahur Ahmed, Lucknow and Shaik Abdullah, Aligarh.

2. The Committee expresses its deep regret at the decision of the Secretary of State that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor of the proposed Muslim University. The Committee further regrets that it is unable to agree to the decision that all the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council.

Proposed by Syed Nabiullah, Lucknow, and seconded by the Hon'ble Malik Muhriz Khan, Shahpur, supported by Mr. Abdul Aziz, Peshawar; Hon'ble Shaikh Shahid Husain, Lucknow; Dr. Mahommed Salaiman, Jaunpore.

3. The Committee deeply regrets that His Majesty's Secretary of State has decided that the proposed Muslim University should in future be styled "The University of Aligarh" and feels constrained to request the Secretary of State to reconsider his decision, which goes against the long cherished and intensely-felt sentiment of the entire Muslim community.

Proposed by Mr. Mohamed Ali, (Oxon.), seconded by Maulvi Bashiruddin and supported by Nawab Nasir Hussin Khayal and Dr. Nasiruddin Hasan.

4. The Committee is of opinion that a copy of the above three resolutions be communicated to the Muslim University Foundation Committee with the letter of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler for such action as it may deem necessary. The Committee is of opinion that another representation should be made to the Government, to reconsider its decision.

Proposed by the Hon. Nawab Abdul Majid seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Fakhrudin and supported by Mr. Sultan Ahmad, Mr. Shaikat Ali.

5. In view of the statements contained in the letter of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler that, (1) As regards what I may call the internal relations of the proposed University, considerable modifications of the proposed constitution will be necessary, (2) "The distribution of powers between the various bodies of the University must be the subject of future discussion," (3) "His Majesty's Secretary of State still reserves his discretion as to the constitution in all details not specifically in the letter as decided and particularly to the distribution of powers among the component bodies of the University," the Constitution Committee resolves that it is absolutely essential to ascertain definitely from Government to what portion of the draft Constitution it objects, so that the Committee may reconsider the draft and arrive at a final conclusion.

Proposed by Mr. Mohamed Ali, and seconded by Syed Wazir Hasan, supported by Mr. Mohd. Yakub, and Munshi Ehtisham Ali.

6. Resolved that the Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be formed to draft the answer to the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler's letter on behalf of the Constitution Committee: Hon'ble Mian Mahd. Shafi, Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haq, Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid, Syed Wazir Hasan, Mr. Mohamed Ali and Nawab Mohd. Ishaq Khan.

Proposed by Nawab Fatch Ali Khan Quillabash, C.I.E., and seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Fakhrudin and supported by Maulvi Nizamuddin Hasan.

On the 12th instant the Hon. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, who had not been able to be present on the previous day, discussed some of the points settled in his absence. When referring to the question whether the University should altogether be rejected or not if affiliation was not allowed, his attention was drawn by the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Jehangirabad to the limited scope of the Constitution Committee and to the fact that the resolutions of the Constitution Committee were being communicated to the Parent Committee, the Moslem University Foundation Committee, for necessary action. The Raja Saheb was emphatic that, speaking for himself at least, he had not subscribed a lakh of rupees for a local University of Aligarh, but for a Moslem University with powers to affiliate outside institutions. The Hon. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was also convinced and accepted all the decisions of the Committee.

The following reply to Sir Harcourt Butler, drafted by the Sub-Committee was then read and unanimously approved:—

Dear Sir Harcourt Butler,—I am thankful to you for the long and detailed letter which you have been good enough to address to me on the subject of the decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State in regard to the proposed Moslem University. I laid your letter before the Muslim University Constitution Committee which met here on the 11th and 12th instant, and the matters dealt with in the letter were most carefully considered by the members, who attended in large numbers practically from every part of the country. Before stating the conclusions at which the Constitution Committee arrived, I consider it necessary to invite your attention to the fact that the scope of my Committee is limited and that it was constituted merely to frame a constitution for the proposed University, and when considering the letter under reply the Committee was conscious of the fact that it had no authority to go beyond a consideration of the decisions contained in the letter as suggestions for altering the Constitution which it had framed for the University.

The decisions of the Secretary of State are so entirely opposed to the basic principles on which the promoters of the proposed Moslem University have all along been working that, apart from the personal inclinations of its members, the Constitution Committee felt that it had no authority to accept decisions which run counter to the very principles on which it was asked to frame a constitution for the University. In view of the extreme seriousness of some of these decisions the Constitution Committee considers it necessary to refer them to the Muslim University Foundation Committee

together with its own views on the matters concerned. Moreover, so far as can be judged from present indications, the Muslim community at large has shown a deep and intelligent interest in the decisions announced in the recent press *communiqués*, and has even formed definite views of its own. It therefore appears far more desirable to the Constitution Committee to ascertain these views through the Muslim University Foundation Committee than to rely on its own unaided judgment. I am, therefore, communicating the resolutions passed by the Constitution Committee to the Muslim University Foundation Committee for its consideration and necessary action. Copies of resolutions are also sent herewith. I hope to address you again on the subject on learning the views of the Muslim University Foundation Committee and through it of the Muslim community.

As regards the conclusions at which the Constitution Committee has arrived, I may mention that the deliberations of the members attending the meeting were aided and influenced by the communications received from some of the absent leaders of the community, including His Highness the Aga Khan, Nawab Mushtaq Husain, and Mr. Syed Karanmat Husain, and various Muslim associations and committees which have been taking active interest in promoting the proposed University.

With reference to what you call the "external relations" of the University, the decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State that the proposed University should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established caused the members of the Committee the deepest disappointment; and, apart from other indications, if the views of such a representative body can be, as I believe it is, a true index of the public opinion of the Mussalmans, the decision of the Secretary of State in this matter seems clearly to have been a cause of great disappointment to the community, as you rightly apprehended in your letter.

After very careful and prolonged deliberation the Constitution Committee unanimously resolved with regret that it is unable to modify the Constitution framed by it by confining the scope of the proposed Muslim University to the locality in which it is to be established without the power of affiliating the institutions outside the locality. The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that further representation should be made to the Government to reconsider its decision.

With reference to another decision of the Secretary of State that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor, that the University should elect its own Chancellor, and that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council with one exception, namely, that the professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General in Council, the Committee has received the decision with extreme disappointment, but regrets that it is unable to agree to the decision that all the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council.

In the concluding paragraph of your letter you tell me that the Secretary of State has decided that the proposed University should in future be styled the University of Aligarh. This decision has caused the Committee much pain, and, in view of the fact that it goes against the long cherished and deeply-felt sentiment of the entire Muslim community, the Committee trust that it will also be reconsidered.

I may be permitted to refer to certain statements contained in paragraphs 9 and 10 of your letter which require further elucidation. In paragraph 9 you state that "as regards what I may call the internal relations of the proposed University, considerable modifications of the proposed constitution will be necessary," and again in the same paragraph you mention that the distribution of powers between various bodies of the University must be the subject of future discussions. In paragraph 10 you state that His Majesty's Secretary of State still reserves his discretion as to the constitution in all details not specifically mentioned in this letter as decided, and particularly in regard to the distribution of powers among the component bodies of the University. With a view to the avoidance of likely misunderstandings the Committee deem it absolutely essential to ascertain definitely from Government to what portions of the Constitution drafted by the Committee objection is taken, so that on those particulars the Committee may reconsider the draft of the Constitution prepared by it and arrive at final conclusions. I trust you will kindly ascertain the views of His Majesty's Secretary of State indicating any further objections that he may have to communicate, while also mentioning if there is any detail of the draft Constitution to which the Government of India themselves have an objection. On learning these, I shall be glad to lay them before the Constitution Committee for further consideration.

(Sd.) MOHAMED ALI MOHAMED KHAN.

Throughout, the discussion was characterised by coolness and determination. It is proposed to redouble the efforts for the collection of funds in order to be financially ready for the establishment of the Moslem University on the community's own lines, whenever it may come, and to impress on all that the Mussalmans were in earnest in their demands.

Press Opinions.

The "Pioneer."

We publish on another page the full text of two letters addressed by Sir Harcourt Butler, the Education Member, to the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the Raja of Mahmudabad on the subject of the recently announced decision of the Secretary of State to the effect that neither of the two proposed Universities, at Aligarh and Benares, should have powers of affiliation outside the localities in which they are to be established. Sir Harcourt Butler sets forth the reasons for arriving at the decision briefly, but in a clear and convincing manner. As he points out, there are many very practical objections to the ambitious schemes which some of the promoters of these Universities have had in view. A University that would try to "mother" the whole of the country, or rather the students of a particular religion in every province would set itself an impossible task. It would also inevitably come into conflict with the older territorial Universities, it would be able to exert no control over colleges scattered all over India and the value of its academic distinctions would be bound to suffer by comparison with the educational standards of less loosely organised institutions. On the lines laid down by the Secretary of State, the two Universities, if they ever come into being, may serve a very useful purpose by adding to the educational facilities of India. The whole trend of the current educational policy of Government is the slow but sure multiplication of teaching and residential Universities, towards the creation of which private beneficence may well be directed. We are convinced that this view will commend itself to the thoughtful and evenly-balanced minds of those who are promoting the Universities of Aligarh and Benares after their first disappointment at the Secretary of State's decision has passed away.

The "Civil and Military Gazette."

A press *communiqué* some three weeks ago briefly announced: "It has been finally decided that the educational scope of a University at Aligarh and Benares should be limited to the locality in which it may be established." To-day we publish the full text of letters from Sir Harcourt Butler in which the Secretary of State's reasons for the decision are set forth. The decision has, perhaps naturally caused grave disappointment in both the Muhammadan and the Hindu communities, partly no doubt because it came as a complete surprise, partly because it dashes the hopes of those whose liberality has made the establishment of separate Universities practicable. It is unfortunate that a decision on this fundamental point could not have been reached earlier. There has been no secret about the desires and aims of those responsible for collecting funds for the two Universities. There can be no doubt that a considerable proportion of the funds in each case was subscribed on the understanding that local colleges would be affiliated to the denominational Universities. The destruction of these hopes has naturally caused bewilderment in both communities, and will necessitate a reconsideration of the entire scheme for communal universities. But though the decision of the Secretary of State must at first give rise to disappointment we hope that disappointment will not be followed by hasty or ill-considered action. There should be a calm and deliberate consideration of the question from every point of view, for any decision that is reached must have a momentous and permanent influence upon the future of either community. In his letter to Raja Sir Mohammed Ali Mohammed Khan, Sir Harcourt Butler mentions some of the objections to affiliation from an educational point of view, and it must be admitted by all fair-minded men that they are extremely weighty. The great defect of the existing Indian universities is that they are non-residential, and that adequate supervision over affiliated colleges is practically impossible. It is hoped that in any future universities that may be established—whether communal or general—a higher ideal will be reached, that the universities may become genuine seats of learning, at which examinations would be subordinate to teaching, and teachers would be free to develop the intelligence of their students, and not merely exercise their memories. Nobody, either in the Mussalman or the Hindu community, wishes the communal universities to be replicas of the existing Government institutions; they aim at a higher ideal, and desire to train character as well as intellect. To fulfil that purpose the universities must be residential, and in view of this ideal, we believe calm reflection will show that the Secretary of State's decision on the subject of affiliation is sound. The attempt to supervise the working of the affiliated colleges would inevitably dissipate some of the influence of the university; it would tend to keep the standard of training in the central institution on the level of the affiliated colleges. It cannot be suggested that a university at Aligarh or at Benares could adequately supervise all the colleges of either community that are or will be established in India; it cannot be contended that even now either community is unable to supply sufficient students at a central institution to absorb the entire energies of the university staff. There is undoubtedly room in India even now for denominational universities of the centralised teaching type; and we are convinced that such universities will in the long run be of greater benefit to the communities than institutions with a wider charter.

The "Indian Daily Telegraph."

14th August.

We published on the 13th August a letter from the Hon'ble Sir Harcourt Butler, Member of Education, to the address of the Raja of Mahmudabad, President of the Constitution Committee of the Muslim University, embodying the decision arrived at by his Majesty's Secretary of State on certain vital matters affecting the proposed constitution of the University. The decision, as would appear from the letter, is not final in regard to matters of detail as his Majesty's Secretary of State still reserves his decision as to the constitution in all details not specifically mentioned in this letter. It would appear that his Majesty's Secretary of State has finally decided that the scope of the University should be confined to the limits of the locality where it is to be established. It is also decided that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor of the University, and that the powers proposed to be vested in the Chancellor—except as to the appointment of European professors—should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council. It has also been decided that the University should be called "The University of Aligarh" and not "The Moslem University, Aligarh." The suggestion is further made in the letter that alterations should be made in the constitution to admit of the distribution of powers between the various bodies of the University in such a way that all matters relating to the curriculum, discipline and examinations should be in the hands of educational experts.

In the letter of the Education Member a few out of the many reasons which are said to exist have been given in support of the refusal of the power of affiliation, namely: "(1) A university, with branches all over India, would lead to competition and probably conflict with the older territorial universities. (2) Such a university would inevitably keep down the standard of Aligarh degrees, and would destroy the hope that the teaching university would become a genuine seat of learning at which examinations would be subordinate to teaching, and teachers would be free to develop the intelligence of their students and not merely exercise their memories. (3) The value of the residential system depends upon the tone or spirit which pervades the college and which, handed on from one generation of students to another, constitutes its tradition, and the traditions of Aligarh are quite local and peculiar, depending largely on personal associations. (4) The University at Aligarh would be quite unable to control colleges situated in different parts of India."

As regards the first of the points mentioned above, unless the complications and matters of conflict with other universities are specifically mentioned, we are unable to offer any comment. It is obvious of course that the Education Member here refers to the affiliation of the colleges and not to the recognition of the schools, as it would be absurd to imagine that any university could exist without schools as its feeders outside the central seat of the university. It may be urged that the schools now existing and teaching on the lines of the Government curriculum ought to serve as feeders. We were given to understand that the proposed Muslim University would have its own curriculum entirely dissociated from that of the Government universities in India; and we think that unless the contemplated Universities at Aligarh and Benares have some special feature in connexion with the education imparted by them, which it is not possible to introduce into the Government university system, there can be no use for denominational universities.

As regards the second objection raised in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter against affiliation on educational grounds, we were under the impression—an impression fostered by both Hindus and Mahomedans—that it was the desire of Indians to have a higher standard than that reached by the Government universities. If so we fail to understand how they would affiliate any institution which would not adopt the curriculum and have the same standard of teaching as that of the central universities. Turning to the third point in the Education Member's letter there is undoubtedly great weight in the statement that "the value of the residential system depends upon the tone or spirit which pervades the college and which, handed on from one generation of students to another, constitutes its tradition," and further, there is no doubt that "the traditions of Aligarh are quite local and peculiar," but admitting this we think that the attempt of the Muslim community to produce the same tone and spirit among other institutions constituted similarly to the M.A.O. College should be encouraged instead of being checked. Of course so far there is only one college in India, the Islamia College, Lahore, which the Muslim community could affiliate after a few years when it has been brought up to the Muslim University ideals, but there is no doubt whatever that should the Muslims be allowed to have a central educational institution it would provide the necessary impetus to have as many colleges in the country as their resources would permit. The proposed constitution, indeed, was very strict in this connexion, as it only permitted of affiliation with the previous sanction of the Chancellor (the Viceroy) which the Muslim leaders very well knew could not be obtained without satisfying the Chancellor that the institution desired to be affiliated was up to the standard of the university college.

The fourth—and final—objection raised in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter is purely a supposition, for there is no reason why, if sufficient funds are available to employ a large staff of university inspectors, the central university should not be able to establish effective control over the colleges outside its local limits. Having examined these points we quite fail to understand why the Government, having once admitted the principle of a denominational university, should now attempt to place restriction on its territorial jurisdiction. There may possibly be reasons for their attitude other than those given in this letter which are more or less of an educational nature, but we go so far as to say that even on political grounds such restrictions are useless in the case of Mussalmans who are a homogeneous people and are linked together by ties of race and religion.

The decision of the Secretary of State that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor, when hitherto no objection has been raised to the idea, cannot but impress the impartial observer as in the nature of an unkind declaration. "Willing to wound and yet afraid to strike" (to quote Pope's famous aphorism) seems to sum up the Government attitude in this matter. The intention is that the Viceroy's connexion with the university should be an official not a personal one. And yet if the Muslims had the Viceroy as their Chancellor they would have had an opportunity of displaying their regard and affection for the character and personality of the King-Emperor's representative in this country. He would have presided over their deliberations in his personal capacity of Viceroy. His disposal of their affairs in the capacity of the Governor-General in Council will certainly deprive the people of the intimate connexion which they would otherwise have enjoyed. There is no doubt the Secretary of State in coming to this decision has tried to give the Governor-General in Council a power of interference in a denominational institution which he could have equally exercised in his personal capacity without making the community feel the bitterness of it. It was always understood that even acting in the capacity of a Viceroy, the Chancellor could have taken the opinion of his advisers in a semi-formal way, but why he should have been compelled by the Secretary of State to put on his official garb and be armed with the advice of his councillors we do not understand. As regards the proposed change of name of the university, this is a typical instance of the ignorance of the feelings of the Indian people by those who decide the great problems of India from Whitehall. We cannot but sympathise with the Muslims in the fact that their long cherished idea of a Mussulman university will suffer if the university is to be called the University of Aligarh.

We also note in the letter of the Hon. Member for Education an announcement that the Government will be pleased to make a liberal grant to the university if accepted by the Muslims on the terms laid down by the Secretary of State. We will only observe that such an announcement would have been hailed with joy if it had come when the series of differences between the Muslim community and the Government of India had been settled.

The "Statesman."

The *Comrade*, which represents presumably the views of young Aligarh, and possibly those of a wider section of Mahomedans, expresses deep disappointment over the *communiqué* issued by the Education Department stating that "it has been finally decided that the educational scope of a University at Aligarh or Benares should be limited to the locality in which it may be established." The announcement, it says, bars the way to the University for the various Aligarhs which it was hoped to create and thus "knocks the bottom out of the educational programme which Mahomedans have been maturing with steadfast hope and devotion for upwards of 30 years." The terms of the *communiqué* are not devoid of ambiguity. It could be taken to mean that the proposed University is to recruit its students from Aligarh and its neighbourhood. In that case it can be little more than a glorified edition of Aligarh itself. It is doubtful indeed if it can be as much as that, for, if the University has its scope limited to its particular locality, it will have a smaller constituency than Aligarh College, which has drawn its alumni from all India. Probably, however, the intention of the *communiqué* is to declare that there shall be no affiliation of distant colleges to the proposed Universities. We are at a loss to understand why this local limit has been imposed upon institutions which are expressly designed to foster a certain type of education. To have refused sanction to the projected Universities as being denominational institutions or as being unnecessary would have been an intelligible proceeding. Many educational authorities are opposed to denominational Universities on grounds which have been fully explained during the controversy provoked by the Aligarh and Benares schemes. Other authorities are doubtful of the wisdom of increasing the number of Universities, especially by creating Universities of a new type which may have the effect of lowering University standards throughout India. Had the Government of India declined on either or both of these grounds to countenance the proposal to create a Mahomedan University at Aligarh or a Hindu University at Benares their action could have been defended. But Sir Harcourt Butler spoke honeyed words to the promoters of

both schemes and gave them to understand that, if they secured a sufficient amount of financial support, the Government would grant a charter. On the strength of this assurance large sums have been subscribed by Mahomedans and Hindus all over India. It is reasonable to suppose that most of this money was given on the understanding that the benefits of the Universities were to be shared by India as a whole. When, however, the funds have been collected the Government announce that the scope of the Universities must be local. The *Comrade* fears that in these circumstances the majority of Mahomedans will be of the opinion that it will be better to have no University than one which is cribbed, cabined, and confined. If the scheme is abandoned the action of Government will be bitterly resented. In view of the importance of the question the public are entitled to some explanation from the Education Department in addition to a brief and curiously worded press *communiqué* of four lines.

The "Empire."

Sir Harcourt Butler has done his best to soothe the ruffled feelings of the Mahomedans in connection with the veto which the Secretary of State has seen fit to impose upon the proposed Moslem University for all India, and we trust he may succeed, but we have our doubts. There is a great deal to be said against the idea of a denominational University, as we ourselves pointed out some months ago. A university in the abstract ought to be above denomination. Nevertheless, when we come to think of it, denominational Universities have done more for the world at large than the undenominational Universities—e.g., Oxford, Cambridge, Upsala, Leyden and many others. There does not therefore seem to be any intrinsic reason why a Moslem University, provided it is efficient, should not do as much for Northern India as Oxford and Cambridge have done for Great Britain. The objection to the proposed denominational University cannot therefore lie on the ground of educational disadvantages, but must be based upon political grounds. It is easy to see how Lord Crewe, holding the rigid views to which he has recently given repeated expression, as to the impossibility of ever admitting India into the category of self-governing dominions, is unable to contemplate the formation of an institution which would undoubtedly tend to generate a very high degree of communal self-consciousness among Indian Moslems. That is the real objection to the scheme, although Sir Harcourt Butler does not say so. It is difficult to imagine, however, why the real reason should not be said outright. Lord Crewe in his latest attempt to explain away the despatch of last August, has specifically identified the Government of India with his own reactionary policy, and as there has been no repudiation of him by the Government of India the natural inference is that Simla and Whitehall are at one in this matter. Lord Crewe is rapidly acquiring a reputation for extreme, not to say brutal candour where the future of India is concerned. Why should there be any more beating about the bush in this matter than there was about the impossibility of regarding India as a country that could ever be fit for self-government?

By a curious coincidence, at the very moment when Sir Harcourt Butler's letter was issued, a representative Mahomedan conference at Lucknow was coming to the conclusion that it could not accept a university without affiliation, and was declining to take the decision of the Secretary of State as final. We have had several illustrations recently of what "finality" means in India, and there is some justification, therefore, for this attitude on the part of the supporters of the scheme. But in almost the same breath in which the Lucknow conference implores the Government to reconsider its decision, we have Sir Harcourt Butler repeating for the second or third time, that the decision is absolutely "final." The Mahomedans, says the Member of Education, must either accept a college at Aligarh, which is to be called a university, or they must make up their minds to do without a university at all. Apparently this is what the Mahomedans will do; in which case the next business will be the return of subscriptions wholesale, and the fruitless expenditure of a year and a half's effort. The Government will thus have given the maximum of annoyance at the minimum gain—unless indeed the Moslems continue to receive Sir Harcourt Butler's assurances in the Pickwickian sense, and to urge their demands upon the Government, both in this country and in England.

With regard to the Hindus, there is even colder comfort for them than for the Mussalmans. The letter to the Maharaja of Durbhanga is final enough so far as its curtness is concerned. In this case also we doubt the happiness of the solution which the Government has adopted. If the scheme was wrong, why was it not frowned upon from the beginning? As it is, the Government lays itself open to the accusation—a very serious one in India—of having roused hopes which it never intended should materialize.

The "Englishman."

There seems to be considerable dissatisfaction among Muslims throughout India regarding the recent official *communiqué* limiting the scope of the proposed Aligarh University to Aligarh itself. For

ourselves we are rather inclined to the view that under existing conditions, it would be for the good of the University itself to concentrate its educational activities, at least for some time to come, in Aligarh. There are not many Moslem educational institutions in India sufficiently advanced for the privilege of affiliation to the University, and even if these were affiliated, they would not benefit the University.

The "Indian Daily News."

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER'S letters to the originators of the Universities movement reiterates the decision already announced that the present orders are final. The practical objections to the proposed scheme of affiliation to the two Universities, mentioned in Sir Harcourt's letter, were anticipated in these columns when the decision was first announced. These objections have not been satisfactorily met by the supporters of the movement in the press, although much warmth has been exhibited in criticising the order of Government. The plain fact of the matter is the proposed Universities are impossible on the scale designed. The enthusiasm for education of which ample evidence has been shown is a very good thing in its way; but the programme drawn up was clearly too ambitious. If the Universities were constituted on the original plan, there would inevitably have followed a serious conflict of educational practices and tendencies. In the resulting chaos the high ideas with which the institutions started would have been forgotten. The fatal objection to universal affiliation is, that inspection and control would be well nigh impossible. Sir Harcourt Butler concludes: "The decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State is final and must be accepted as such." In the face of this pronouncement, it is the clear duty of the promoters to restrict the scope of the Universities within the limits of teaching and residential bodies. It would of course be a great pity if the movement were abandoned altogether.

The "Amrita Bazar Patrika."

THE letters which the Education Member, Sir. H. Butler, has addressed to Raja Mahammad Ali and the Maharaja of Durbhanga, refusing powers of affiliation to the proposed Aligarh and Benares Universities, remind one of the Bengali adage, "Every thing in the iron safe is yours, only its key will be mine." Here is a fair résumé of these letters in our own language: "It will be your own Universities, only you will have to obey implicitly what we command you. First of all, you must each raise at least fifty lakhs; then you must christen them, the Aligarh and the Benares Universities respectively. You must not cast your eyes beyond the four walls of the cities, whose names your Universities will bear and you must affiliate only the college or colleges located therein. You will be allowed to constitute your governing bodies and distribute their powers in such a way as we decide hereafter." Is not the arrangement delicious? And, as if all this is not enough, the further reassuring hint is thrown out that "as regards what I may call the internal relation of the proposed University, considerable modification of the proposed constitution will be necessary." And further on, the Education Member says that "all matters relating to curriculum, discipline, and examination should be in the hands of educational experts." We wonder what superior beings these "educational experts" will be like. We fancy they are white and not dark-skinned men to be nominated by the Government of India or the India Office at Home, and not by the governing bodies of the Universities. By the bye, the Hon'ble Member, in order to remove any possible misapprehensions on this score, quietly adds that "this is the practice of the English Universities" on which the proposed University of Aligarh has been based. May we ask if it is also the "practice in the English Universities" to put their valuables in an iron safe and make over its key to others? No they, in short, carry on their internal management at the dictation of others?

But lest there be unreasonable or cranky people who develop symptoms of disappointment at these very fair terms, the letters wind up with the further reassuring asseveration that though "it may be a cause of disappointment to a community, it will be in their interests in the long run." Of course, of course there can be no doubt about it. Are they not all babies, and does not their *ma bap* know better than they what will serve them the best? Alas! alas! the mountain was in labour, and lo! it has produced a mouse!

The "Bengalee."

August 14.

It is perfectly obvious that the announcement made by Government that the Hindu and Moslem Universities are not to have the powers of affiliation outside the localities in which they may be established has created a sense of deep disappointment among those interested in the movements. The Hindu community have not so far formally expressed their views, but we know the feeling of dissatisfaction that prevails among them. The attitude of the Muhammadan community is clear and unmistakable. Recognised leaders from different parts of India recently assembled at Lucknow and after

prolonged discussions they unanimously decided not to urge upon Government a Moslem University, if it were without power of affiliation. The leaders hoped that under the circumstances the Government would not disappoint the united wishes of the Mussalmans and that it would reconsider the decision, which the Muhammadan community were not prepared to accept as final. We heartily join in the appeal here made to the Government. Nothing could be more regrettable than if the decision of Government in this matter were to mean the virtual collapse of the great movements which during the last couple of years and more have occupied the energies of some of the finest minds in the country, both Hindu and Muhammadan, and from which so much has been expected by the people at large. From the point of view of the Government it would be a grave blunder. We can only hope, in spite of all that Sir Harcourt Butler has said in his letters published in these columns yesterday, that the decision is not final. As regards the arguments put forward by Sir Harcourt Butler in support of this decision it is not necessary for us to notice them at length. We have in the past said a good deal on the subject in connection with the proposed Dacca University, and it seems hardly necessary to go over the same ground. Suffice it to say that the ideal of teaching and residential Universities is undoubtedly a high and laudable ideal, but it has to be modified in practice in accordance with the circumstances of a particular case. A time may, indeed, come when teaching and residential Universities would be the rule in this country. But the time is not yet. At present it is felt by all who have the true interest of the country at heart that the thing most needed is to diffuse education. In the present case there is additional argument in favour of conferring on the Universities the power of affiliation, that the proposed Universities are to constitute a new type of University, the advantages of which ought to be widely diffused. Nor is the fact to be overlooked that the organisers of the movements have collected subscriptions from every part of the country, and in many cases the subscriptions have been promised or given on the understanding that the Universities are to be beneficial to the whole country. In Bengal, for instance, a hope has been entertained, ever since the proposal of a Hindu University was set on foot, that the National schools might eventually be affiliated to that University. To say now that the Universities are to have no powers of affiliation is to shatter this hope and similar hopes which have been entertained in other parts of the country. It would not, further, be easy to convince the public that the usefulness of the Universities would not materially suffer, so far as the country at large is concerned, if the powers of affiliation were withheld.

If Sir Harcourt Butler's definition of what he calls the external relations of the Universities is highly unsatisfactory and has been a source of great disappointment, we can scarcely say that his definition of the internal relations is calculated to give greater satisfaction. The Secretary of State, he tells us, has decided that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor, that the University should elect its own Chancellor and that the powers which it has proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General-in-Council, with one exception, namely, that the professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General-in-Council. This is not very clear, and so far as it conveys a meaning the arrangement proposed is open to grave exceptions. The organisers of the Moslem University, it would seem, proposed to vest certain powers in the Viceroy in his capacity as Chancellor of the University. The Secretary of State has decided that the Viceroy is not to be the Chancellor, but the powers in question are still to be exercised, not by the Viceroy but by the Governor-General-in-Council. This would certainly officialise the University to an extent which many would regard as extremely undesirable, and would destroy its independence. It would be one thing for a high official, whom the University chooses to be its Chancellor, to exercise certain powers; it is quite another for the Government as Government and entirely unconnected with the University, to possess those powers. And then what are to be the powers of the Chancellor of the University, if all the powers proposed to be vested in him except one are to be taken away from him and conferred on the Government? The arrangement proposed would certainly be anomalous and entirely unsatisfactory.

August 15.

In connection with the decision of Government that the Universities at Aligarh and Benares should have no powers of affiliation outside the localities concerned, the *Empire* raises a point of some importance. Our contemporary says:—

If the scheme was wrong, why was it not frowned upon from the beginning? As it is, the Government lays itself open to the accusation—a very serious one in India—of having roused hopes which it never intended should materialize.

Yes, if the idea of the Government from the beginning has been that the Universities are to possess no powers of affiliation, it was their clear duty to have said so at the very outset. They knew very well that the organisers were collecting subscriptions from every part of the country and expatiating with enthusiasm upon the advantages which the Universities would confer upon the people generally.

ing the conscience of the "patriots." The League's appeal was frankly, if not gushingly, sincere. One might almost detect a note of penitence in its anxiety to discover a practical basis for co-operation and unity. But, as was to be expected, the "nationalist" Press has greeted the appeal with characteristic gibes and jeers. Nothing can give a more accurate measure of the "nationalist" attitude than the following passage, which we take from a provincial "nationalist" organ that is supposed to have been evolved on the basis of a provincial patriotism free from the taint of sectarian bias:—"Having stood aloof from the heat and burden of the struggle, having escaped the odium of malicious criticisms, and having made a stronghold of the very argument that they have refrained from joining the Congress, they (the Mussalmans) obtained their share, and more than their share in some respects, of the benefits that have accrued to the country from the endeavours of associations, organisations and politicians of the Congress school. It has now dawned upon them that neither the progress of the world nor the progress of this country has been in the least affected by the policy of stagnation and quiescence they wished to adopt and that things have generally gone on as well perhaps without them as they might have with them." It is impossible to mistake the spirit of this plain deliverance. The last sentence, in particular, lays bare the true inwardness of "the associations, organisations and politicians of the Congress school," and it would be absurd to expect that the Mussalmans would ignore the existence of this attitude in their calculations of the future. We dealt with the Hindu "communal patriot" and his psychology in our last. The extract we have given from a "nationalist" organ of the conventional type bears a direct and emphatic testimony to the accuracy of our analysis. The Mussalmans have been curtly told that they are of no account in the "nationalist" programme and that things might "go on" very well without them. However, the Mussalmans already knew this much, though the knowledge of this bluff has so far not frightened them into unconditional surrender. The attitude is not without a tragic irony of its own. The dream of an exclusively Hindu India is vanishing like a mist from the political horizon of the country, and the old type of "patriot" is, in sheer dismay, shouting brave words in the hearing of the world. For good or evil, the Mussalman has come to stay, and, however disconcerting the fact may be, a community of 70 millions cannot be all *maya*. Nor is it in the power of the community to attain *nirvana* to oblige its neighbours before it has run the cycle of its destiny. Those who imagine that they can very well "go on" by ignoring the existence of the Mussalmans may perhaps be reminded that the Hindus are not the first people in the world's history who have discovered the use of a "majority." Other "majorities" have also existed that thought of themselves as "nations" by the divine right of number, until a wholesome experience of failure cured them of their pathetic intolerance and vanity. The "nationalist" has, perhaps, to undergo this experience before he emerges out of his shell and accepts the presence of the Mussalmans as a factor of the situation. For the present, however, he must continue to indulge in his magnificent attitudes and heroic poses. Newspapers of the stamp we have referred to above never lose an occasion to fall foul of the Mussalman who cannot tolerate, the sentimental humbug that is their usual stock-in-trade. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali in particular, weighs, on the consciousness of the Hindu "communal patriot." His recent remarks about the recruitment of the Indian public servants, when he urged upon the Public Service Commission to attach more importance to "training and breeding" than to examination aptitude, have peculiarly jarred on "nationalist" susceptibilities. The paper from which we have taken the extract calls Mr. Ameer Ali "a philistine"! Perhaps the term has acquired new significance in a new atmosphere charged with a brand new provincial "patriotism." All we can say is that word is "weighty" and whether it accurately describes Mr. Ameer Ali or not, it must make him extremely uncomfortable by its terrible irrelevance.

IN CERTAIN quarters persistent attempts have been made to cast doubts on the truth of the statement that the war in Tripoli has stirred the feelings of Moslem India as never they have been stirred before. "A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still"; and we know it is in vain to try to convert these detractors. But, as for the European public at large, we are sure that if it had any knowledge of the numerous communications we have been receiving on the subject of the war or the deep sympathy and Islamic zeal with which these letters are instinct, it would not have truly a shadow of doubt that "all the stages of the war are being most closely followed in every Indian home." As an incontestable proof of this fact we may mention that we have received several letters from modest and retiring *Purdahnashin* ladies expressing deep sympathy for the victims of the war. On the 7th August, for instance, Mrs. N. A. Ghulam Ali wrote to us from Khairagarh (C.P.):—"Dear Brother—Yesterday I sent you a money order for rupees four

only as a little contribution to the Turkish Relief Fund. If this my little money could buy a few bandages for the wounds of our Turkish and Arab brethren who are fighting for Islam, I shall be satisfied. I send it in the name of my little boy, Feroz-Hussain. May he live to be a good and true Mussalman . . . to help our cause nobly." Another Moslem lady, the highly educated wife of an eminent official of Hyderabad and daughter of another still more eminent official of the same State wrote to us some time back to say that her child regularly prays for the success of Moslem arms in Tripoli, and that the most favourite nursery game in the harems, now, is for the children to play at mimic battles between Turks and Italians. Numerous Moslem ladies have been contributing liberally towards the Turkish Relief Fund, and some have sent their jewellery to contribute the money towards the Relief Fund. Such is the strength of passionate feeling which the Italian depredations in Tripoli has evoked in the Indian Moslem world. Men, women and even children—in their own small way—have been giving unmistakable evidence of their sympathy. And yet some people would persist in failing to see any symptoms of Indian Moslem sympathy with the heroic Turkish and Arab defenders of Tripoli. After all, A'Kempis was not far wrong when, among other failings, he attributed to mankind (or a certain section of it) the quality of being blind.

THE 1st of August, 1912, saw the termination of a most successful régime of Secretaryship of the M. A. O. College by the departure from Aligarh of its late popular Secretary, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, to enjoy that rest and peace in the eventide of life to which his hitherto incessant and intense activities in the Moslem cause have entitled him and which his present condition of physical breakdown rendered absolutely necessary. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was the only leader of the Moslem community whom the Mussalmans of India were unanimous in considering a worthy successor of the great Sir Syed Ahmed, and his four and a half years' period of Secretaryship has fully justified the implicit confidence that they had placed in him. The period during which the Nawab has been at the helm of affairs has been one fraught with peculiar difficulties and embarrassments for Moslem India. But the Nawab has piloted what seemed to be the fast breaking-up ship of his community through the troublous times with such consummate skill that to-day the condition of Muhammadans all over India is more conducive to optimism, in spite of some overhanging clouds, than it has ever before been. The towering personality of the Nawab, his unswerving honesty of convictions, and his far seeing political sagacity and unflinching resourcefulness in meeting great national emergencies are responsible, perhaps, to a greater degree than anything else, for the perceptible improvement which has latterly come into evidence in the social and political condition of the Indian Mussalmans. On his personal loftiness of character and his many qualities of head and heart it would be superfluous to expatiate. It would be a bright day for Moslem India when the community would be able to boast of a considerable number of leaders of the same moral calibre as the Nawab, and as utterly selfless in their desire for uplifting the community. A man without any great patrimony, he took up Government Service as his chief means of livelihood, but gave it up almost at a moment's notice when he found that under a certain type of officials it interfered with his religious principles. Then, after a term of office in the Nizam's Dominions, he finally consecrated his life to selfless service for his community. He was one of those who were chiefly instrumental in preventing the great blunder which Lord Macdonnell had wellnigh committed on the question of the conflicting claims of Urdu and Hindi to be the court language. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was the first to perceive the necessity of focussing the political aspirations of the Indian Moslems in a central League, and he spared no personal sacrifice in time or energy to establish it on a permanent footing and widen its scope of potency and usefulness. We firmly believe that the Nawab is one of the very few political leaders against whom no section of his community has even a syllable to whisper, and to whom no Muhammadan dare impute any self-seeking motives. We are now in too close proximity to the Nawab's régime at the great national education-centre at Aligarh to be in a position to take a historical retrospect of his term of office. But the grave concern which the whole community has been expressing at the retirement of the Nawab from active supervision of the institution is ample enough testimony to the unqualified appreciation with which the Moslem community looks back on the Nawab's term of office at Aligarh. We heartily join in Moslem India's earnest prayer that Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk may be blessed with an early recovery from the maladies from which he is suffering. May he long be spared to his community to continue his great work for its amelioration and to see the consummation of that great movement of reform and regeneration which he helped so much to usher in.

So "the only consolation" that was left to us in the matter of the remarkable hoisting of Rai Bahadur Kanhaya Lal on to the Additional Judicial Commissionership of Oudh has been withdrawn. For we now learn that he has been confirmed in the appointment in which he was recently gazetted to "act until further orders." We repeat that we yield to none in a just appreciation of the special merits of extraordinarily able officers. But there is always a limit beyond which it is difficult to convince the public that the motive power of "special merits" was the only propulsive force for shooting into pre-eminence extraordinarily qualified official meteors. To the average mortal it certainly seems rather remarkable that a gentleman who was a Munsif only in 1906 should have suddenly begun to be blessed with abnormal official preferment and, jumping over most of the intervening hurdles of acting and permanent Sub-Judgeships and Judgeships of all grades, should to-day have reached the dignity of an Additional Judicial Commissioner. Mr. Kanhaya Lal's singular rise into power has seemed all the more unaccountable to the public in view of the fact that the Rai Bahadur's rapid promotions have entailed the supersession of several high officials—permanent District Judges and Statutory Civilians—against whom the public has never heard even a whisper and whose integrity and high administrative ability it has never had reasons to doubt. Rightly or wrongly, in certain quarters in the public the impression has been gaining ground that there is more than meets the eye in the peculiar fact that the most phenomenally rapid stage of Rai Bahadur Kanhaya Lal's official progress has synchronised with the régime of Sir John Hewett, who is known to have taken a particular fancy to a certain very near relation of the fortunate Rai Bahadur, who has himself attained great prominence in the official world. Unwholesome food for reflection seems also to have been supplied to the public by the curious coincidence of the announcement of the Rai Bahadur's confirmation with the outburst of eulogistic rhetoric which Sir John's departure has evoked from that very near relation. The Hon. Pundit Sunder Lal has always been noted as a phlegmatic but industrious and most successful Vakil who had travelled a good deal in "the wildness of single instances," but it was left for Sir John Hewett to discover in him the greatest Indian educationist of U.P. Similarly, Sir John Hewett was everywhere known as a masterful and remarkably able administrator, but it was left for the Hon. Pundit Sunder Lal to discover in him a popular demi-god. We do not object to these reciprocal discoveries, but we draw the line at a jump from a Munsif in 1906 to a Judicial Commissioner in 1912. We suspect that the post in which Mr. Kanhaya Lal is confirmed will not permanently be vacant before Sir John departs from the United Provinces. But evidently Sir John has little faith in his successor's ability to make a wise choice for the post, and is it not better never to put off for tomorrow the work of—the day after tomorrow?

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	As.	P.
M. Abdullah, Esq., Budaun	5	0	0
Siddiqui Hasan, Esq., Mahmudabad	4	3	0
Bazlur Rahim, Esq., Mymensingh	2	0	0
Islam Nabi Khan, Esq., Sultanpur	10	0	0
Through Syed Zafar Hasan, Esq., Mussalmans of Nagpur	10	0	0
Through Abdul Wajid, Esq., Bareilly, Sitara Begum Sahiba, in memory of her deceased sister Shakira Begum	15	0	0
Mrs. Mohsin	7	0	0
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Wajid Ali, Esq., in memory of his deceased sister	3	0	0
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"A. Ahsan", Hassan	10	0	0
Khalifa Mohammad Rashid Saheb, Gujerat	5	0	0
Amount received during the week	146	7	0
Amount previously acknowledged	20,859	8	6
Total	21,005	15	6

The Comrade.

The Moslem University.

I.

We have not been made to wait in the wilderness for long; for the Government has not only published the reasons for the "final" decision of the Secretary of State in regard to affiliation by the proposed Moslem University, the absence of which we regarded as significant, but the members of its Constitution Committee have also been shown the courtesy of a "private view" of the other "final" decisions of His Majesty's Secretary of State. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler was this time considerate enough to send by wire a copy of his letter to the Hon. Raja Sir Ali Mohamed Khan for the Committee's information on the eve of its meetings on the 11th and 12th, intimating that the letter would be published in Simla only on receipt of the Raja Saheb's acknowledgment. This is as it should be, and we may now spare the Hon. the Education Member the additional observation that this is also as it should have been.

When some members of the Constitution Committee reached Lucknow on the 10th they found that they had not only to consider the so-called "final" decision of the Secretary of State in regard to affiliation, but that they had also to consider several other "final" decisions hardly less important, and that they were required to be prepared to consider several other "final" decisions if and when it pleased His Majesty's Secretary of State to declare his pleasure. These new decisions and the prospect of others still in the womb of futurity could not ordinarily fail to disturb the equanimity of the members of the Constitution Committee. But after the bolt from the blue contained in the recent Press *communiqués* which preceded the letter of the Education Member, and the manner in which the *ukases* of Lord Crewe were communicated, had inured the Committee to a great extent. In high society it is a sin to be surprised, and the Moslem community is being elevated greatly by the shocks which it is now sustaining so that in course of time it could say with Macbeth:

"I have almost forgot the taste of fears."

Moslems have "supp'd full with horrors, and direness cannot once start them."

As our readers must recollect, these coming misfortunes had cast their shadows in front. The Government of India themselves had some doubts about the necessity of affiliation; but when almost a year ago the Committee conferred with Sir Harcourt Butler and Mr. Sharp, the Hon. Mian Mohamed Shafi was deputed by the Committee to explain the reasons which made affiliation such a vital portion of the University Constitution. We do not know what has occupied the Secretary of State for so long, because the change of Capital and the modification of the Partition were clearly such unimportant matters that, so far as can be judged from Lord Crewe's feeble echo of the Government of India's Despatch, it could not have taken the Secretary of State long to have said "yes" to everything which the eight "Patriot Kings" of Simla had decided to do. The famous Despatch left India on the 25th August, and his Lordship said "Amen" to it officially on the 1st of November. The conference between the Constitution Committee and the Department of Education took place towards the end of September, and the proceedings of that conference must have been communicated to the Secretary of State early in October. The Marquess of Crewe, then, had several weeks, before he came out to India, wherein to consider the Constitution drafted by the Committee, and had ample opportunity, while he was here, to discuss any details to which he took objection. But even after his departure from India it was not till the beginning of March that he communicated his objections to the Government of India. When His Lordship's despatch arrived in India the Secretariat as usual tried to keep everybody in the dark officially and enlightened everybody unofficially. The fiction of secrecy was kept up, and in view of the so-called finality of the Secretary of State's decision, we are rather sorry that we lent our countenance to this fiction of secrecy. In the issue of 9th March we expressed our regret that a local vernacular contemporary should have inadvertently published, on the strength of a very prominent member of the Constitution Committee, a statement to the effect that the Government did not intend to permit the affiliation of colleges and schools outside Aligarh. But we knew all the time that not only did the Secretary of State object to the power of affiliation, but that he also disapproved of the Viceroy being the Chancellor, and that he was in favour of permitting the authorities of the proposed University to appoint their professors without the previous approval of the Viceroy as Chancellor. Therefore, so far as we are concerned, we could say with the Persian poet:

هر دشمنی است دوست گر با منکودی *
آخر کردی نصرت می داشتی

(Every hostility that thou hast shown, O friend of mine, towards me, thou hast shown it only now, but I knew of it before.)

If the mystery of the Secretary of State taking nearly half a year in communicating his decisions on the draft constitution of the Moslem University cannot be easily explained, it would on the face of it be still more difficult to explain the mystery of the non-publication of these decisions for another period of nearly half a year. But, although the Secretariat did not publicly avow it, we knew all the time that the Government of India had referred to the Secretary of State, and no doubt His Lordship took time to arrive at what the Government terms his "final" decision. But howsoever the delay may have been caused, it is certain that nearly a year has elapsed since the Constitution Committee last conferred with the Government of India.

On the eve of the Durbar Announcement, when no doubt it was desirable to keep the Mussulmans in good humour, the Hon. the Member for Education graced the Educational Conference with his presence in company with one of his distinguished colleagues, and announced in a language which his audience could understand at least as well as he that the establishment of the University was *only* a question of money. It is true that when the English version of his speech was shown to him a few minutes later before being despatched to the Press, he altered the word "only" into "mainly", and thereby put on the armour of official reserve which for just a dream-while he had put off only a moment before. But in view of the decisions contained in his letter to the Hon. Sir Ali Mohamed Khan, K.C.S.I., the President of the Constitution Committee—decisions which, in the opinion of that Committee, "run counter to the very principles on which it was asked to frame a constitution for the University," and which are "so entirely opposed to the basic principles on which the promoters of the proposed Moslem University have all along been working, that, apart from the personal inclinations of its members, the Constitution Committee felt that it had no authority to accept"—can Sir Harcourt Butler say that in view of such decisions the establishment of the Moslem University was even "mainly" a question of finance? The Mussalms were repeatedly assured after the Durbar Announcement that if they brought in thirty lakhs one day they could get their University on the next. When it was mentioned that, according to rumour, H. E. Sir George Clarke—although he had indicated his approval of the University Movement quite early in 1911—and H. H. Sir John Hewett were opposed to the establishment of the Moslem University, the powers that be assured the nervous and the sceptic that Local Governments did not matter, and that the Moslem University Bill need not be referred to them at all. The Mussalms had waited long enough for legislative action. They were in a restive condition after the Announcement. The Government of India had already ignored Local Governments in much more important matters than the establishment of the Moslem University. And the Moslem University was just the kind of sop that could have been thrown to a depressed and restive community. Who could then blame the sceptics if their doubts were soothed and the nervous if their nerves were restored to a normal state? In spite of the sinister shadows cast by the "final" decisions as early as March last, the Moslem community was assured that no delay could now occur between the collection of the necessary funds and the introduction of the Bill in the Council. Even the greatest pessimist had no idea that just when the necessary sum would be collected the Government would impose conditions which no one ever dreamt that the Mussalms would accept. We shall not be so uncharitable as to say that this coincidence was premeditated by the Government. We grant that it is purely accidental, but we equally emphatically declare that it was avoidable. That it was not avoided is the fault of a Government which has got into the habit of working on the greatest of public issues in secret and then suddenly and without warning facing the people with "settled facts." The Government of India were resourceful enough at the Durbar and staked the reverence and regard of India for her Sovereign on the cast of the die. But, fortunately enough, there is only a retiring Secretary of State, who has done little for India, to deal with this time, and we have no doubt whatever of the final issue.

We publish elsewhere the proceedings of the meetings of the Constitution Committee, and may state at the very outset that we whole-heartedly endorse every one of the conclusions at which it has unanimously arrived. Had the Committee been the only organisation established in connection with the proposed Moslem University, and the final arbiter of its destinies, we have no hesitation in saying that it would have decided to refuse the University altogether rather than have it on the terms of the Government. When we say this we do not for a moment ignore the composition of the Constitution Committee. It is a large enough body composed of some fifty members from every part of the country and of all shades of opinion. It has both Ultra-Conservatives and Ultra-Radicals among its members, and comprises men of different ages and temperaments. But when the veteran Raja Saheb of Jahangirabad could agree with the latest recruit to the ranks of the English Bar in India, and the representative of the Punjab in the Viceroy's

Council could vie with the representative of the Moslems of Behar in that Council in emphasis and determination, then it is safe to say that, had the Committee to consider the larger question whether to accept the Government's terms or refuse the University altogether, at least an overwhelming majority would have agreed to refuse.

But soon after the President's opening speech—which was a model of such orations on occasion; so critical as this, and in which the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad placed the whole situation clearly and succinctly before the members, asking them to consider it coolly and dispassionately, and although in no way endeavouring to foist his own views upon the Committee, advised it to eschew agitation of a character inconsistent with Moslem traditions of sobriety and moderation—attention was drawn to the fact that the scope of the Constitution Committee was limited. It was pointed out that if it had no authority to accept decisions so entirely at variance with the basic principles on which the promoters of the proposed University had all along been working, it had no authority also to arrive at any conclusions such as the acceptance of a University on the Government's lines or the refusal to have a University at all. A Constitution Committee which entered into a discussion of the community's final verdict would have acted wholly unconstitutionally and gone beyond its powers, and no member of such a Committee could honestly persuade it to give such a verdict on behalf of the community merely because he knew that the Committee's verdict would accord with his own. We, therefore, trust that the Government would take note of the Committee's strictly constitutional action and approve of it, even if it cannot approve of its decisions.

It may possibly be suggested that the Committee was unwilling to face such a grave problem and shifted this heavy load to another body. But a glance at its decisions will show that the Committee was inspired with as great a sense of its duty as a sense of its limitations, and if it would not decide what it was for the Moslem community at large to decide, it had no hesitation whatever in arriving at conclusions so far as its own duty of framing a constitution was concerned.

Ever since its members had heard a year ago from the Hon. the Member for Education that Government had not made up its mind whether the power of affiliation should be granted to the proposed University or not, they had been considering whether the University of which they were framing a constitution could possibly dispense with that power without detriment to its character and beneficence. It would not then be right to say that it settled things in a hurry in the course of a few hours on the 11th and 12th instant. As regards the name of the University, if a name ever denoted anything and was not wholly without significance, the Committee could not possibly consent to the dropping of the word "Moslem" or some such qualifying word from the proposed appellation of a University which was to be established almost exclusively by the Mussalms and mainly for the benefit of the Moslem community. As a matter of fact, it may safely be said that the Mussalms would not consent to a change of name such as has been suggested in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter even if they began to think about it from now till doomsday. As regards the remaining decision of the Secretary of State, that the Viceroy should not be Chancellor, but that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council, the Committee has only decided that it is unable to vest *all* such powers in the Government of India if the Viceroy cannot personally be the Chancellor of the University. In other words, while deciding against the omnibus transference of the Chancellor's powers to the Governor-General in Council, the Committee has not yet decided what powers, if any, it could safely leave to an outside body such as the Government of India. It cannot, therefore, be said that the Committee has done its work rashly and in a hurry, and it was evident to every person present in the meetings that although a marked determination characterised almost every speech, there was none of that passion which befalls rather than illuminates a critical situation.

Unfortunately the hesitating and vacillating conservatism—even if such a thing can be called conservatism—of the *régime* of the late Nawab Moshin-ul-Mulk has led some people, including a type of Government officials, to think that among the Mussalms only youth is capable of honest thought and determined action. That is a high enough compliment for Moslem youth, but it is not always meant as such. Human nature is very complex, and it is one of the riddles of humanity that none are so cynically supercilious towards youth as those who lack wrinkles and grey hair themselves. None are so hard on youth as the young, and, consequently, we were not at all surprised some time ago to hear of the dangers of being led by young men from one who had still a good half of the journey to travel before completing the psalmist's span of life. We would, therefore, ask the Government to scrutinise carefully the ages of the members of the Constitution Committee so that they may discover for themselves that the decisions of the Committee have not been uttered out of the mouths of babes and sucklings. It is true that the two leaders of the

Mussalmans most prominent in connection with the University Movement are what the junior members of the Government of India would call young. We have, however, never heard that the *toga virilis* was withheld from His Highness the Aga Khan and the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad because the tiniest poppies of the Government disapproved of men who were well under forty. But even if youth is a crime, the grey hair and wrinkles of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur must redeem every beardless youth that lips in liberal thoughts. For if the love of liberty and determination are characteristic of adolescence, this Moslem patriarch must have discovered the secret of perpetual youth. But he is not the only patriarch that is both liberal and determined. We have already referred to the veteran aristocrat of Jahangirabad who redeems the youth of his brother Taluqdar of Mahmudabad, and we may leave the junior members of the Government to challenge such of the Moslem Jury as they object to on the score of lack of years. We would, however, remind the Government that whether in England or in India, just at the present moment it is the young that are in the vanguard of administration, and if the pot calls the kettle black, the kettle is not likely to suffer long for want of a suitable reply.

Turning to the proceedings of the Lucknow meetings on the 11th and 12th, we note that the Constitution Committee wisely refrained from assigning any reasons for the conclusions at which it arrived after prolonged and careful deliberation. But it is not the same thing as having no reasons to offer. We propose to explain these reasons in detail in a later issue, but we may be permitted to refer at this stage to Sir Harcourt Butler's own procedure in the matter of assigning reasons. He says nothing about the reasons why the Viceroy should not be Chancellor, nor does he explain why the University should elect its own Chancellor and hand over all his powers to the Viceroy and the latter's colleagues in Council. Again, in the briefest paragraph of his letter, and the very last, he must tell the Committee without any show of reasoning that the Secretary of State has decided that the proposed University should in future be styled the "University of Aligarh". It is true that he vouchsafes to instance what he is pleased to call only some of the many practical objections on educational grounds to affiliation. But that does not deny the existence of "practical objections" on other grounds. There is a doctrine of "economy of causes" known to scientists and philosophers which lays it down that if one cause can account for two or more consequences one need not search for more causes. It is true that the great Newton had intended to make a hole in his bedroom door for the kitten when it was born, like the one he had made for the cat, and, having forgotten to do so, was not a little surprised to find that, in spite of a single hole, both the kitten and the cat were in the room that night. But if all are not philosophers, all are not Newtons either. The Mussalmans cannot therefore be considered too presumptuous if by a sub-conscious process they assign a single cause to two consequences and expect the kitten to enter by the same aperture as the cat. Clearly the objection to the name of the "Moslem University" could not have been based "on educational grounds," and, according to the doctrine of economy of causes, it is just possible that the objection to affiliation was in reality based on the same grounds as the objection to the name.

As we have said before, we shall discuss in a subsequent issue "the practical objections on educational grounds" to which Sir Harcourt Butler refers in his letter. But it is well known that the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State on no less than two occasions supporting the Moslem plea for affiliation. If out of their full quiver Sir Harcourt is pleased to send a few darts in the direction of the Moslem community in the shape of practical objections, will he not also lend it one of the many armours from the Government's well-stocked armoury with which he and his colleagues had resisted the Secretary of State on two occasions? Surely the masters of the destinies of a sixth of the whole human race could not have been engaged in a "sham fight"!

We have already said a good deal to show that we do not agree with some of the Secretary of State's decisions. But we must also thank him for one decision in which his lordship has negatived the proposal so vehemently insisted upon by the Government of India. After the Durbar Announcement it was idle for Government to try to prevent the possibility of mischief in permitting the most forward community of India to appoint professors for its University without the previous approval of the Viceroy. At any rate, Government could no longer expect to make the Mussalmans yield the point in the belief that this particular precaution was not designed for the loyal and the contented. The precaution of previous approval was, therefore, as inconsistent with the Government's general attitude towards the discontented as difficult to obtain approval of from the loyal and the contented, and is therefore dead and buried. May it rest in peace and know no resurrection!

We must also thank the Government of India for the prospective offer of "a liberal annual grant to the University contingent," on the analogy of grants to Universities in England, "on the satisfactory results of inspection and audit." A gift horse can only be

looked at in a limited number of ways, and we would have recommended to the Moslem community to beware of the limitations and pass the customary resolutions. But, in the first place, even the Mussalmans have by now dimly seen that the grant would come from the general revenues of the country to which they contribute much more than what is spent on the education of their youths. For instance, it is not perhaps generally known that the Government grant to the notorious "favourite," the Aligarh College, is only thirty-three thousand rupees as contrasted with its total revenue of two lakhs and twenty thousand. In the next place, the camel that is sold for five rupees has to be purchased along with the cat tied to its neck that is priced at five hundred. This was a fable some time ago; but our Government is converting the fables of yesterday into the facts of to-day. We trust it would not be accounted to us as a sin to suggest with the utmost humility that it is a trifle premature to expect that the Mussalmans would rush to frame a constitution "satisfactorily to the Government of India and the Secretary of State" in order to qualify for that "liberal annual grant to the University contingent" which their "deep interest in the movement" has led the Government of India to contemplate. There are other ways of displaying a "deep interest in the movement", and the "liberal annual grant" could well have waited till the Mussalmans had framed a constitution "satisfactory to the Government of India and the Secretary of State". The Government credit is not yet so low that for every bargain the coin must be jingled in the pockets. The Government of India are often more considerate than this, and what could be more generous than the recognition that the Secretary of State's decision in the matter of affiliation "may be a cause of disappointment to the community"? A caviller may suggest that "may" is hopelessly weak when it is well known that mandates are being sent in all directions to suppress the impending agitation. But, as the late Home Member once suggested, that may be a misprint after all, and the "may" may have changed places with the "must" in the previous sentence that "the decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State is final and must be accepted as such". Surely the Government knows that the Committee can recognise only one mandate, and that is the mandate of the entire Moslem community.

Trans-Persian Railway.

WHATEVER may be the ultimate fate of the project for a railway across Persia, which the Committee of Studies now sitting in Paris is to examine and evolve, it is, at the present moment, the most important and complicated issue of the Middle Eastern question. The present proposal on which the British, French and Russian financiers are engaged has emanated from the Russian Foreign Office. It was first communicated to British Government towards the end of 1910. Gradually it materialised in the shape of the Société d'Etudes that has undertaken to go into the whole question from its financial and economic aspects. The proposal, though not a new one,—the idea of a Trans-Persian railway is as old as 1872—has, owing to the new set of circumstances governing international diplomacy and the new conditions in the Middle East, become a thoroughly live issue. The recent debates in the British Houses of Parliament were very earnest in tone; and the deep anxiety and doubts to which both the Liberals and Unionists gave expression may be taken to mean that the question of railways in Persia has entered a decisive stage. Sir Edward Grey and Lord Morley repudiated with a little too much emphasis the idea that the British Government had definitely committed itself to a participation in any scheme of railway construction that the promoters of the Russian proposal might happen to elaborate. They assured their respective Houses that no such commitments had been assumed, that His Majesty's Government had only agreed to the proposal in principle and consented to its examination, but that it reserved the fullest freedom of action when the project emerged in final form. The Government justifies its attitude of benevolent patronage on the grounds that the promoters of the scheme would have proceeded independently of British help and that the British veto at the outset would have led to other complications without extinguishing the project. Lord Morley even darkly hinted at some ugly results of British refusal to participate. What those results might be he left the House to conjecture. He wished most urgently to impress on their Lordships that "in the view of the Government—and the Government of India were just as sensible of this point as the Government at home—a point-blank refusal to assent not to a railway but to an examination of the proposal might have led to complications that would involve disadvantages to our Indian position much more serious than the disadvantages of the present project over which the Government would, even by this limited co-operation that they reserved to themselves, retain some decisive means of control." The more serious disadvantages to Indian position are not clear to the uninitiated, and one may be permitted to doubt that they are not the result of the strange obsession that afflicts British diplomacy in consequence of Russian dominance over the British Foreign Office. Russia might extort a concession from Persia within her

own sphere, build a railway through Seistan and dominate the Indian frontier. This contingency, perhaps, loomed in "the political imagination" of Lord Morley when he uttered his vague warning about "complications." It amounts to a sad though mute confession that the Anglo-Russian Convention is a farce. Sir Edward Grey never loses an opportunity to justify his handiwork, though he is never entirely free from the consciousness of having to defend a lost cause. His favourite argument about the utility of this curious diplomatic instrument is that the condition of Persia would have been far worse without it. As if the state of Persian affairs could be much worse than it is! The Convention has given Russia a correct measure of Sir Edward Grey, his temper, his methods and the strength of his diplomacy. She found an ideal atmosphere for the development of her designs in the recent administration of British Foreign Affairs. She realised that she was an indispensable factor in the balance of power that Sir Edward Grey was endeavouring to set up for check-mating Germany. She, therefore, reaped through British friendship what she could have never expected to achieve in face of British opposition and rivalry. The Trans-Persian railway scheme is designed as the final consummation of the aggressive policy which the Muscovite has pursued for the past few years in the affairs of the Middle East. The freedom of action claimed by the British Government in any scheme prepared by the Committee of Studies sounds plausible enough in theory. It, however, seems a little absurd to suppose that the Committee has resolved to spend £100,000 for the academic luxury of ascertaining the financial and economic possibilities of a railway across Persia. After a heavy outlay in preliminary survey and the formation of a definite financial group backed by Russian diplomacy, the evolution of a workable project is a certainty of the near future. The British Government, in view of "the more serious disadvantages to Indian position," will have to participate. Whatever may be the condition in regard to route, alignment and guarantee, a railway connecting India with the Caucasus will in all probability be built. It would, therefore, be worth while studying the new strategic, political and economic issues that it will bring into prominence in the problems of the Middle East.

It is necessary to bear in mind for a right understanding of the position that the proposal for the construction of the railway has emanated from Russia. Excepting the part of the country north of Ispahan, the proposed route lies through a vast stretch of desert. The whole undertaking, according to very modest estimates, will cost not less than 30 million pounds. As Lord Inchcape said in the House of Lords, the British or Indian section of the proposed railway would run through 920 miles of unfertile, unpopulated and waterless country, and the traffic that it would create would probably be sufficient to fill one truck in a fortnightly train. For an indefinite number of years it would have to be run at a heavy loss, which no sound financier would care to incur without a guarantee. As a purely financial and economic concern the railway would be an utter failure. It is, therefore, easy to conclude that the motive behind the project is mainly strategic and political. Russia holds northern Persia in her grip. The proposed railway would consolidate her power still further and bring the whole country within her sphere under her complete political subjection. What is, however, still more important is the radical change the railway will bring about in the Indian strategic position. By an inevitable process the new situation will result in an enormous accession of weight and influence to Russian diplomacy. The Muscovite will realise his long-cherished dream of dominating India and becoming the arbiter of the destinies of the Middle East.

Not a single politician in England, not even Sir Edward Grey, has been able to defend the proposed railway on the score of Indian strategy. All that has been said in defence is that such a railway was inevitable. Surely, the British Foreign Office must be held responsible for a situation that has entirely grown out of its control and direction. Here is a scheme, involving, as Lord Curzon observed, a more fundamental change in British policy towards India and the defence of India than any event in the history of India since the days of Lord Clive. To quote Lord Curzon again,

If the theories upon which this railway was to be constructed were accepted, all our views had been wrong. They were to be relegated to the limbo of obsolete and mistaken ideas, and we had to accept the opposite theory that the right policy was to open the frontiers on the west, to assist in a proposal which would directly connect India on its most vulnerable side with the outside world, which would destroy the value of Afghanistan as a buffer State (he would like to know the effect which would be produced on the mind of the Ameer, which would span the desert on which we had hitherto relied, which would turn the flank of Quetta and which would provide a route direct from the Russian base to the borders of India. The Russian troops would be brought 1,000 miles nearer to India than they were at the present moment, and Russia would be able to put troops on the Indian frontier before reinforcement sent from England could get to Bombay round the Cape.

Yet the Foreign Secretary can only say that the scheme has got to come some day and confesses in vague and halting words that he is powerless to stop its development. The Persian Government, under the circumstances, will be quite unable to guarantee the security of the line, and naturally enough, Russia will gladly undertake to police the part of the line in her own sphere. The British Government will also adopt similar measures and Indian soldiers will

march up from Quetta to stare at the Cossacks across an imaginary line of demarcation. What happened in Manchuria will be repeated in Persia—the railway guards will be the advance posts of the armies of occupation and the country will be divided into real "protectorates" in due course. The attitude of the British Government in regard to the proposal seems to be based on the assumption that the policy of the Triple *entente* embodies an eternal principle of international relations and that Russia would for ever be a loyal member of the *entente*. The European situation has undergone tremendous changes during the last 20 years. There has been a constant shifting of the balance of power and the composition of the rival groups. What has so often and with such suddenness happened in the past may easily happen in the future. The only material consequence of the present complacency and indecision will be an enormous increase in the military burdens of India, and the general sense of insecurity will powerfully affect the internal peace and development of the country. The "nationalist" organs of India that have acclaimed the projected railway with more than Russian gusto will have to pay for their mysterious jubilations in groans and tears.

Curiously enough, very few references have been made to the possible effect of the railway on the position of the country in which it would be constructed and by whose guarantees it might be made to work. Lord Morley thinks that the railway would help the Persian Government in establishing ordered administration in the country. But, perhaps, he overlooks another result of the scheme which would render the very existence of the Persian Government a pathetic anachronism. Russia will become a virtual master of the country outside the British sphere and a formal annexation would become a mere question of diplomatic convenience. It is probable that Persia will be forced to furnish necessary guarantees for the railway. A poor helpless country will be dragooned in to paying dividends to the money-grabbing syndicates of Europe. The dumb misery caused by international finance has always been solemnly concealed beneath hollow assurances about "development" and "civilisation" of the countries it sets about to exploit. Persia has already lost her independence and sovereign rights. The big financial operation that is taking shape as the Trans-Persian Railway project will wipe her out of existence as a separate political organism. Russia and England will at last face each other over her prostrate body and decide the issues that the greatest British statesman have striven to avoid for upwards of sixty years. But Russia will have the initial advantage in as much as she would have set her own conditions and chosen her own ground.



The McCormick Case.

(Continued from our last).

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you seriously say that you don't know whether you did or did not?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you consider you did your duty as a Magistrate in not noting that?

Witness: Give me Mr. Buchanan's list and I will let you know.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you examine any witnesses that were not on Mr. Buchanan's list?

Witness: For the prosecution: I did not call all the witnesses on the list.

Mr. Hamlyn: You called witnesses who were not on the list?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And some who were on the list you did not call at all.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Some of those witnesses you called on behalf of the prosecution were McCormick's satellites and servants?

Witness: Particularise please?

Mr. Hamlyn: Mr. Clarke.

Witness: Yes, I don't say he was a satellite. He was his servant.

Mr. Hamlyn: He was under McCormick?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: He was McCormick's witness?

Witness: What do you mean? He was a witness that knew something about the case.

Mr. Hamlyn: About the abduction? And another witness you called for the prosecution was Ma Pe Yin?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Me Sone.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Hajee Rahim.

The Court: Were all these witnesses on the record?

Witness: These witnesses I have just mentioned were not on Mr. Buchanan's list.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Masulam?

Witness: He was not examined.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, Mr. Andrew, if the complainants had had an Advocate in Court, do you think he would have tolerated that procedure?

Witness: I cannot tell you.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, I put it to you, Mr. Andrew, that in disregarding the petition not to try the case you wilfully disobeyed an injunction of law?

Witness: I don't think so. I don't believe that.

Mr. Hamlyn: I go further. I say you wilfully disobeyed this injunction of law, that statutory law, in order to keep the case in your own hands?

Witness: Absolutely false (indignantly.)

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, you conducted the case for the prosecution?

Witness: I assisted the complainants as much as I could in the ordinary way.

Mr. Hamlyn: Impartially and unbiassed?

Witness: Absolutely impartially and unbiassed.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you in a *bona fide* way considered Clarke a witness for the prosecution?

Witness: He was a witness that could throw light on what had occurred.

Mr. Hamlyn: I will have an answer. Don't foist an answer on me.

Mr. Rutledge objected to this remark.

The Court to Mr. Hamlyn: Don't talk in that fashion about the witness foisting an answer upon you.

Mr. Hamlyn: I am entitled to get an answer to the question I put.

The Court: It is very desirable to avoid heat in a case of this kind.

Mr. Hamlyn: The only heat, Your Worship, I am suffering from is the heat of the Court, I am sorry to say.

Mr. Hamlyn to witness: You say that you examined Clarke on behalf of the prosecution.

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Why did you call him for the prosecution?

Witness: I did not call him.

Mr. Hamlyn: Your Bench Clerk called him?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Why did you call him?

Witness: I called him to throw light on the question whether there had been abduction or not.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you cross-examine him for the prosecution?

Witness referred to the proceedings and then said: No, I asked him no questions. I don't think any were required.

Mr. Hamlyn: "I did not ask him any questions. I did not think any were required." Well, did you ask the complainant to cross-examine him?

Witness: Yes, I did.

Mr. Hamlyn: You did not cross-examine him yourself because you thought it was unnecessary, yet asked the complainant to do so?

Witness: No, I had the deposition read out to the complainant in Malay and asked her if there were any questions she would like to ask.

Mr. Hamlyn: A little girl in the corner of the Court?

Witness: I asked the mother, Fatima.

Mr. Hamlyn: An uneducated ignorant woman? Did you ask her to cross-examine any other witnesses?

Witness: Yes, every one.

Mr. Hamlyn: You asked her after every one. There is nothing on the record to show that?

Witness: I don't think so. It is done as a matter of course.

Mr. Hamlyn: I see that at the end of Clarke's evidence that you apparently did call upon the complainant to cross-examine Clarke?

Witness: Yes, I asked her if she wished to ask any questions.

Mr. Hamlyn: You have got here "Cross examined by complainant. Won't ask any?"

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: You specially made that note after Clarke's evidence?

Witness: I don't remember.

Mr. Hamlyn: Well, you made it. Here it is (handing the proceedings to witness). You saw the dire necessity for this poor woman to have an Advocate?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Clarke's evidence was most damning against the little girl?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And so was Ma Pe Yin's?

Witness: Yes, not so very much.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Me Sone's, the mistress of Clarke?

Witness: I gave her testimony very little credit, except where she was corroborated by others.

Mr. Hamlyn: And McCormick himself took a very prominent part in the proceedings?

Witness: No part whatever.

Mr. Hamlyn: You say he did not cross-examine Aniah?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Why do you put "cross-examined by accused?"

Witness: Accused's Advocate.

Mr. Hamlyn: Why did you not put accused's advocate?

Witness: It is not usual.

Mr. Hamlyn: What was your object in having Mr. Buchanan there?

Witness: I called him there in case he was required to give evidence.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you did not call him to give evidence? His evidence was most material.

Witness: I did not take that view.

Mr. Hamlyn: He was there for the whole of the two days that this enquiry lasted.

Witness: Where?

Mr. Hamlyn: At your head-quarters, Mergui, I take it?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Have you any other head-quarters besides Mergui?

Witness: (With a touch of irritability) Why waste time?

Mr. Hamlyn: (With some heat) Did you say "why waste time?" Will you answer my question?

Witness: Than Mergui? No, I must apologise. I wanted to know whether you meant the town of Mergui or the Court house. He was the whole time in Mergui.

Mr. Hamlyn: He must have been away from his headquarters for five or six days on that business?

Witness: He left on a Saturday and went back on a Saturday, a week.

Mr. Hamlyn: Then to take him away from his Sub-division for eight days was a serious thing?

Witness: I thought he might be required by the defence.

Mr. Hamlyn: By the defence you mean McCormick?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And he was not called at all.

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: I notice that with regard to some depositions in your Court that you placed blue pencil marks against them?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: When did you place those marks?

Witness: Most of them before writing my judgment, all of them I should say.

Mr. Hamlyn: Very well, I will take your answer. How many did you put afterwards?

The Court:—Did you say the blue pencil marks were all placed there before writing your judgment?

Witness: Well, I have not seen the marks yet.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do you acknowledge the responsibility for these marks?

Witness: Yes (Examines the pencil marks). Yes, nearly all of these were put in before I wrote my judgment. I cannot tell you which were and which were not. I rather think I made a few recently.

Mr. Hamlyn: What was your object?

Witness: Simply to mark some important places.

Mr. Hamlyn: Important points in your defence?

The Court: The witness is not on his defence.

Mr. Hamlyn: My mistake, Sir. I meant complaint.

The Court: Why did you not correct it then?

Mr. Hamlyn: You examined the accused after the evidence was recorded by you (Counsel reads from the proceedings): "Aniah says this—'I slept in the dining room all night and next morning Captain McCormick came downstairs and I said I must go home. The Captain said I must not go home. He then carried me upstairs and had intercourse with me. This was early in the morning. He took me in the room and had intercourse with me and I cried.'" This is rather a serious statement against Captain McCormick, is it not, Mr. Andrew?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Will you kindly explain the meaning of that tick next to that evidence (Proceedings handed to witness.) You see in the margin a tick?

Witness: I cannot explain it. I don't know how it came there.

Mr. Hamlyn: You say you did not put it, then it follows that someone else put it there?

Witness: No, I don't. I may have put it there.

Mr. Hamlyn: Is it your habit to tick passages?

Witness: I very seldom tick, I generally underline.

Mr. Hamlyn: Well, you did not make those ticks?

Witness: No. Because I am not certain. I may have done so.

Mr. Hamlyn: I see another passage ticked. "He gave me red medicine immediately after having had intercourse with me upstairs." Did you tick that?

Witness: I don't know how it came there.

Mr. Hamlyn: Those are very serious statements against McCormick?

(To be continued.)

Morocco.

News of the Week.

Mulai Hafid arrived in the cruiser *Duchayla* at Gibraltar on August 13th, where he re-embarked in the *Macedonia* en route for Marseilles. He transhipped on board the British steamer to avoid the appearance of being a French prisoner. His harem has arrived at Tangier.

The French newspapers say the abdication will take the form of a letter to President Fallieres. Mulai Hafid will receive an annuity of £15,000.

Reuter wires from Rabat:—Mulai Yussef, in whose favour Mulai Hafid has abdicated, was proclaimed Sultan on August 14th. Numerous salutes were fired. The inhabitants of the city, however, appeared to take little interest in the proceedings.

REUTER wires to London:—Mulai Hafid has abdicated in favour of his brother Mulai Yusef on 12th August. He will go to Vichy for his health and will probably make a pilgrimage to Mecca before taking up his residence at Tangiers.

The French in Morocco.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

SOME of the Parisian newspapers hitherto glibly optimistic as to the prospects of a speedy solution of the Morocco trouble seem to be waking up to the fact that France has begun a task far heavier than was originally calculated. One need not have any sympathy with the party politics of M. Jaurès to recognise that he has profoundly studied both the practical and ethical sides of foreign intervention in the affairs of this unhappy country, and that the conclusions he draws, however distasteful to the *Partie Coloniale*, are instinct with justice and commonsense. Such at least is the opinion of Morocco, which ought to know something of her own business.

We are now face to face with a new situation, the most grave in the modern history of the Empire. Mulai Hafid has handed over his country to France on the transparent pretext of a need for protection. The Moors, almost to a man, say, "We don't want your protection," and Morocco is prepared to fight on this issue. France's dilemma is obvious. She must either sacrifice her prestige by abandoning the treaty or crush Morocco.

In the course of conversation with one of the leading members of the local *Ulema* I noted down the following statement, which was made in reply to various questions on the burning topic of the day. "From our point of view," said this thoroughly qualified authority on Moslem law, "the Protectorate treaty is absolutely invalid, both on the ground of traditional Muhammadan Government and according to the precepts laid down for us by God in the Koran. No Sultan has the power to sell his country without the consent of his people, the people being represented by the tribes and cities which pay taxes, by the men who fight to keep order in the land, and by the great religious confraternities of which the *Ulema* are the mouthpiece. By whom is the monarch placed on his throne, whether he be Christian King or Moorish Sultan? By God and the nation. Can he reign save by the will of Heaven and his people? I see you have no answer to offer.

"Mulai Hafid was cajoled by the French into signing that treaty, knowing, as he must have known, that it was hateful to the nation. Then he declared his intention of abdicating, realising that a higher power had already condemned him. Protection? Against what, pray? Our little troubles with Spain are easily settled, either by a fight or by peaceful means. Germany is friendly to us, England equally so. The only nation against which we need protection is France. As for the Protectorate treaty, it is an accursed thing, and if Allah decrees that for our sins we must choose between French domination and extermination most of us will accept the latter doom. Paradise rather than hell! *Jinna wala jehenama*."

So, certain that death in holy war secures immediate admittance to the realms of eternal beatitude, the greater part of Morocco is prepared to fight, if need be, to the knife. The utterances of my *Ulema* friend may be taken, I think, to voice the views and feeling of the vast mass of his fellow countrymen. Indeed one sees evidences of the anti-Protectorate passion on every hand among all the big tribes and in all the cities. It has given el-Hiba his great chance of floating up to a throne, if it be only as Sultan of a resuscitated *Sus al Akssa*, the southern half of the ancient Moorish Empire, with a capital at Tarudant or Marrakesh, and dominions stretching towards the centre of the Sahara. It has given us a new Pretender in the Riff country, who possibly draws his munitions of war from the Spanish zone. The central provinces, such as Teda, are openly and defiantly anti-French and anti-Makhzen. Marrakesh, the highland clans of the Great Atlas range, and the whole of *Sus* are the same. That poor Mulai Hafid realises the situation created by his complacent acceptance of the French policy is emphasised by his flight to Rabat.

One hardly knows whether to congratulate or to condole with France on the state of things which her policy of "pacification"

has brought about. But as a highly intelligent Parisian remarked the other day: "In quitting Agadir Germany made us a pretty present, a gift which will cost us dear." It seems almost superfluous to add that the political ferment is disastrous to trade, especially in this district. Mogador depending almost entirely on the *Sus* provinces for its commercial life, and the traffic with that region being virtually suspended owing to Kaid Giluli having joined the anti-Makhzen movement.

Nationalist Movement in Morocco.

DESPITE minor discrepancies in the reports which filter through from the interior, one fact stands out clearly. The whole of the country is firmly, one may say furiously, hostile to the proposed French Protectorate. Whatever one's sympathies may be, there is no getting away from this fact, which neither France nor England can wisely ignore, seeing that on this issue the people of Morocco have the heartfelt support, moral if not yet material, of the whole Moslem world. Evidence of this comes from Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt and Turkey, and from regions further east, not to speak of the Moroccan, Sudan and Central Africa, where the word has passed through the great Mahometan settlements that "Islam's only foe is France."

How this spirit is working to-day inside Morocco may be judged from recent happenings in and near Marrakesh, the southern capital, and in the southern provinces known collectively as the *Soos* (*Sus*) country. At Marrakesh itself Kaid Mtooki (or Mtugi), hereditary governor of Mtooka, the largest of the Great Atlas clans, or rather combinations of clans, seems to have made himself master of the situation on the popular cry "Morocco for the Moors," his principal rivals having lost all prestige among their own people by yielding to the promise of foreign protection, which just now is anathema. In looking forward to the events that are likely in the very near future it would be absurd to offer any definite prediction, so much hangs on a few ifs. But it is generally believed by well-informed observers that if the Marrakesh artillery be in good condition, with a fair stock of ammunition, under the handling of some smart Turkish or other European gunners who are said to be in his service, Mtooki will be able to offer a respectable resistance to the small expeditionary force which can be spared from General Lyautey's army for the intended occupation of the southern capital.

Further south, beyond the Atlas range, we have the mysterious Prophet of the Sahara, Moolai Hamed el-Hiba, advancing on Tarudant with his gigantic camel corps of "holy warriors," bent on the expulsion of the French from Moslem soil and the establishment of a new and saintly dynasty in place of the decrepit monarchy represented by the wholly discredited Moolai Hafid.

Persia.

News of the Week.

As proof of the disturbed state of the Bushire-Shiraz Road it may be mentioned that the telegraph lines between these towns have been interrupted this week. Communication between Shiraz and Teheran was, however, maintained.

Reuter learns on 10th August that Great Britain has agreed to make a further loan to Persia to assist the Persian Government to deal more effectively with the situation in the South.

The British advance to Persia is to enable Kavam-el-Mulk, Vice-Governor of Shiraz, to equip an expedition against Saulat-ed-Dauleh, who recently routed the gendarmerie, commanded by Swedish Officers.

Aprphos of the loan to Persia, it is stated in a Simla Report on 10th August, that the Teheran Government has been making efforts to secure six million pounds in the foreign market, guaranteed both by the British and Russian Governments, of which two millions were advanced some time ago, and representatives of the Persian Government in Europe are doing their best to secure the balance of the loan, which it is stated will be devoted to carrying out urgent reforms, including the re-organisation of the Gendarmerie. It is not known whether further advances have been secured.

Sir Davood Khan, Persian Consul-General, writes as follows:— "My attention has been drawn to the interview with regard to the present condition of affairs in Persia, and especially about the loan which it is expected to arrange with Great Britain and Russia, there being no question of raising it within Persia itself or otherwise. What I meant was that the Persian Government, as always, was most desirous of carrying out the measures of reform which would make for the peace and progress of the country, and the loan that the Persian Government desired was primarily to accomplish that purpose and therefore justify Great Britain and Russia in lending the money requisite to ensure good government and consequently bring about the beneficial conditions necessary."

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Cetinje on 8th August:—Turkey proposes a mixed commission to settle the frontier dispute. Montenegro has accepted. Russia has hinted to Montenegro the expediency of avoiding a rupture.

The Porte on 9th August instructed its Minister at Cetinje who has gone to Cattaro to return to his post.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 10th August:—The Porte, replying to the vigorous remonstrances of Bulgaria, has promised a vigorous inquiry into the Kochana incident and the punishment of the guilty.

Reuter learns that Great Britain and Russia, through their representatives at Constantinople and Cetinje, used their good offices with Turkey and Montenegro to avert a conflict.

Reuter wires from Sofia on 11th August:—Excitement over the Kochana massacre continues, the press threatening and clamouring for war. There is a warlike agitation in Southern Bulgaria and meetings are being organised.

The Albanians have presented thirteen demands to the Government including restoration of arms, construction of roads, educational reform, assistance to agriculture and application of the revenues to local purposes. It is expected that the Government will accept.

Reuter wires from Cetinje on 11th August:—Fighting has been resumed between Turks and Montenegrins on the frontier. The former have been reinforced.

Reuter wires from Hodeida on 12th August:—The Italian cruisers *Piemonte* and *Arctusa* shelled the military building and camp outside the town throughout the day of 26th July. Two magazines exploded causing a conflagration which lasted two days. The damage is estimated at a hundred thousand pounds sterling. The casualties were three killed and five wounded.

Seismographs in England marked early in the morning of 9th August that a great earthquake had occurred in the east of Europe. The needle was displaced nine inches.

News has arrived in London of a prolonged earthquake in Constantinople and the vicinity. There is at present no news of any damage, although there was a sharp panic.

Reuter wires from Constantinople later on 9th August:—An earthquake was felt over the whole country between Constantinople and Adrianople. The centre of the disturbance is apparently the Dardanelles where the shock lasted thirty seconds. There is scarcely a building in Gallipoli or Tchanak, untouched. The Greek Church and mosque at Tchanak were destroyed.

The steamers report that the lighthouses at Ganos and Nora have disappeared. The villages adjacent are in flames.

The warships in the Dardanelles thought there was an attack by torpedo boats.

The fugitives report that in the village of Hora eighty were killed and 300 injured and in Myriophito 300 killed and 600 wounded. The former was destroyed. The latter and many others are in flames. Two villages were engulfed.

A lamp which was overturned by the earthquake shock caused a conflagration at Chorlu, on the Adrianople railway. Three hundred houses were destroyed. The earthquake shock was most severe on the south shores of the Sea of Marmora. The telegraphs through the Dardanelles are interrupted, but the Greek Vice-Consul sent a wireless message to his Consulate stating that several villages had been destroyed and that there had been many victims.

There was a fresh slight shock at Constantinople on 10th August.

Steamers from the Sea of Marmora report destruction of life and property in the villages of Heraklittia, Peristasis, Miriophilo, Hora, and others. Two, of which the names are not given, were destroyed by fire and the inhabitants are without homes, food, or water. A steamer and a torpedo boat have been despatched with provisions and medical stores.

Reuter wires from Paris on 11th August:—The Constantinople newspapers give the number of those killed in the earthquake disaster at a thousand and that of the injured at from five to six thousand.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 11th August:—The latest estimate of the killed and injured places the number at twelve hundred throughout the whole area. The shock was also felt at Smyrna but no damage was done. Fifteen thousand are homeless in the whole south-western part of the Vilayet of Adrianople which was the greatest sufferer from the earthquake. A thousand refugees have been admitted to hospital in Constantinople. Twenty mosques and other public buildings have been partially destroyed in the town of Adrianople.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—Three further earthquake shocks were experienced in Gallipoli on 12th August. The hotel was destroyed by fire.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 12th August:—The loss of life and destruction caused by the earthquake is more serious than was believed at first. The distress is intense. Whole families are stated to have perished either by the earthquake or by fire. The British Seamen's Hospital has sent stores and the Embassies have ordered the use of guardships to convey supplies.

Reuter wires from Sofia on August 13th:—A demonstration was held yesterday to protest against the Kochana massacre. The demonstrators marched in procession carrying black flags. Church bells were tolled and the shops were shut. A resolution was passed demanding that the Government should do its utmost to deliver the Macedonian Bulgarians from the Turkish yoke.

Fahreddin Bey has been appointed Turkish Minister at Cetinje.

Informal conversations have been taking place in Switzerland for some time in the hope of finding a basis of settlement for the Turco-Italian War. Nothing concrete has hitherto been achieved, but there is a general feeling of optimism and the end of the War may not be remote.

It is hoped that M. Poincaré's visit to St. Petersburg may contribute to the discovery of a formula acceptable to both sides.

According to the latest information received in London on August 14th, 791 persons were killed in the Turkish earthquake and 3,681 houses destroyed.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

Constantinople, July 21.

An official telegram gives the following particulars of the torpedo attack on the Dardanelles:—"The vessels were able to get eight miles inside the Straits, and were first detected by a searchlight on the Turkish destroyer *Kutahia*, which immediately opened fire. Off Baikush-tepe the vessels, eight in number, came under the cross fire of the forts, and two were seen to sink, one plunging head first under the waters. Before reaching the Soghan-deré fort the Italians were compelled to turn tail. The commander of the fort sighted only five torpedo-boats, but confirms the disappearance of two of them. A lifebelt has been picked up to-day bearing the name *Galibetia*."

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, July 21.

An official announcement published here says:—"At midnight on Thursday a squadron, composed of the torpedo-boats *Sfrica Centauro*, *Astore*, *Climene*, and *Persco*, succeeded in entering the mouth of the Dardanelles. The *Astore*, which was the last in the line, was discovered shortly afterwards, and the batteries on both shores immediately opened fire upon it. The squadron was continually exposed to the glare of about twelve searchlights. In spite of this, however, it boldly continued on its course.

"When the squadron had reached a point near Kilid-i-Bahr, the enemy's fire meanwhile continually becoming more severe, the *Sfrica*, which was leading, struck a steel cable. After freeing herself from this she continued her course, but immediately ran into another cable. She succeeded in getting past this also. Beyond Kilid-i-Bahr there was a stretch of water strongly illuminated by searchlights, and our ships were subjected to a well-maintained fire, both from their land batteries and their warships. The intercrossing of the searchlights rendered it impossible to identify their ships and equally so to ascertain their approximate position. In these circumstances the commander deemed it useless to attempt an attack on the fleet, which would certainly have involved losses to most of our torpedo-boats, and considering also that he had fully succeeded in achieving the object of his reconnaissance he ordered the flotilla to return. The fire of the Turkish batteries, which had by now become more heavy, was continued until the squadron reached Cape Helle. Our torpedo-boats sustained merely trifling damage."

Dardanelles, July 21.

Sounding operations were begun to-day to locate the wreckage, but nothing was found save a lifebuoy bearing the word *Climene*.

The *Climene* is the name of one of the Italian torpedo-boats.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, July 21.

An impression decidedly unfavourable to Italy has been created here by the tardy Italian confirmation of the Turkish reports of an attack upon the Dardanelles. The military value of the attack or

reconnaissance is not discussed, since it may bear some relation to ulterior Italian designs, but the contradiction between the first Italian denials and the subsequent confirmation of the Turkish reports is felt to require more adequate explanation than has yet been furnished.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Hodeida (via Aden), July 6.

The capture of the Farzan Islands by partisans of Seyyid Idrisi assisted by Italian warships is officially admitted. The Turkish garrison, 200 strong, and the civil officials were made prisoners and removed to Midi. Several guns and large quantities of munitions were taken by the insurgents.

Constantinople, July 25.

Uproarious scenes were witnessed in the Chamber to-day when the President read a letter bearing the seal of the Military League ordering him to retire and to dissolve the Chamber within 48 hours. Great excitement ensued and the Chamber asked for explanations from the Government. Nazim Pasha and the President on behalf of the Cabinet, said the Government would endeavour to discover and punish the authors of the letter. The Chamber accepted the Government's explanations and is awaiting a fulfilment of its promise.

The text of the letter was as follows:—"Your evil labours in the Committee and in Parliament have already done much harm. The officers of the League have learned of the bad advice you attempted to give the Sovereign. Unwilling to stain their hands with your soiled blood, we warn you that the army and the people demand the dissolution of the Chamber or, rather, of the theatre. Finally, failing compliance with this demand within 48 hours, we will do what is needed. It is unnecessary for us to address ourselves directly to the deputies, who are without worth or dignity." A scene of uproar followed the reading. Many deputies made speeches declaring that they were determined to remain at the posts to which they had been elected by the nation until they were removed at the point of the bayonet. Some said "Accursed be the authors of the letter. Such men are unworthy to belong to the glorious Ottoman army. They are too cowardly to sign their names to the document." Haladjian Effendi, in particular, distinguished himself by the violence of his abusive language.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 23.

Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha, in his capacity as acting Minister of the Interior pending the arrival of Ferid Pasha, informed the Commandants of the Constantinople Police and *Gendarmerie* last night that they had been relieved of their functions. The intimation was conveyed by some 50 officers, one of whom, Colonel Yussuf Razi Bey, has been appointed in their place Commandant of both forces. The district commissioners of police were then summoned by telephone to headquarters, where a number of them were informed that the Government had ceased to require their services. They were relieved by military officers who for the present have taken over the administration of public security in the capital.

Despite, or in consequence of these measures, which were followed by the appointment of Colonel Assaf Bey as Commandant of the Constantinople garrison in place of Shehab-ed-Din Bey, Constitution Day has so far passed quietly, though the populace, fearing some incident, abstained from attending the annual review on the Hill of Liberty, where only a few hundred spectators witnessed Nazim Pasha take the salute.

Later in the morning an excellent impression was caused by the promulgation of an Imperial Iradeh announcing the abolition of Martial Law in Constantinople and the suburbs. The Council of Ministers was engaged last night in the discussion of a scheme for a general amnesty by a prompt settlement of the Albanian question by the withdrawal of the troops from the hill districts and the despatch of a commission under the presidency of the Albanian Senator Reshid Akif Pasha to confer with the insurgents, who, according to the latest reports, are fraternizing with some of the Kosovo garrisons.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 23.

The Grand Vizier has addressed the following circular to the provinces:—"The officials are urged as their fundamental duty to safeguard effectually the provisions of the Constitutional charter, to enforce properly the other laws and regulations, to maintain order and tranquillity, to consolidate union by guaranteeing justice and equality to the whole population, to facilitate all applications to the Government, and assure all the inhabitants of the inviolability of their persons and rights."

To-day, the anniversary of the establishment of the Constitution, the town was gay with bunting. This morning a review of troops was held on the Hill of Liberty, the Sultan being represented by his chief aide-de-camp, Salib Pasha.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 20.

Another Aeroplane for the Army has just arrived, and two more are said to be shortly expected. The first group of officers sent to France to study aviation have returned here, and it is now stated that others will be sent to England for the same purpose.

The 45 kilometers of line built by the Oriental Railway Company, prolonging its Baba-Eski branch line to Kirk-Killissé, was inaugurated yesterday by representatives of the Government and the Railway Company.

The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate have adopted, with little modification, a Bill presented by the Minister of Finance establishing certain war taxes.

The Chamber has also voted a law according a six months' moratorium to the Commercial Community of Damascus, victims of the recent conflagration in that city.

The Ministry of Public Works has approved the plans of the Baghdad Railway Company for the construction of this port, and the work will be put in hand at once.

The Treasury receipts for the financial year ended 13th March 1912, are given in an official publication, just issued, as £T30,374,119, compared with £T28,339,170 during the preceding year, and they exceed the budgetary provisions by £T2,618,377. The Customs receipts amount to £T4,696,614, and exceed those of the previous year by £T133,423. The steady growth in the Treasury receipts will be seen in the following table:—

1323—1907-8	...	...	£T23,914,268
1324—1908-9	...	...	£T25,175,818
1325—1909-10	...	...	£T26,986,406
1326—1910-11	...	...	£T28,339,170
1327—1911-12	...	...	£T30,374,119

The pourparlers between the Turkish Government and the French financial syndicate with reference to the construction of railways in the Black Sea regions of Asia Minor have for some time been at a standstill. The reason for this is that the Russian Government raised objections to the plan under which the railways were to be built nominally by Turkey, but in reality with the help of capital raised by a French financial syndicate. The Russians allege that this would constitute a circumvention of the agreement between Russia and Turkey according to which the former should have a preferential right to the construction of the railways in question, should the Turkish Government not themselves undertake the work. The *Deutsche Orient-Korrespondenz* now learns from Paris that one of the tasks before the French Premier, M. Poincaré, on his approaching visit to St. Petersburg will consist in obtaining the withdrawal of the Russian pretensions and in arriving at the assurance that no objections will be raised by Russia to the construction of the lines with the help of French finance.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

The new Ministry has decided that telegrams and other communications addressed to the Sultan shall be immediately submitted to His Majesty. Hitherto such has not been the case and telegrams addressed to the Sovereign by the provincial armies never reached His Majesty.

The new Cabinet has further decided upon the suppression of all the provisional laws, including that concerning the liberty of the Press, sanctioned by Imperial Iradeh and brought into operation before Parliament assembled.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, July 23.

A proclamation has been addressed to the population of Northern Albania from the Sultan, in which he forbids the shedding of blood between *frères fideles* when a question affecting the existence of the Empire is not involved. The Albanians are therefore requested not to provoke punitive action by the army. The Sultan promises a Cabinet composed of practical, impartial, and influential statesmen who will be charged to act justly towards Albanian claims. The officers are requested to leave politics alone and to occupy themselves with the defence of the Fatherland. The Albanians have also received a reply to their telegraphic protest to the effect that the desired Parliamentary Commission is in process of formation and will leave without delay.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 25.

Reshid Akif's Commission is leaving to-night for Albania. Its members, with six Albanian Deputies, attended the last Council of Ministers, which is believed to have arrived at a complete agreement in regard to a programme of pacification.

Constantinople, July 25.

News from Albania has much improved. Not a shot has been fired since the appointment of the new Cabinet. To-day the rebels' leaders assembled at Prishtina and telegraphed their congratulations to the Ministers of War and Justice and the Grand Vizier.

The New Turkish Cabinet.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 22.

THE appointment of Mukhtar as Grand Vizier and the end which has thereby been made of a period highly charged with uncertainty have caused a general feeling of relief in Constantinople. The apprehension with which the recurrence to-morrow of the anniversary of the Constitution is regarded is disappearing. It is in fact not improbable that the proximity of this festival with the opportunities which it might afford to manifestations of hostile sentiments was a powerful factor in hastening the solution of the crisis. The composition of the Cabinet so far is as follows:—

Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha, Grand Vizier; Djemal-ed-din Effendi, Sheikh-ul-Islam; Nazim Pasha, Minister of War; Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha, Minister of Marine; Zia Bey, Minister of Finance; Gabriel Effendi Nuradunghian, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Hilmi Pasha, Minister of Justice; Kiamil Pasha, President of the Council; Ferid Pasha, Minister of the Interior; Mehmed Feizi Pasha, Minister of Evkaf; Said Bey, Minister of Public Instruction.

The Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs has been abolished, once more becoming merely a department.

The names of the new Ministers indicate that the Cabinet is one that fulfils the desire of the Sultan as expressed in his recent proclamation that it should be formed of "persons possessing a wide knowledge of affairs of State." It includes three ex-Grand Viziers—the veteran Kiamil, Hussein Hilmi, of Macedonian fame, and Ferid, whose inclusion in his quality of Albanian should considerably facilitate a satisfactory solution of the Albanian difficulty.

The new Grand Vizier's reputation is that of a soldier rather than of a politician. His successful generalship in the Russo-Turkish War brought him great popularity in the Army, in consequence of which and his liberal ideas he was practically exiled to Egypt as High Commissioner by Abdul Hamid. Doubtless the respect which his name still enjoys in military circles has been a potent factor in determining his choice as head of the new Government. On the proclamation of the Constitution he returned to Turkey and became a member of the Senate, of which body he has latterly been President.

With his appointment as Sheikh-ul-Islam Djemal-ed-din, who is a Liberal and a member of the Opposition, returns to an office which he held for many years under the old régime.

The new War Minister, who is believed to have accepted office without making conditions, is likewise a Liberal and member of the Opposition and enjoys the esteem of the Army. After a period of exile at Erzerum under Abdul Hamid he returned at the beginning of the new régime to be Commander of the 2nd Army Corps at Adrianople. A few days before Kiamil Pasha's fall he was appointed War Minister, and after a period as Governor of Baghdad has latterly been President of the Army Council.

Mahmud Mukhtar returns as Minister of Marine to the office he held in Hakki Pasha's Cabinet, in which he did good work.

Nuradunghian Effendi, who has previously been Minister of Public Works, has been looked upon for some time as probable Foreign Minister in a moderate Cabinet in the event of Kiamil's not accepting the post.

With regard to the programme of the new Government, nothing is yet known definitely, but it is clear from the letter addressed to Mukhtar Pasha on his appointment as Grand Vizier that the Albanian question will be one of the first subjects which will be considered. In view of the fact that the treatment of this question by the late Cabinet was one of the principal causes which led to its ultimate fall it is natural that this should be so. "Since in certain localities, and especially in Albania, there exist discontent, difficulties, and complaints, the Government will have to inquire into the best procedure to follow, so that this illegal and unjust state of things may cease, while taking legal measures to reassure public opinion" is the text of the Imperial document.

The Ministry has been completed by the appointment of Damad Sherif Pasha and Reshid Pasha, ex-Ambassador in Vienna, as Ministers of Public Works and of Mines and Forests respectively.

General satisfaction is expressed at the appointment of Nazim Pasha to the Ministry of War. The remarkable influence of this sturdy soldier over the rank and file was never better manifested than during the period between 13th and 23rd April, 1909, when his appeals to the mutinous soldiery saved Constantinople from plunder, if not worse, while the energy shown by him at Adrianople in the preceding year made him a popular figure in the commissioned ranks. He had a splendid reception at the War Office yesterday, and was heartily cheered by the crowds on his way to the Palace to-day.

It is impossible to say that the period of internal tension is yet over, though the appointment of a Ministry composed of elder statesmen, several of whom enjoy the confidence of the great mass of the people, has undeniably had a calming effect.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 21.

A significant article in the *Tanin* to-day emphasises the importance of the Chamber in the present crisis. "The only rock of salvation during the tempest," says the journal, "is the Chamber, which represents legality. Illegal forces may triumph for a few days, as during the period of the mutiny in 1909, but in the end the Chamber must prevail. The dissolution of the Chamber would be a crime and a dastardly outrage on the Constitution. Those attempting to violate the Constitution are in danger of death at every step. Let deputies ignore the threats contained in the anonymous letters which they receive and remain firm, for the collapse of the Chamber would mean the loss of the last bulwarks against anarchy."

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The well-informed Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* gives the following account of the last moments of Said Pasha's Cabinet:—"The farce of yesterday's sitting of the Chamber, with its overwhelming majority in favour of the Government, has had no effect here. Its object was to demonstrate to the easily impressionable monarch that in the light of the large following of the Government he had acted unconstitutionally in requesting the Cabinet to resign. Thereupon the Cabinet made the last attempt to save itself by offering the portfolio of war to Mahmud Mukhtar, but at the last moment certain complications set in which prevented the scheme from being carried out.

"Even with the help of Mukhtar Pasha the Cabinet could only have lived for a few days more, as the Officers' League was determined not to yield a single inch. When demanding in the form of an ultimatum the resignation of Mahmud Shevket the League allowed Said Pasha's Cabinet ten days' grace to wind up its affairs. Yesterday was the last day of the term. The commander of the division at Djakova, as well as the commander of the First Division, just arrived from Constantinople, decided to make peace with the Albanians on their own account. They informed the commander of the Mitrovitsa Division of their decision, and he at once agreed with them. The officers of the three divisions thereupon telegraphed to the Sultan informing him of what had been done, and insisting upon the resignation of the Cabinet and the dissolution of the Young Turkish Committee. On the Palace inquiring who these officers were, more than two hundred officers sent in their names. The Constantinople authorities communicated with the commanders of the Uskub and Adrianople corps, but both could only confirm the information that the situation was untenable, and warned the Government that they would not be able to prevent the march on Constantinople if it took place. The military machine thus broke down in the hands of the Government, and if the worst was to be prevented the Cabinet had to withdraw."

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 24.

The effect of the accession to power of the new Cabinet is making itself felt in various directions. A more pacific spirit is manifested in Albania and nearer home. Salutary changes have been made in the personnel of the various Ministries, especially the War Ministry, while Hilmi, the new Minister of Justice, has given assurances that he will do all in his power to content the different nationalities of the Empire. The organ of the *Entente Libérale* will reappear to-morrow.

At present there is no sign of attempts at retaliation on the part of the extremist elements, but as a precautionary measure the place of the police on duty at Sirkedji Station and along the quays has been taken by soldiers. It is known that fiery speeches were recently delivered to the guilds of porters and lightermen by Omar Nadji Bey on behalf of the Committee, and it is presumably to overawe those who may have been impressed by his eloquence that the step has been taken.

In reply to telegrams addressed by provincial branches of the Committee of Union and Progress asking for instructions as to the attitude to be observed towards the new Cabinet, the central organization has stated that the party will support the Ministry if the programme conforms thereto in essentials, notably in regard to the maintenance of the principle of centralization. The reply clearly indicates a real or fictitious fear on the part of the Committee of Union and Progress that the Government reforms in Albania go too far in the direction of local autonomy, which is anathema to the centralizers of the Committee.

Vienna, July 24.

Austrian official telegrams from Turkey are being unaccountably delayed in transmission, some of them requiring as long as 34 hours to arrive from Constantinople. The measures taken by the Ghazi Mukhtar Cabinet to prevent further bloodshed in Albania are welcomed here, as are also the abrogation of the state of siege at Constantinople and the granting of an amnesty. The choice of Nuradunghian Effendi to be Foreign Minister is thought significant, inasmuch as he who signed the annexation convention with Austria-Hungary, may

possibly have been selected, as a Christian, to sign with Italy a treaty of peace to which no Mussalman statesman would willingly append his name.

The semi-official view of the internal position of Turkey is expressed in the *Pester Lloyd*, which remarks that, just as the revolution of 1908 showed that Turkey was anxious not to die, so the task of this new régime must be to prove at the twelfth hour that Turkey is still able to live.

Berlin, July 25.

A Berlin telegram to the *Cologne Gazette* to-night says:—As far as the political estimate of the Turkish Cabinet is concerned, it will no doubt be possible to describe it as conservative and Anglophile, particularly as regards the personality of Kiamil. When, however, this circumstance is construed in various quarters as one of disadvantage for Germany that is a presentation of the facts which is devoid of real justification, inasmuch as German policy at the Golden Horn is in no wise in opposition to that of England, least of all in the question of peace; so that there is not the smallest reason to regard a movement among responsible Turkish statesmen in favour of England as damaging or disagreeable to us.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Sir Edwin Pears, speaking at a luncheon given by the Council of the Eastern Question Association, in the Whitehall Rooms, London, to celebrate the anniversary of the Turkish Revolution, said it was only fair to give the revolutionary party credit for the excellent results which they had brought about. After dwelling upon some of the blunders committed by the Young Turks, he said that in the place of a Government of doctrinaire Ministers, nearly all of whom were without experience, Turkey had now obtained a Ministry which was the best, the most accomplished, and the most respectable that the country had seen for the last 40 years. He hoped and believed that under the new Government there was going to be peace. There were now two alternatives before Ministers. If they dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country, he thought that they would get an overwhelming free vote. The second alternative was to advise the Sultan to suspend the Constitution. This, he was convinced, would be an unfortunate step.

Telegrams received from the Northern Albanian towns on 24th July report that the news of the appointment of the new Ministry has had a most excellent effect. The insurgents who have lately been massing in the Prishtina and Prizrend districts have agreed to a suspension of hostilities, and the markets are being reopened at all the chief centres.

A commission of Albanian notables is about to leave for the Kosovo province. It is composed of Reshid Akil Pasha and Suleiman Pasha, formerly Military Commandant of Mitrovitza, both Senators, and Ali Danish Bey, ex-Governor of Salonica and Deputy for Prishtina.

(LATER.)

Representatives from all parts of Albania are concentrating at Prishtina in great numbers with the intention of holding the conference previously reported. I understand that the authorities will endeavour to prevent the reunion by force of arms if necessary.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 23 (3.30 p.m.).

Not only the Independent Press, but even the Union and Progress journals, such as the *Haqq* and the *Jamie Turc*, accord a good reception to the new Cabinet, expressing the hope that it will succeed in warding off the dangers of the present moment. The *Tanin*, by the pen of Babanzade Hakki Bey, stands alone in formulating reservations. It admits that it would be opportune to support the new Cabinet, but only on the condition that it shows that it is not a "cabinet of hatred and vengeance," and does not make a radical departure from the programme of the party of Union and Progress.

This attitude is an exact reflection of the currents of opinion in the Unionist majority in Parliament. Certain deputies declare that it is a patriotic duty to support the Cabinet, while others express the view that only a few days after having given a vote of confidence to a Cabinet of diametrically opposed tendency, they cannot support the new Ministry without dishonouring themselves in the eyes of the whole world.

In diplomatic circles it is persistently thought that the second current of opinion will prevail.

Two new Ministerial nominations are announced that of Damad Cherif Pasha to the Ministry of Public Works, and that of Rechid Pasha former Ambassador in Vienna, to the Ministry of Agriculture, from which Aristidi Pasha withdraws.

At a Council of Ministers, which sat until a very late hour last night, it was decided to raise the state of siege in Constantinople and to prepare a decree of general amnesty for the political delinquents who were condemned to exile by the court-martial. It was

also decided to cease military action against the Albanian insurgents and to send to Albania a commission of inquiry and conciliation under the presidency of Rechid Aakif Pasha.

It is officially announced that the chief of police has resigned, and been replaced by an officer of the General Staff, Major Raissih Bey. All the police commissaries of the district will be dismissed, and provisionally replaced by officers.

The city is decorated with flags for the fête of 23rd July, and there is no abnormal excitement.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

At the end of a long article, written before the Cabinet crisis, detailing the demands of the opponents of the Young Turkish régime, M. Georges Gaulis, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Journal des Débats*, who is a close observer of Turkish political life, says:— "What is remarkable in this political action of the military is that if it is directed against somebody it is not directed in favour of anybody. In the poverty of personalities from which Turkey suffers the officers do not seem to have fixed their choice upon anybody who could represent their aspirations at the head of the Government. If the Cabinet of Said Pasha falls, it may well be that Kiamil Pasha will come back with his retinue. It will then be a singular irony to see the same man brought back by the officers whom the officers deposed in 1909. It is a sort of fatality which binds the fate of Turkey with the two Viziers so are often succeeded one another under Abdul Hamid, in virtue of some natural balance of power.

"The East remains still attached to its patriarchal traditions. The prestige of age is very considerable there. Thus, one of the grievances felt against certain Ministers is that they are exceedingly young. They have acted and worked and run all the risks of an active career. Yet the Grand Vizier, who is responsible for the policy of the Cabinet, has not incurred very great reproaches. Nobody seems to think that this Government, which has done so little fruitful work, has been directed by a man who for thirty years had no other concern but to obtain and to keep the favour of his sovereign. Has he ever thought of anything else than of sticking to office, since the new régime, in a singular paradoxical spirit, confided to him its destinies? These latter could not have been placed in hands more experienced in conjuring away difficulties for the sake of a philosophy of power that is purely negative. In the course of his government he has not checked anything that was youthfully imprudent or inexperienced; he discouraged, however, much that was inspired by a spirit of reform and discouragement. And yet it is not he who is being called upon to account for the inertness of the Government."

("PRESS ASSOCIATION," FOREIGN SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, July 23.

I had an interview to-day with Husein Hilmi Pasha, the new Minister of Justice, who said that the new Government had determined to act strictly within constitutional and legal limits. It would not attempt to rectify the illegalities of the late Government by fresh illegalities, but would solve them by constitutional means. They had not yet had time to draw up a programme, and consequently would not present themselves to the Chamber for a day or two, but would immediately do whatever it was in their power to do administratively. Thus the suspension of the state of siege had been ordered without delay, but a legislative measure would be necessary for the grant of an amnesty. The Sultan could pardon the exiles and political prisoners, but only an amnesty could restore to them the full exercise of civil rights. The Government was anxious to restore the bonds of fraternity uniting the various elements of the nation.

In regard to the question of the dissolution of the Chamber the Government was also determined to act legally. Any illegalities in the matter of the election of individual deputies would be investigated, but no general measure such as a dissolution was contemplated. Of course, in the event of a conflict with the Chamber the Government would have a legal weapon in its hands. It is the intention of the Government to repeal all the illegal measures of its predecessors, such as the press law and the law against public meetings. They believed in the wisdom of granting the fullest liberty of speech and of the press. If the country was unfit for the free expression of opinion, it was also unfit for a Constitution.

The Sultan's Proclamation.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 19.

AFTER the selamlık to-day a proclamation was read to the Turkish troops on behalf of the Sultan as Commander-in-Chief of the land and sea forces. The following is the text:—

"In consequence of resignation of the Cabinet, and in conformity with the constitutional law, I have, after consulting the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber, invited Tewfik Pasha to take the post of Grand Vizier. I desire and I regard it as necessary that the new Cabinet should be composed of personages with a

wide experience of matters of State and with independent views, free from all influences.

"Yesterday certain demands were put forward in the name of certain officers, demands contrary to the constitutional charter and the supreme rights of the Caliphate, which ought to be respected by all. Convinced that there is not a single soldier in the army, of which I hold the supreme command, who could formulate claims contrary to the constitutional charter to which he has sworn fidelity, I suppose that the soldiers who for the moment have forgotten their military obligations compose only a trifling minority, in whose behalf demands, originating no doubt in misunderstandings, have been advanced. It is the duty of the soldier to observe discipline, order, and obedience, which constitute the basis of his attachment to the Caliphate and the Imperial Throne. Those who are invested with this quality should hold themselves aloof from politics, carry out the orders of their superiors to the letter, and devote their lives, and, if necessary, sacrifice them, exclusively to the defence of their country. To act otherwise is to commit treason towards the nation and the country.

"These grave incidents have led to the development of certain tendencies which have encouraged the enemy, who dared last night to approach the gates of the capital. These are facts which constitute a warning. I promulgate the present irade, charging the Minister of War to read it in person to the entire garrison of the capital and to make it known to all the Imperial troops."

Turkey's Difficulties.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

As MIGHT have been expected, the grave crisis through which Turkey is passing has revived the hopes of her foreign enemies. The *Novoe Vremya* prints from its Sofia correspondent the following message:—"The resignation of the Turkish Cabinet is the subject of passionate discussions in the Government and diplomatic worlds here. The conviction is universal that the future Cabinet will last but a short time, and that the anarchy will so grow as to make a European Conference inevitable. It is the general opinion here that a European Conference is the sole rational way out of the present confused position of Turkish affairs. Otherwise armed intervention in Turkish affairs by the Balkan States is not to be avoided."

The significance of this message is made clear by a note in the *Temps*, which says:—"Conferences between former chiefs of bands and officers of the Bulgarian army who formerly belonged to the Macedonian Committee are being actively pursued, having for their object to organise an insurrection in Macedonia, and to bring about by these means an intervention of the Powers. The signal for the resumption of revolutionary activity will be given at a suitable moment by the secret committees in Macedonia itself. The Macedonian emigrants established in Bulgaria will organise themselves in order to assist the movement materially and morally; it will also try to influence the authorities in order to induce them to change their policy towards Turkey."

In its turn, this Bulgaro-Macedonian activity has an interesting side-light thrown upon it by the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, who writes thus:—"The development of the Albanian problem is being watched with anxiety in the diplomatic world. It is feared, should the Ministerial crisis be prolonged, that the Porte may not be in a position to find a normal solution at all. The Albanian question is obviously becoming unmanageable for Turkey. Every day that passes without a solution brings new and greater demands on the part of Albania. It is seriously feared--and the fear is apparently based on good information--that should Albania, with or without the consent of Turkey, become autonomous and embrace in her autonomy the vilayets of Janina, Scutari, Monastir and Kosovo, the Macedonian question would then cease to exist for the Balkan States and the Albanian would take its place. The Balkan States will certainly not allow such a moment to pass without taking measures for the defence of their historical rights. The military preparations of Bulgaria, Montenegro, Serbia and Greece, accompanied as they are by concentration of troops, deserve, from this point of view, the closest attention."

Lastly, there deserves to be noticed, if only for the purpose of "registration," the publication by the *Roumelie*, the Salonica organ of the Young Turks, of the text of what purports to be a secret treaty between Austria and Bulgaria, concluded by them in 1898 for a period of 15 years. The following are alleged to be the provisions of its chief clauses: Article 3 requires of Prince (as he then was) Ferdinand to resist all Russian encroachments, and pledges Austria to resist the Pan-Serb idea of the restoration of the Old Serbia. By Article 4 Austria undertakes to support Bulgarian aspirations in Eastern Macedonia and the vilayet of Adrianople in return for Bulgaria's respect of Austria's "rights" in Novi Bazar, the vilayet of Uskub, Albania, Western Macedonia, the vilayet of Salonica and Chalcidice. Article 5 provided for support to be

given by Bulgaria against Turkey, and, if need be, Serbia and Montenegro, should Austria decide to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina, in return for Austrian support in the matter of proclaiming the independence of Bulgaria and of liberating Eastern Rumelia. Article 6 forbids Bulgaria to enter into political or military alliance with any Power not allied to Austria, who, in return, pledges herself to assist Prince Ferdinand in proclaiming himself Tsar. Article 7 places upon Bulgaria the obligation, should a war break out between Austria and Russia, to preserve strict neutrality and close her territory and her ports to the Russian forces. The last three articles are alleged to be the most important. One provides that in case of Turkey attacking Bulgaria, Austria will occupy Old Serbia, Albania and Macedonia; and in case of Turkey attacking Austria, that Bulgaria will occupy the vilayet of Adrianople and march on Constantinople. Article 9 provides that in the case of the downfall of the Ottoman Empire Austria will seize Novi Bazar, Old Serbia, Albania, Eastern Macedonia and Salonica, with all Chalcidice. Lastly, Article 10 deals with the possibility of an armed conflict with Serbia. Should the war be between Serbia and Austria, Bulgaria will occupy Pirdi and Nish; should the war be with Bulgaria, Austrian troops will march upon Belgrade and Kreguevat. At the end of the war Serbia is to be partitioned. The entire western portion of Serbia, from a line from Drina and Morava to Nish and Passarevitch will pass to Austria; the other, the eastern half, will fall to Bulgaria.

Young Turks and the Powers.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 2.

THE present situation in Turkey will lead to many different impressions, according as it is considered from the point of view of the war with Italy, or the nature of the internal and foreign situation apart altogether from the possible outcome of the war. The question of the war, or, more exactly, of the terms of peace which will lead to its conclusion, is gradually becoming more and more complicated and obscure. In spite of, and perhaps indeed because of, the extension of the activities of Italy to the Archipelago, and her occupation of almost all the Southern Sporades, the tone of Moslem popular opinion, which is reflected in the Chamber of Deputies and in newspapers of every shade, is more and more opposed to any cession of territory to Italy, or to any negotiation which would lead to a *diminutio capitis* of the Sultan in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Italy on the other hand, appears up to the present equally stubborn in her resolution to keep in force the decree of annexation; and consequently the endeavour to find a formula which will suit both the Turkish Chamber of Deputies and Italian public opinion forms one of the most discouraging tasks that diplomacy has ever been called upon to undertake. A particularly authoritative member of the Turkish Cabinet told me the other day: "I assure you that I have been racking my brains to find a solution; but I cannot." It is my belief that very many Ministers of Foreign Affairs could make the same confession. Turkish popular opinion is a new factor in the Eastern question--an unexpected and somewhat disconcerting factor--but one, nevertheless, which Western Chanceries and to a still greater degree the Turkish Cabinet itself, cannot treat as a negligible quantity.

Now, contrary to what has been generally said, the Turko-Italian war, begun as it was by a foreign Christian Power, without provocation, and with the avowed object of subjecting by force a purely Moslem population, which detested the infidel, had all at once become extraordinarily popular throughout Asiatic Turkey. A Caucasian friend of mine, on whom I can rely, and who had taken part in the electoral campaign in Anatolia, told me when he came back that in any little village where he stopped the first question put to him, even by the poorest peasant, was invariably, "We shall not give up one inch of territory to the Italians, shall we?" The result of this was that everywhere through the Ottoman Empire the war led to a political truce of God. It was tacitly agreed that so long as the Government connected with the Party of Union and Progress should continue to oppose an energetic resistance to Italy, no hostility was to be shown to it, even though the Opposition might not have sympathised with its previous political policy. Such was the decision come to by the Arabs, the Druses, and, in fact, almost the whole of the Moslem Opposition, with the exception of a few Albanian politicians who were defeated in the last elections, and whose consequent bitterness has not yet been overcome. The war thus became, so far as the Turkish Parliament was concerned, an occasion for an enormous Government majority, and consequently, for the Government, a cause of authority and prestige. This fact would perhaps be of only transient importance if the war had not had still another effect. The Party of Union and Progress now appears to understand that its Power would be merely ephemeral if the majority it commands could only exist by means of a political truce, which would come to an end with the announcement of peace. It is, therefore, visibly endeavouring to ensure the maintenance of its majority, even after the cessation of hostilities, by a marked

change in its methods of government. Nothing in this regard is more characteristic than the attitude of the Minister of the Interior, Hadji Adil Bey, towards Macedonia and Albania. Recognising that there must be "something rotten in the State of Denmark," he went to see personally what it was, taking with him as witnesses of his policy of conciliation not merely the British official, Mr. Graves, previously mentioned, but also the Special Correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph*, whom he particularly invited to form one of the party.

The young Turkish Minister travelled slowly and carefully through all the vilayets of Macedonia and Albania, and in spite of the occasional rifle-shots that marred his travels here and there he returned to the capital without any feeling of rancour, and without any idea of violent repression. He declared himself, on the contrary, to be quite satisfied with the reception he met with generally; and, what is much more important, he stated that before claiming from the Albanians the fulfilment of their military and fiscal obligations towards the State, the State should first think about carrying out its own duties towards Albania. The Minister further declared, not only in the Chamber, but also to the correspondents of influential European papers, that both as regarded military and fiscal matters he would show himself tolerant to the last degree, so long as the Albanian provinces had not attained the economic and intellectual level of the vilayets which had prospered under the former Administration, as, for example, those of Broussa and Smyrna. In the same spirit of good sense and tolerance another mission of inspection is to travel through the vilayets of Anatolia, where conflicts between the Kurds and Armenians make insecurity as chronic as it is well known. Mahmud Essad Effendi, the Minister of the Imperial Land Survey Department, is spoken of as the head of this mission, and all those who are acquainted with this statesman will have no hesitation in acknowledging that he will bring to the fulfilment of his task a broad and indulgent mind.

When I add that a newspaper like the *Tanin*, so closely bound up with the Party of Union and Progress, and with such a national reputation, has taken to supporting the plan of a return to external collaboration—which formed part of the policy of the Kiamil and Hussein Hilmi Cabinets, and was abandoned by the Fikri Cabinet—and that in this direction it has been followed not only by the *Sabah*, a very moderate newspaper, edited by Christians, but even by the *Jeune Turc*, which has also a reputation for violent chauvinism, we shall assuredly be led to the conclusion that the party of Union and Progress shows every sign of an evolution in the direction of genuine political wisdom; for it even seems to be curing itself of that dangerous malady which tends to xenophobia, a malady which made the friends of Turkey despair when they thought of the glorious example of Japan.

Always setting aside this obscure and disquieting question of the outcome of war, can we say that everything is improving in the Turkish situation and that there is no cloud on the horizon of the Ottoman Empire? Far from it. Turkey is now in the presence of a danger which we may term historical, *viz.*, a recrudescence of fanaticism, before which the Government appears for some time to have given way, and which threatens to imperil the work of reform—the only work, as is unanimously admitted, which can possibly make Turkey strong and prosperous internally and entitled to sympathy from external sources.

The rising of the 13th April 1909, breaking out amid cries of "Sheriat ister!" ("We demand the sacred law"), the political assassinations which accompanied it, the march of the army of Salonika on Constantinople which that day of blood brought about, the rapid and brilliant victories of Mahmud Shefket Pasha, and the energetic repression which followed them, might all have combined to prove to Europe that Young Turkey, understanding how grave a matter it would be to allow the fanatics to act with a high hand, would take up a strong attitude towards them clearly and definitely. Nothing of the sort happened. By an evolution which is found extremely surprising by those who know nothing of the motives that animated it, the Young Turk party gradually assumed the attitude of a Government of bigots—became almost, so to speak, puritanical in their cult of Moslem traditions, and almost timid in their desire to please what would have been called in France in former times the "ultras" of the Clerical party. Ardent professions of faith in the Young Turk newspapers on the occasion of all religious feasts, severe measures made known in edicts issued by the Sheikh-ul-Islam against young Moslem women who wished to dress in European fashion, penal measures decided upon by the Ministerial Council against all who did not take part in the fast of Ramadan, a monster religious meeting organised in the form of a public prayer, and presided over by the Sultan and his Ministers on that Balkan plain where, in the Middle Ages, Islam vanquished Christianity—such is the spectacle presented by a Government whose leaders were brought up in Paris, London, and Vienna on theories of the most severe rationalism, and who appeared to be deeply imbued with a modern conception of the State. Some Students of Turkish affairs thought they could see the cause of this devotion in the remembrance of April 13th, and the danger of death in which the Young Turk leaders were placed as the result of their acknowledged indifference in matters of religion—in what may be called, in a word, the power of fanaticism. Part of

the truth is certainly there, but not the whole of it. There is a political idea behind what has been wrongly looked upon as an incomprehensible betrayal of the cause of progress. This idea is the hope of being able to give to the Ottoman Empire at least a partial popular unity on the basis of the only single homogeneity contained in it, *viz.*, the common faith of the Turks, the Arabs, the Albanians and the Kurds. It is hoped to amalgamate those diverse races in a single one by using their fervent support of Islam as a cement, and thus forming a compact mass which will impose respect both on an internal opposition of separatist tendencies, or on the cupidities of foreign Powers.

I have called this a political idea in opposition to the mere desire for personal preservation; but if only practical and beneficial ideas have any right to this appellation, the term may perhaps be undeserved. That this idea is insufficient to bring about the fusion of the diverse Moslem races in the Empire, however, facts have sufficiently demonstrated. The pious language of the Young Turk newspapers, the puritanical measures of the Government, the great Mussalman demonstration on the Plain of Kossovo, did not prevent the guns from going off in Albania, in the Hauran, at Kerek, and in the Arabian Peninsula. But there is more than this. Anyone who has glanced through the history of the Ottoman Empire with a view to ascertaining the causes of the constant and often tragic checks which reforms attempted by enlightened Sultans met with, are well aware that such checks were always due to the opposition of two elements which were blind partisans of the inertia of a routine ensuring them prestige and profits; the military element, represented by the janissaries, and the clerical element, represented by those priests or theological students who are usually known as hodjas.

From the reign of Sultan Mahmud I. the ancient military element has not existed. The janissaries have been replaced by an army of the ordinary European type, and the officers, who have become the most Liberal element in the Empire, were the determining factors in the Revolution of 1908. If the janissaries have disappeared, however, the hodjas remain, and the submissiveness which the leaders of the Young Turk party to-day think it a good policy to show to them has inspired the fanatics among the hodjas—for there is a small minority of liberal-minded men among them—with an audacity the grave effects of which have already been seen, and which may even result in the Ottoman Empire being ruined in the eyes of European opinion, by making it appear that Turkey is a country incapable of raising herself to the level of European culture and the modern conception of the State. Systematic opposition, from motives of a purely religious order, to the endeavours of the Government to Europeanise Ottoman justice, and to rationalise its legislation, the inciting of the people against the methods of administration, and even against the introduction of modern methods of hygiene on the European model, the emphasising of the necessity of a return to the Moslem conception of the State, and the strict application of jurisprudence as revealed in the Koran, the exaltation, in a word, not, certainly, of barbarism, or even of tyranny, but of a purely theocratic Middle Age; such is the attitude to-day of the immense majority of the Moslem clerical element, the hodjas, who appear to have learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the far-off days of the Sultan Mustapha or the Sultan Selim.

There lies the danger. For if these fanatics prevail, not only will the fusion of even the Moslem races not take place—for facts have shown that a common faith did not prove the sovereign cement it was expected to be—not only will Turkey be condemned in the public opinion of the civilised world as having been attacked by the most mortal of maladies, *viz.*, an incapacity to adapt herself to circumstances, but in addition, and what is an infinitely more serious matter for her, she will give rise to much disquietude among those European Powers possessing many Moslem subjects, such as England, France and Russia, as being the dangerous source of a blind, a hateful, and, when the first opportunity offers, an aggressive fanaticism.

Must we, then, become pessimistic about Turkey's future? We know very well that for some time past circles which had at first been full of hope and sympathy have fallen into pessimism on this point. But our opinion is that Young Turkey is not going to be snipwrecked, as has been said. She is passing through a period of arrested activity—perhaps of reaction—nothing more. And these are our reasons: If adaptation to circumstances, *i.e.*, the adoption of contemporary civilisation and of the modern conception of the State—is opposed in Turkey by the majority of the hodjas, it has on its side the two most powerful factors in any State—legality and force. For both the dynasty and the army are, in the main, on the side of the Constitutional party, divided though the counsels of the latter now are.

If, again, culture and progress have against them the Islamism of the hodjas, they have the real Islam on their side—the ancient, orthodox Islamism, permitting of freedom of thought in matters of dogma, under which flourished the splendid tolerance and the admirable artistic, scientific, and literary movements of the great days of Baghdad and Cordoba. This is what explains the presence, amongst the declared Progressives of the New Turkey, of great doctors of law such as the former Sheikh ul-Islam, Djemel-ed-Din Effendi, Sahib Mollah, Moussa Kiazim Effendi and the Senator Monastirli Ismail Hakki Effendi.

From the day when Young Turk politicians recognise that the supporters of fanaticism have everything to lose and nothing to gain, that the sole enduring bond among the diverse peoples of an empire is unanimity of sentiment in the feeling of wellbeing resulting from an enlightened, tolerant and rationally organised Administration, represented by competent and efficient agents, and that the most efficacious safeguard against European intervention is the acknowledgement by European public opinion that Turkey is a country which, from the point of view of public order, the administration of justice, and the measures for the preservation of health and efficient sanitation, has nothing to learn, for example, from Switzerland or Belgium, to mention countries which are physically feeble, but which are so strong morally that not even the Great Powers of Europe would venture to attack them: the day when, imbued with these ideas, the Young Turks decide to fall back on the army and the dynasty, and to struggle firmly and perseveringly for culture against fanaticism, the only remaining obstacle to progress will be at once swept aside, and the "historic danger" will fade as by magic.

For the fanatics, who respect nothing but force, before which they humbly bow down, will then show themselves as humble and meek as they did on the day when Mahmud Shekret Pasha entered Constantinople. When this ignorant fanaticism gradually disappears before the approach of reason, Turkey will adopt, and this time for ever, a line of conduct which, of course, still leaving her a Moslem State, will transform her into a State of order, justice, tolerance and reason; a State which, to cite once more examples which can never be cited too often, will one day rise to the cultural level of the Moslem empires of Baghdad and Cordoba. This will be more than sufficient to assure to Turkey prosperity, prestige and security, and to Europe, in consequence, an enduring peace.

The Arabs at Zanzur.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

IN A long and detailed account of the battle at Zanzur, twelve miles from Tripoli, on June 8th, the correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* with the Turco-Arab forces draws a very flattering picture of the condition and the military worth of the latter. The position which the Turco-Arabs had been trying to fortify with the inadequate means at their disposal was at last taken, but only after a long and strenuous resistance. The Italian brought to bear upon the defenders overwhelming numbers and all the most modern engines of war. "More than nine hours," writes the correspondent, "did the unequal fight last—unequal in every respect. On the one hand, almost a superfluity of highly trained officers, a

superabundance of ammunition and artillery, the latest instruments of war and of observation, troops used to disciplined firing, motor and rail connections for the conveyance of reserves and ammunition and the despatch of the wounded, and a strong covering at the rear in the shape of warships. On the other hand, just a few officers, a handful of Arabs, with but a small quantity of ammunition, knowing no discipline in firing, and driven to economy in the use of cartridges, with no backing from machine guns and artillery, lacking all means of observation, relying solely upon camels for the supply of fresh ammunition, and without any of the modern means of intelligence. In these circumstances the achievement of the Turco-Arab forces is something deserving of the highest admiration. The losses on both sides were equally heavy. The Arabs had to deplore 200 dead and 400 wounded. On the Italian side no fewer than 100 dead and 500 wounded must have fallen. Three days after the battle about 20 unburied Italian soldiers were still lying about in front of one of the Turkish trenches at the Maamora heights. It is, however, characteristic of the temper of the Arabs that in the night after the battle they demanded to be led against the Italian position before the latter was ready. This with but tolerably equipped troops could have been well undertaken; not, however, here in the prevailing conditions.

"And what is the importance of this murderous battle for the ultimate outcome of the war? None whatsoever. The Turco-Arab forces, it is true, had to evacuate their position at Zanzur and concentrate at some distance. The Italians themselves, however, do not believe in their ability to hold either Zanzur or the Maamora heights, and have confined themselves to fortifying a position to the north of Zanzur, about two kilometres long and 200 metres wide, which is crowned by one single marabout. Zanzur itself lies about 1,000 metres before their front, and is visited in the daytime by the Italians and in the night-time by the Arabs, who go there in search of palm wine. If the Italians do not make up their minds to take the offensive and advance into the interior the war may last for years. The Arab has now realised that it is absurd to throw himself against fortifications and guns, and that such assaults involve sacrifices which are not commensurate with the object aimed at. And as the occupation of the coast has not the slightest influence on his mode of living, it is certain that Italy will obtain no great results with her present tactics. One thing, however, the Italians must have learned by now—that the Arab is a much better trained soldier than he was a year ago. Economical in the use of cartridges, skilful in the use of cover, experienced in the use of the repeating rifle, the Arab of to-day, full as he is of courage and contempt for death, is a totally different warrior from the 'native' known in other colonial wars."

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dignity that the Republic has been able to maintain her position in the world. The speech was enthusiastically applauded.

Persia.

REUTER wires from Teheran on the 16th August :—The Persian Government has replied to the Russian demand for concession to construct a railway between Julfa and Tabriz with an extension to Urmiah. The answer is not considered quite satisfactory because it raises the question of the legal incapacity of the Government to grant concession without the sanction of the Mejliss.

REUTER wires from Teheran :—The Swedish organisers of the gendarmerie are not discouraged by the reverse sustained at Diringan. They have framed a scheme for sending 95 gendarmes under Swedish and Persian officers to Fars in the spring. It is believed that the sympathy of Mukbir-es-Sultaneh, the new Governor of Fars, will facilitate the task.

Morocco.

MULAI HAFID, ex-Sultan of Morocco, arrived at Marseilles on the 15th August. He was received with military honours.

Reuter wires from Paris :—Considerable anxiety is felt in France with regard to the situation in South Morocco owing to the activity of the Pretender, El Hiba. All Europeans have left Marrakesh except the French Consul and Vice-Consul. The task of the Resident-General is an arduous one. This new revolt coming at a critical time and the impossibility of despatching troops to repel El Hiba's, may delay the pacification of the whole country.

THE Moorish Pretender, El Hiba, has been proclaimed Sultan at Marrakesh.

The Europeans who left Marrakesh on account of unrest due to the activity of the Pretender, El Hiba, were stopped near Safi and compelled to pay a heavy ransom.

Reuter wires from Tangier on 22nd August :—The pretender Elhiba entered Marrakesh on the 18th instant, after fighting with Kaidelglawi, who remained loyal to the French.

El Hiba besieged the house in which are the French Consul and French police instructors.

Reuter wires from Paris on 23rd August :—The Council of Ministers has considered the events at Marrakesh and it is understood that it has decided not to extend the field operations to the Southern Capital.

China.

A CRISIS is arising in Peking owing to Yuan-shi-kai's having the two Hankow Generals summarily decapitated on a charge of promoting a fresh revolution. The Southerners are furious and have induced the Assembly to demand explanations from Yuan-shi-kai failing which they will impeach Yuan or the whole Government.

The execution of the Hankow Generals has caused a violent outcry and will probably lead to a decisive trial of strength between Yuan-shi-kai and the Assembly. The executed Generals were very prominent in the Wuchang rebellion but were recently suspected of promoting another rising. The accounts of the execution make an appalling story, volleys being poured into the bodies until they were disembowelled.

The Week.

France and Russia.

M. POINCARÉ is returning to France. An official *communiqué*, published in St. Petersburg, says the result of the conversations between the two Governments has re-affirmed that they are in complete agreement and that the ties uniting them were never stronger. They have recognised that the *entente*, consecrated by unchanging feeling, can be progressively adapted to all necessities which can be foreseen. The alliance remains a precious guarantee of the maintenance of peace and equilibrium in Europe.

England and Russia.

THE Russian Foreign Minister following on his visit to Paris on the 15th September will come to England on the 23rd September and will spend five days at Balmoral.

The Triple Entente.

SPEAKING at a Municipal banquet at Dunkirk on the 21st August, M. Poincaré said that time had given fresh vigour to the Franco-Russian Alliance. This Union has been completed and broadened by the cordial understanding with Great Britain. None, however, can see an aggressive purpose in the pacific grouping of three friendly Powers. It is by a policy of wisdom, sangfroid and

Reuter wires from Shanghai:—Dr. Sun-yet-sen left for Peking on the 19th August, General Suanghsing We had arranged to accompany him but declined to go at the last moment at a protest by Yuan-shi-kai after the drumhead court-martial. Dr. Sun-yet-sen was entreated not to go but he insisted.

Reuter wires from San Francisco on the 20th August:—Sons and daughters of Sun-yet-sen, who are now here, allege that their father has been assassinated at Peking by troops supposedly under orders of Yuan-shi-kai. There is, however, no confirmation of the report.

Reuter wires from San Francisco:—The rumour of the assassination of Sun-yet-sen is unfounded. It originated in placards displayed in the Chinese quarter.

REUTER wires from Peking:—The Assembly declares that the explanations offered in connection with the execution of the two Hankow Generals are unsatisfactory and demands the attendance of the Premier and the War Minister on the 23rd August. The Government are remarkably unconcerned in the face of the violent hostility and are prepared to take strong measures. They maintain that they possess proofs of the guilt of the executed Generals. In the meantime the Southern papers are fanning the flames of party strife.

News lately received from Kashgaria on the 22nd August shows that matters have apparently settled down there, though the Chinese soldiers are not altogether in hand. The position in Chinese Turkestan is, however, much better than in Yunnan and Szechuan, where civil authority is non-existent.

A message to the *Times* from Hankow, on 22nd August, says that local opinion is that Changchinwu, one of the executed generals, was a troublesome rascal who deserved his fate. The incident is regarded as emphasising satisfactory relations between General Li Yuang Hung and Yuan-shi-kai, the former having requested the latter to carry out the execution.

Reuter wires from Peking:—On the 21st August Yuan-shi-kai refused the demand for the attendance of the Premier and War Minister in connection with the execution of the two Hankow Generals and suggested instead that the Hupch Deputies should visit him.

The Assembly sat behind closed doors and apparently moderate counsels prevailed. The motion for impeachment was dropped and another was agreed to on Yuanshi-kai's suggestion that the crisis be regarded as passed.

The disbandment of troops is steadily proceeding throughout the Yangtse Valley. Ninety-nine per cent. of the population urgently desire quietude.

Tibet.

RELIABLE news has been received on the 21st August *via* Gyantse that the long drawn out struggle between the Chinese and the Tibetans at Lhasa has at last ended and that peace has been concluded upon terms which appear to be very reasonable. All Chinese troops beyond the Amban's ordinary escort are to leave Tibet at an early date *via* India. Their arms and ammunitions are to be locked up at Lhasa under the seals of both parties and the Nepalese Resident. The Chinese traders are to be allowed to remain at Lhasa.

Afghanistan.

News received from Kurram Valley states that a gang of Mahsuds raided the village of Basata on the 12th instant driving off a number of cattle and kidnapping a Turi boy. The Kurram Militia killed two of the raiders and rescued the boy who was slightly wounded. The villagers co-operated in the pursuit and captured three men with their rifles and recovered all the cattle.

The Amir is extending the system of collecting revenue in kind instead of in cash. It has now been applied in the Northern and Western Provinces, grain and *skusa* being accepted from the cultivators.

Reserves of forage for military purposes are being formed at the headquarters of each district.

Jahandad Khan Ghilzai has been invited to return to Afghanistan where his family remained when he took refuge in Kurram. His sons are still in detention at Kabul but the Amir seems willing to release them as soon as their father puts in his appearance.

A frontier correspondent confirms the recent reports as to the insecurity of the road between Dhakka and Jellalabad owing to the presence of tribal gangs of robbers. On the night of the 9th instant a Mohmand caravan carrying piece goods was looted at Giridih Khas, and on the following night an attack was made on the transport depot at Haftchab and some animals were carried off. A mounted patrol was also killed, his horse and rifle being taken. The gangs are apparently growing bolder and the local officials seem unable to deal with them. Large caravans are unmolested as they are able to defend themselves.

Haj Pilgrims.

REUTER wires from Perim:—Cholera has broken out among the Indian and Javanese pilgrims on Cameran Island.

The Public Services Commission.

MR. SLY, Commissioner, Berar, who has been appointed to the Royal Commission, is due back from leave in England six weeks' hence. By then the time will be ripe for his being placed on special duty, as much will have to be done in advance to arrange the programme of the Commission.

Hindu University.

THE total amount realised up to the 10th August for the Hindu University is nearly Rs. 8,86,000. The total expenditure is Rs. 13,800 nearly. The Honorary Secretary, Dr. Sundar Lal, has asked the Maharaja of Durbhanga, President of the Committee, to fix a date and place for a meeting of the Executive Committee to consider Sir Harcourt Butler's letters and the preparation of a draft constitution such as the community would like to have.

The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya has left Allahabad for Benares and will thence proceed to Calcutta to discuss with the supporters of the Hindu University movement there the situation created by the Secretary of State's discussions regarding the Universities.

The Aga Khan.

H.H. THE AGHA KHAN is proceeding on a visit to South and East Africa. This will prevent his standing for election as a representative of the Bombay Muhammadans in the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

Khan of Mardan.

(FROM THE "STATESMAN'S" LONDON CORRESPONDENT.)

IN THE House of Commons on the 9th August Mr. A. MacCallum Scott asked the Under-Secretary for India with reference to the recent arrest and imprisonment without bail of His Highness the Khan Bahadur Khawaja Muhammad Khan, Chief of Hoti, upon a serious charge, whether he was aware that the judge of the High Court of Bombay in discharging the accused stated that the Khan was arrested on nobody's complaint and that the whole procedure seemed to be most irregular and arbitrary.

Midnapore Case.

IN AN article on the Midnapore case, the *Times* says, on the 22nd August that the result accentuates the necessity for an urgent and searching investigation into the *personnel* and methods of at least some branches of the Calcutta High Court by an eminent judicial authority from England. The Court, the *Times* says, has always included and does now include Judges of the highest attainments and legal qualifications; but at present it needs to be purged of amplification that at sometimes aims not solely at the administration of law but at the gratification of political predilections. The article severely criticises the gross latitude allowed to Counsels, especially Indian Counsels in the Indian Courts.

The "Burma Critic"

IN accordance with the orders of the Chief Court Full Bench which quashed the committal to the Sessions of Mr. Channing Arnold and ordered further evidence to be recorded, the District Magistrate on the 20th August resumed the hearing of the case in which Mr. Arnold is alleged to have defamed Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner of Mergui, in two articles which appeared in issues of the *Burma Critic*. Mr. Guy Rutledge appeared on behalf of the complainant assisted by Mr. C. Gaune and Mr. C. Hamlyn and O. Campagnac for Mr. Arnold.

Before evidence was recorded Mr. Rutledge stated to the Court that Mr. Arnold had published another libel on the complainant on Saturday the 13th August's issue. The statements were absolutely unfounded and absolutely false and it aggravated the offence and he would have to take such steps elsewhere as to stop that sort of thing while the case was pending. On the last occasion counsel said he wished to tender Captain Finnie. He had him here now and he intended to tender him now.

Mr. Hamlyn strongly objected to his cross-examination being interrupted and His Worship agreed with him.

In the cross-examination by Mr. Hamlyn the complainant said if Mr. Buchanan, Sub-Divisional Officer, ever wrote the diary in Iniah's case, it would be a most important document. He denied ever in his life sending a cypher or code wire. He had received only one such wire on Government business from the Commissioner of Mergui. He was on perfectly amicable terms with Captain Finnie. He knew nothing of witnesses having been terrified into changing their previous statements in the case. It was a pretty audacious thing if an accused person went to a police officer's house and terrified him. Witness did not understand Captain Finnie's anxiety to get Mr. McCormick out on bail. Captain Finnie and Mr. McCormick were on ordinary social terms. Witness did not say he had not paid visits to Mr. McCormick before the trial.

Mr. Hamlyn wanted to quote here a passage from a *verbatim* report from the *Burma Critic* of the last day's proceedings.

Mr. Rutledge objected to that report being quoted as being from the same paper which had published libels on the complainant.

Here Mr. Arnold in a state of great excitement shouted out that he would not be accused of falsifying evidence by anyone; that he would not take a lie from Mr. Rutledge or 20 of him and finally invited Mr. Rutledge to step out and settle the matter.

The Court called the accused to order and threatened to bind him down the keep the peace.

Mr. Arnold apologised profusely and the cross-examination was proceeded with. The hearing will be resumed to-morrow.

Further cross-examination of complainant was recorded by the District Magistrate on the 21st August.

Mr. Hamlyn, Advocate for the accused, throughout the day cross-examined on various matters appertaining to the allegation made against his client.

The complainant said he discharged McCormick as his motive was pure and philanthropic. Witness certainly called it pure for a man to take another person's child and examine and treat her. He did not think it outrage on the modesty of a female if done with pure intention. There was a hospital 8 miles away. Witness did not desire to answer counsel's hypothetical questions as to what he would do if a man treated his daughter or sister in the same manner. It was true McCormick kept the child in his custody until the 15th July, 1911, and treated her for disease. The girl's father had died without seeing her. It was true Ina made a charge of being raped by the Assistant Surgeon two days after. He believed it was true that McCormick went over to see Sherard a couple of days afterwards. Sherard denied even making a statement that he was terrorised by McCormick who toyed with the revolver. Sherard denied it to Finnie who held the inquiry. He had no personal knowledge of the allegation that Ina was examined for five hours. It was a lie that the police inquiry was conducted with the utmost secrecy. He was not present but he knew about it from the police diary. Further examination will be concluded to-morrow.

The District Magistrate on the 22nd August continued the hearing of the case.

Mr. Andrew was subjected to a searching cross-examination for several hours. He denied that Mr. McCormick was an intimate friend of his. He stayed at Mr. McCormick's house when at Victoria Point. He would see any man guilty of abduction or other serious offence go to jail with complacency. He declined to answer the question whether he would try a friend. He would not try his own brother. He had no anxiety to try the case. He did so because it was his duty. If there was a case against Mr. McCormick, the Chief Court would try him. The complainants in the case against Mr. McCormick did not charge witness with partiality. He could not say if they sent two telegrams to the Lieutenant-Governor to that effect. No enquiry had been made as to who stopped them and where and when they were stopped. He would rather not express his opinion on whether the ignoring of a petition by the Commissioner was a grave scandal. Witness denied that irregularities and illegalities had been committed by himself and the police. He took exception to the allegation by the accused that offences had occurred and were overlooked by the British officials. The article was grossly unfair. It was all lies and a tissue of falsehoods. Witness had explained to Government on the 6th October 1911, certain statements made in an anonymous letter to the Lieutenant-Governor. The case is proceeding.



Verse.

The Soul's Aspirations.

"Like a sick eagle gazing on the skies."

—Keats.

As a sick eagle gazes at the skies
And flaps his wings with impotent desire
To soar sublime where yonder orb of fire
Through boundless space on whirling pinions flies;
And struggles sore—through growing weakness ties
His wings and talons to the rocky spire,
His wonted perch—till the vain efforts tire
His slackening muscles and his closing eyes;
E'en thus, the Soul, on lofty flights intent,
Shakes her weak wings in passion's trammels bound,
And seeks to rise; but, all her ardour spent
On fancies vain that idly flit around,
She cannot gain the starry firmament,
Where Glory calls, and sinks upon the ground!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

TETE À TETE



The issues raised by the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler's letter to the President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee are so grave and fundamental that they can only be decided by a direct reference to the will of the whole community. The Constitution Committee, in its recent meeting at Lucknow, rightly came to the conclusion that its scope was limited to framing a constitution for the proposed University on the lines laid down by the Moslem University Foundation Committee. It now rests with the latter body to decide, after carefully ascertaining the views and wishes of the Mussalmans, whether a fundamental change of principle in the evolution of the project would be at all acceptable to the community. We have no doubt ourselves as to what the verdict of the community will be. However, the whole question has entered a stage at which any irresolution or confusion of objects would spell an irretrievable ruin to the cause of the University. The views and ideals of the Mussalmans have never been ambiguous or vague in this respect. Still, however, it is supremely important at this juncture that the Moslem public should express its views on the Secretary of State's decisions in a tangible and decisive form. With this end in view, we have devised a method to collect the votes of the Moslem subscribers of the *Comrade* on the important issues that the promoters of the Moslem University have been called upon to solve. We publish elsewhere in our advertisement columns a "Voting Paper" which, we trust, our Moslem readers will fill in, cut out and forward to us as early as possible. The results of the votes thus received will be regularly published in the *Comrade* every week. We have every reason to believe that our Moslem readers who comprise, we are glad to say, an important section of the Mussalmans, fitted alike by education and aptitude to pronounce on the delicate and vital questions now before the community, will record their vote after the fullest consideration of the issues involved. By this method we will be able to hold an unmistakeable proof of what an important and educated section of the Mussalmans thinks about the matter. We would like to request those of our contemporaries that reach a considerable number of Moslem subscribers, to adopt this method and collect their votes for the purpose we have indicated. This is, we are convinced, one of the surest ways of bringing home to the indifferent and the sceptical the strength of the Moslem views and the character of the Moslem feeling on the subject.

WE EXCHANGE the *Comrade* with almost all the leading papers of Turkey and Egypt and we must confess that it is a source of great pleasure to us to find that its leading articles and editorial notes are extensively reproduced and quoted in these contemporaries. We have recently received very flattering attention from one of these, the *Servet-i-Finoun*, an illustrated weekly journal of Constantinople, which has published a photograph of the *Comrade* staff. After giving a description of some of the men in the group, it says:—

"We have great pleasure in publishing this portrait of the staff of the only Muhammadan paper in India distinguished for giving news about Turkey. The photo has been specially sent to us by our Calcutta correspondent. It is easy to appreciate the awakening that has taken place in the Moslem world of India, if one pays attention to the intelligence radiating in the faces in the group. These co-religionists of ours are making great strides in intellectual and material progress under the English regime. There is between them and us a positive community of race and religion. The signs of progress and development visible in different parts of the Islamic world are a source of pride to us, and we should try to emulate them. The *Comrade* is published in English exclusively

for the Islamic community. The contents of the paper, specially its printing and get-up, point to the progress the Muhammadans of Calcutta have made in science and arts. We might say that even in our *Fat-Takht* (Capital) there does not exist a weekly paper containing such extensive and varied information. The *Comrade* is not an illustrated paper; it is purely a paper for study. The *Servet-i-Funoun* prays for the continuance of the success and prosperity of its Indian Moslem contemporary, and conveys from here its sentiments of cordiality. We fear our contemporary has somewhat misunderstood the catholic character of the *Comrade* and has also done some injustice to other Indian contemporaries while saying of us things which no lack of modesty can make us believe of ourselves. It is, however, our hope to deserve some of these compliments in our future career. We express our heartfelt thanks to the *Servet-i-Funoun* and reciprocate its good wishes.

We publish in "The Moslem University Supplement" an open letter to the Mussalmans from "An English well-wisher" which, we are sure, will be read with great interest. The writer has a first-hand knowledge of the educational condition of the Mussalmans, and his deep sympathy with their efforts to ameliorate that condition is beyond question. His disappointment at the refusal of the Government to grant powers of affiliation to the Moslem University is as great as that of the Mussalmans themselves. In considering the course the Mussalmans should now adopt, he has been led to make certain practical suggestions. Now that the Government has decided to withhold powers of affiliation from the University, it would be, in the opinion of the learned writer, more manly, courageous, and reasonable to have no University at all, but to apply the funds to the promotion of elementary and secondary education amongst the Mussalmans. There is no doubt that Moslem education requires enormous and systematic efforts in these directions. But the Moslem University project represents an entirely separate movement, which is based on the deep-seated conviction of the Mussalmans that their supreme need is to evolve a district type of higher education for their community. The true secret of the hold of Aligarh on popular sympathies is that it represents that ideal and has led the way. The funds have been subscribed on the understanding that the ideal has at last come within sight. To divert the money to any other channel would amount to a breach of a solemn trust. Even from a practical standpoint the need for a University where the educational ideals would materialise is greater than the multiplication of schools and colleges on the lines of the existing State institutions. The growth of a common centre where the type of education would be evolved in accordance with the needs of the Mussalmans would give much more powerful impetus to Moslem education throughout the country than the random growth of aimless institutions in different places. The Moslem educational problem cannot be treated piecemeal. The inspiration of Aligarh has been so fruitful because of its generous idealism and its ample and unifying purpose. If the Mussalmans would fail to get a university of the type they have all along laboured to create, the money might best be spent in building a mausoleum, on the portals of which might be inscribed the words: "Here lies an ideal done to death."

THE British Foreign Office Blue Book on the horrors committed by "white men" engaged in collecting rubber in Peru, forms a gruesome and ghastly reading. Some idea might be given of the iniquities perpetrated by quoting a few of the facts which make up Sir Roger Casement's sad tale of the utter inhumanity of modern money-grabbers. It is almost incredible, but none the less true, that the "natives," 90 per cent. of whom bear marks of brutal caning, are being so ruthlessly exterminated by the Peruvian Mammon-worshippers that their population has fallen from 50,000 to 8,000 during the last six years. Smiting or even kicking in the face of the poor "natives" is a most commonplace occurrence, "flogging to death or to putrefaction is frequent," and murder by starvation is not uncommon. To suffocate to death by pinning the victim under water affords innocent pastime to some of these "captains of modern industry," while instances are known, to quote Sir Roger Casement, of "innumerable murders and tortures of defenceless Indians, pouring kerosine-oil on men and women and then setting fire to them, burning men at the stake, dashing the brains out of children and again and again cutting off the arms and legs of Indians and leaving them to speedy death in this agony." In another passage Sir Roger says:—"Such men had lost all sight or sense of rubber gathering, they were simply beasts of prey who lived upon the Indians and delighted in shedding their blood." We will spare the reader a further recitation of this blood-curdling record. Nor have we any mind to heighten the colour—already lurid enough—of "this most entirely devilish narrative" by any comments of our own.

We earnestly urge on the powers that be that such foul blots on Western civilisation should be sternly wiped off on the earliest possible occasion. We refuse to believe that this state of affairs is a natural concomitant of the pioneering of modern industries and that humane and necessary remedies "can be gradually applied to better the position of the defenceless natives." We are confident the British public will not allow its conscience to be lulled into sleep by any facile logic of "economic unmoralness." Such absolutely abnormal conditions require measures of abnormal expedition and severity to remedy them. It will not do to say that in the present stage of economic evolution the multiplication of intermediaries, the growth of the capitalist, the well-defined line of demarcation between the "returns to capital, land, labour and organisation" and the "exportation of capital" to distant money markets, reduce the "personal responsibility" of the investor or justify him in "asking no question" as to how his regular dividends are produced. For if really such atrocities are the natural results of modern economic evolution—though we wholly call that statement into question—then it is high time humanity paused in its feverish race for material "progress" to consider if that "progress" were not being too dearly bought.

THE Moslem University Foundation Committee will have to meet at an early date to consider the new situation that has arisen in regard to the Moslem University project and to decide the fate of the whole undertaking. Needless to say that the meeting would mark an important and historic occasion, inasmuch as it would deal with the issues that go to the root of the educational ideals of the Moslem community. The Foundation Committee has a very extensive membership and it should not at all be difficult to call together a large and representative gathering of the Mussalmans from all parts of the country. The place of meeting should be conveniently accessible to all. We think it would be generally approved if the meeting is held at Lahore. The capital of the Panjab is a centre of considerable Moslem activity in the north; and those who still remember the impressive scenes of enthusiasm that marked the visit of H. H. the Aga Khan must feel sure that the Panjab Moslems will do all what they can to render the meeting a success. The date for the meeting should be fixed with due regard to time and circumstances and the necessary arrangements should be carefully thought out beforehand. We think the Dusserah holidays about the middle of October would be a suitable time for such meeting. It is unnecessary to say with what deep anxiety and expectancy the Mussalmans would await the decisions of the meeting. We are sure it would be worthy of the occasion, win the confidence of the Mussalmans and strengthen the hands of their leaders to guide them with ability and courage through a period of grave uncertainty and doubt.

IN OUR issue of the 13th July we drew the attention of H. E. the Viceroy to the highly objectionable practice of European visitors strolling within the precincts and in the courtyard of the Jumma Masjid of Delhi without either taking off their boots or putting on boot coverings. This week we have received from a correspondent a defence of the conduct of the Managing Committee in the matter which we gladly publish elsewhere. It seems that the Committee have been guilty, not so much of culpable neglect, as of tame acquiescence in a state of affairs in which their forefathers had been acquiescing before them. After thorough enquiries we find that this outrage on Moslem religious susceptibilities is being perpetrated for years, despite several strong protests made against it by the Muhammadans. Government has been repeatedly approached to put a stop to such desecration of the sacred precincts of the mosque, but somehow it did not consider that the gratitude of a community was a valuable enough asset to be secured at the cost of a very slight inconvenience to an occasional globetrotter. We would be the last to object to the Government's uniform solicitude for the convenience of sightseers. But we would like to point out, what is, however, only too patent, that a mosque is a place of worship first and a sight for the globetrotter afterwards. No amount of antiquary interest or gaping curiosity can possibly be held to justify a violation of its sanctity. Such indifference to Moslem susceptibilities might not have been so difficult to account for in the days just following the Mutiny, when, notwithstanding the generous help received from the Muhammadan States in quelling the rising and the uniform efforts made by Muhammadan gentlemen of the calibre of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in protecting unfortunate Englishmen and appeasing the mob, the Government persisted in looking upon the Muhammadans as rebels; but it is little short of reprehensible in these days of peaceful progress. After its desecration by Nicholson, the mosque was in the possession of Government for three years and during that time it was wholly

under State management. But we fail to see why even fifty years after its restoration to the Moslem community the Government should still insist upon controlling its management. Surely, it cannot be said that the Muhammadans are no longer competent to be entrusted with the independent management of their own ancient mosques. We trust the Government will soon see its way to hand over the management of the mosque to the Muhammadan public, just as it has long since handed over the mosque itself. But apart from this question, we insist that the refusal of the Government to make a rule in accordance with the wishes of the Mussalmans does not wholly absolve the Management Committee, of all blame in the matter. For even if such a rule did not exist officially, there was nothing to prevent them from putting up a private notice and personally requesting the visitors to desist from a practice which outraged Moslem feeling, and we are sure that no visitor, possessing ordinary decency and good sense, would have gone out of his way to offend the Moslems. Nor could the Government have any possible objection to such a procedure. In fact, we are surprised to find that the Government should have even refused to pass the necessary official regulation. Unfortunately, even a Viceroy like Lord Curzon, who was so particular about certain matters, could not see his way to do more than forbid the wearing of boots inside the roofed portion of the mosque. Everybody knows that every inch of the mosque, whether roofed or unroofed, is sacred and should be guarded from desecration. Delhi has long been the centre of Moslem civilisation in India. It is now to be the capital of the whole continent. We trust the new Delhi Administration will take an early opportunity to remove such a dark blot on that professed policy of religious toleration which has been one of the bed-rocks of the British Rule in India. We think more highly of the average European than either Lord Curzon or his predecessors seem to have done, and we can assure the Government that the required regulation will not be at all resented by such visitors to Delhi as have any claim on the consideration of the Government. The Moslem public feels very strongly on the subject, and they certainly have a perfect right to raise a general protest against a desecration the like of which, we might be quite sure, the Government will not suffer to be perpetrated in a place held sacred by the Christian citizens of the British Empire. We hope the good Christians are not forgetting the great Biblical Commandment about doing unto others as ye would have them do unto thee.

WE CANNOT but admire the tactics which some of our Tory British contemporaries have been adopting to bring pressure to bear on the Nicholson Committee and compel it to declare that the result of its "consideration of the military policy, administration and expenditure in India" is the decision that the *status quo* should be maintained. We had occasion some time back to notice in our columns an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* by a well-known "expert" on Indian affairs, which was an obvious attempt to induce the Commission to prejudge the case which it had been instituted to thoroughly investigate. After such laudable efforts to hinder the Committee from entering upon their deliberative duties with an open mind, the *Pall Mall Gazette* had been resting on its oars and awaiting the development of events. But, now that the time for the presentation of the Committee's report is drawing near, our contemporary has been again roused into activity by the necessity of teaching the innocent schoolboys of the Commission the duty they owe to "the Saxon race" and the British Empire. In its issue of the 9th July the *Pall Mall Gazette* has published a hopeless rignmarole on the "Danger of Reduction" of the Indian army from the pen of another of its patent "experts." The article starts with an amusingly transparent attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the British Public regarding the origin of "that refuge of an embarrassed administrator—a Commission." We are sure it is nothing short of a wilful misreading of history to say that the proposals for reduction in the Indian army expenditure have grown out of the exigency of "facing a Budget to which the poppy cannot contribute an income of millions." Persistent efforts for reducing Army expenditure in India have been made by almost every Indian politician of note for more than a generation; whereas the gradual dwindling away of the Opium Revenue is a factor which has had to be reckoned with only recently. Nor can we subscribe to the view that any attempt has been made to "conceal the serious objective of the Commission by giving it an air of expensive determination." We have all along been under the impression that the appointment of the Commission was a frank and earnest desire on the part of the Government to effect economy in public expenditure. The "expert" has ranged into quite a marvellous array a battalion of arguments which are meant to prove that if the Nicholson Committee is guilty of any such "treason to the Saxon race" as, he believes, seems to be contemplated by the Government of India, it will "inaugurate the final stage of the decadence of the British race as a world-power." Perhaps the fibre of the "Saxon race" depends for its strength on bloated

armaments in India. We fail to see how, if "money had to be found," any considerable economy could be introduced into the Indian Budget without "the army obviously having to provide the saving." And we are sure that if our doctrinaire friend had been a little more conversant with practical Indian politics, he would have realised that economy is perfectly called for in the military expenditure of a country, where the army swallows up almost a third of the total Budget, especially when that country has just started on a forward march of social, political, and economic progress. It seems to us a peculiar twist of logic—and of conscience—to say that the poor Indian ratepayer should be called upon to finance ambitious schemes of establishing "central piers in great arches of Empire," of propping up whole structures which would else "crumble," of perpetuating the "integrity of great Imperial triangles," of transforming the Indian Ocean into "a great Inland Sea" of the British Empire, of "keeping the great Pacific Islands as the white man's home," and of generally counteracting all modern "threats not only to British commerce and to British greatness, but to the very existence of the British kindred in Australia and New Zealand." The Jingo alarmist is never so happy as when he finds an occasion to talk of "the Empire in danger" and of the bogies that surround it. True, India, no less than Canada, aspires to be a "conscious partner in the burdens and the rights of the Empire;" but that does not, we believe, entail any duty on India to relieve the colonies of theirs or to rectify, by financial help, the blunders of the British Cabinet over the question of "the British control of the Pacific" or "the abandonment of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean." We are confident that the Nicholson Committee will not lend an ear to all this facile rhetoric of evil presage; but will deliver a calm, unprejudiced judgment over the question of the relation of military expenditure and military efficiency in India.

WITH the death of General Booth the closing chapter is reached of the first phase of a world-wide social movement, which, in its way, is a no mean contribution to that evolution of a higher, a purer, and a more peaceful humanity of which the 20th century shows such unmistakable signs. As Commander-in-Chief of the Salvation Army, General Booth wielded a salutary influence on the lives of a portion of the flotsam of human society. As a boy of 15 he startled Nottingham with his open air preaching in the cause of the fallen and suffering humanity. "Charity must begin at Home" and General Booth originally confined his energies to the up-lifting of the slum population of the East End of London. But as the movement gathered strength, it spread rapidly all over England, and to-day it has established itself as a permanent institution all over the world. Some idea of the magnitude of the work done by the Salvation Army, of which General Booth has all along been the guiding spirit, might be formed by noting the fact that it has corps, circles and societies in no less than 56 countries in both the hemispheres of the globe, which minister to the physical and moral needs of 11,000,000 human beings of all races and all creeds. The organization which the Army has evolved for the moral elevation of the submerged classes of society is marvellous alike in its magnitude and its perfection of details. There are 900 social institutions which publish periodical temperance literature in 21 languages with an aggregate circulation of well over a million copies. The staff of the Army consists of 21,000 officers—men and women—who are carrying on their work even in the most backward parts of the world and trying to bring back the lost sheep to the fold of Christianity. Among the numerous institutions which the Army has established for the attainment of its objects are the temperance lecture halls, the farm colonies for the employment of the backsliders, the rescue homes for fallen women, the poor man's banks, the prison-gate brigades, and the city colonies for the reclamation of the dregs of the slum population. And all these various institutions are everywhere displaying a sleepless vigilance in their eminently humanitarian work in bringing back erring humanity to the paths of righteousness by persuasive eloquence, salutary attractions, and healthful employment. In fact statistics go to prove that in most places where the different agencies of the Army have been working for some time, crime and drunkenness have perceptibly decreased. In India, the beginning of the movement dates back to 1882 and, considering the dense ignorance and stolid conservatism of the country, has achieved remarkable success in helping the "untouchables," with whom India is teeming, to attain to a higher level of humanity. And even when we are least in sympathy with its ideals, and are disposed to question the desirability, at least as far as India is concerned, of the methods adopted by some of its local officers, we are always glad to acknowledge the wholesome influence the Army has been exercising over the "criminal tribes," the "untouchables" and the discharged prisoners in India.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE ABDUR RAHIM'S recent speech at the Southern India Muhammadan Educational Conference was a brilliant combination of abstract reasoning, lofty idealism and business-like counsels of practical utility. It deserves to be read and pondered over by every Moslem who is at all interested in the past, the present and the future of his community. While recalling the glorious achievements of Islam in the past, regretting their present state of universal degeneration and exhorting them for a great forward march, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim did not forget to show the line along which work should be done in order to accelerate the advent of that Islamic Renaissance the first "murmurs of which are clearly audible." We are in perfect agreement with Mr. Abdur Rahim's view of the causes of the present backwardness of the Mussalmans—as, in fact, we are with most of the views he expressed. "For 500 years Muhammadans occupied the very summit of glory." In the sciences and the arts, the indebtedness of the modern world to Islam is acknowledged by all unprejudiced savants. And as a great moral force, Islam has demonstrated its potency wherever it has gone. "The motive power" which was responsible for the great ascendancy of the Muhammadans in the past was not to be found in the peculiarities of race, colour, climate or local history, but in one great idea, *viz.*, "Islam." "Islam," said the learned speaker, "was a great liberal and civilising influence. By placing religion on Reason as its foundation, it had effected the emancipation of the human intellect." But he confessed that "he has never known a time when the prestige of Islam stood so low" as it does to-day. This fall he attributed to moral degeneration, phariseism, superstition, the absolute and despotic power assumed by Moslem States, an exaggerated attention to forms, intellectual lethargy and the general disregard of the animating principles of Islam. He also rightly regretted the tendency to moral sang-froid and general want of purpose and determination shown by the present generation of Moslem youths in India. But "at the same time," while deeply lamenting this state of affairs, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim assured his audience that "the situation was not by any means without hope." And we perfectly endorse his view that a great promise of ultimate salvation is to be seen in the "unmistakable signs around us of the return of the spirit of Islam in the community" and join with him in reminding the Moslem leaders that "our first and foremost duty is to do all that we can to ensure the spread of this spirit among the people." Apropos of this, Mr. Abdur Rahim expressed the hope "that one of the leading features of the new University, when it is established, will be a systematic study of our religion and religious sciences, that it may send forth men of culture who will also command the respect and confidence of the community in matters of religion." That, we have always said, is exactly our own view of what the Moslem University should do. Mr. Abdur Rahim rightly laid great stress on the study of the history of Islamic civilisation as a great steadying factor in education. He regretted the present position of the fair sex in the Moslem community and strongly advocated the advancement of female education. He pointed out the high position which women held in Islamic society in the past, and cited history to prove that they fully qualified themselves for it by the "eminence they attained as rulers of territories, in fields of battle, in wise statesmanship, in theology and jurisprudence, in philosophy, poetry and rhetoric." "We shall never satisfactorily solve the problem of education," he continued, "unless and until we fully recognise the necessity of educating our girls no less than our boys." We fully appreciate Mr. Abdur Rahim's zeal for the gradual emancipation of the inmates of our *zanana* and are particularly gratified to see that he does not advocate any hasty revolution subversive of the present constitution of society, but the rational procedure of a steady effort to bring the two sexes to an approximately common level before any steps are taken in the direction of practical emancipation. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim pointed out that "here in India the Government of the country, though run by foreigners, cannot be justly charged with being obstructive to reform and progress." But he reminded the Moslems that, while the "Government could do much more to help the Muhammadans in the matter of education," than it has as yet done, it "should be carefully considered what exactly the Government can do," "recognising the limitation that what is asked should do no injustice either to the Government itself or to any other community." He concluded an eminently suggestive address with the following remarks:—"There is no reason why you should not be able to gain for the Moslem community a respectable place among the civilised nations. We have an invaluable heritage; our religion has made plain for us the path of progress, let not obstinacy and prejudice blind our eyes and paralyse our wills. We all love Islam. Remember its good name is at stake. I appeal to you in the name of Islam to devote yourself heart and soul to the cause which we have met here to advance. Combine and organise your efforts; do not falter, and, God willing, we shall attain our goal."

The Comrade.

The "Pioneer" and Affiliation.

It is no secret that the *Thunderer* of the Services has long ceased to love the Aligarh that it was at one time never tired of admiring. Aligarh's first offence was the students' strike in 1907 against the ill-considered and vacillating action of Mr. Archbold and the admittedly unsympathetic attitude of Professor Gardner-Browne, both of whom have had to leave Aligarh and both of whom have since then been provided with even more lucrative appointments by the benign Government. The second and even less forgivable offence of Aligarh occurred in 1909 when the European Staff followed the example of the students by striking and, in sympathy with Mr. Archbold, sending their resignations, not to their employers but to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, threatened the Trustees of the College with a representation to the Local Government demanding intervention. The Trustees did not give way to Mr. Archbold and the Staff and successfully resisted the mighty Sir John Hewett, who was inclined to favour Mr. Archbold. Since then Aligarh has not had a good word from the *Pioneer* and this "friend" of the Mussalmans has never forgiven them the audacity of dispensing with the services of one English employé and accepting the "resignation" of another.

There was, therefore, nothing for them to be surprised at when the *Pioneer* for eight months wholly ignored the great efforts of the Mussalmans to collect funds for their University. In the issue of 2nd September 1911, we noticed in detail the first comments of the *Thunderer* of Allahabad and our readers could not have forgotten the gentle correction to which we were then compelled to subject our tremendous contemporary. We shall here only remind them that according to the *Pioneer* the schemes of "denominational" Universities were "regarded in well-informed quarters as inconsistent with established educational policy." It successfully disguised its good wishes for their success in the prophecy of Cassandra that "the prospects of the schemes for Muhammadan and Hindu Universities do not seem particularly bright." Then turning to its pet, the Aligarh College, the *Pioneer* stated that "the view that the constitution of the Aligarh College, which submits candidates for the degrees of the Allahabad University, can be made to fit an Aligarh University giving its own degrees, indicates an ignorance of elementary facts." It then favoured us with referring to "the opinion of many competent persons whose interest in education is deep and sincere"—no doubt as deep and just as sincere as the *Pioneer's*—"that Muhammadan and Hindu Universities are undesirable in themselves." And, as the sting of the scorpion is in its tail, the *Pioneer* concluded with a sentence which defied both syntax and sense. "To those who see promise in teaching Universities with religious instruction, any movement which is political rather than educational in aim must stand condemned."

A certain class of persons have no memories, and it must have been a shock to the *Pioneer* to discover that a little over five years ago, it had written a leading article warmly well-coming the earliest proposal of a Hindu University, although it had the same taint of "denominationalism" that it and the proposed Moslem University have to-day, and was even then just as "inconsistent with established educational policy" as it and the proposed sister University are at the present moment. The *Pioneer* had then opened its welcome in these eloquent words: "Difficulty is experienced as a rule in giving approval to the proposals which emanate from the Indian National Congress. To the scheme for establishing a Hindu University, however, the most cordial encouragement may be offered." The same scheme which was condemned in 1911 as denominational was in 1906 accepted as "non-sectarian" and admitted to "combine the best in the East and the West." Even the declaration that it would be "conducted on national lines by national agency" did not then savour of sedition. As a matter of fact, the *Pioneer*, which must have now rejoiced at the statutory inclusion of a large number of Europeans on the teaching staff of the proposed Moslem University, was then rather glad that the new Hindu University would, as a matter of course, dispense with all European co-operation, since otherwise some vexatious doubts might arise as to the just apportionment of praise for its successful inauguration and management," and that "Hindu influence would be supreme." In 1911 the *Pioneer* thought that "it is quite certain, we imagine, that Government will not allow any University to grow up which is not under adequate control, much less that it will recognise its degrees." But in 1906, in spite of the absence of European co-operation or of State control it had emphatically approved of "the most liberal constitution of this new centre of learning." As regards the prospects which in 1911 did not seem "particularly bright," it had said in 1906 that "it is a bold conception but financial difficulties will fade away before the generosity of the distinguished and wealthy members of the great Hindu community."

What the leading article of 6th January 1906 had not flatly contradicted has, however, now been contradicted by the editorial note on affiliation which we reproduced in a prominent portion of our last issue. For the lion now roars as gently as a sucking dove, and this hirling of the Services can find no other objection in "the ambitious schemes" of these denominational Universities but the practical objections pointed out by Sir Harcourt Butler. The Member for Education claims for the Government of India a "deep interest in the movement" which in the opinion of the *Pioneer* stood condemned less than a year ago. If, then, the promoters of the movement are disinclined to share the views of the Member for Education, the *Pioneer* may rest assured that it would convert nobody by feebly echoing his objections and softly cooing to the promoters of these Universities about their "thoughtful and evenly balanced minds."

Has the *Pioneer* forgotten the objections it raised to such Universities less than a year ago that it feels the necessity of hatching this cuckoo's egg of the objection to affiliation? Or is any stick good enough with which to beat the Mussalmans? Be that as it may, we would request the Allahabad *Thunderer* to rest assured that we shall not let it lie in peace. The "revealed truths" of other days shall be rescued from the oblivion to which it seems to have consigned them, in order to shame the devil. The very first objection to affiliation advanced by Sir Harcourt Butler and echoed by the *Pioneer* is that "a University with branches all over India would lead to competition and probable conflict with older territorial Universities." This is 1912. In 1906 the world was very different indeed, for wrote the *Pioneer*:—"We are persuaded that the scheme will excite no jealousy. Existing Universities can go on serenely, confident that the birth of a sister institution will enhance appreciation of their own work." People who are in the habit of contradicting themselves are not likely to leave the resources of crooked interpretation untapped, and the *Pioneer* would hardly scruple to explain away the advice to older territorial Universities to "go on serenely" by asserting that it never contemplated a University with the power of affiliation. We shall, however, prevent at least one terminological inexactitude in embryo if we cannot wipe away those of which the *Pioneer* is already delivered. If it turns to its glowing leader of 6th January 1906, it would find in line 19 and 20 of para. 2 a reference to the "noble University with branch colleges in many parts of India." Its establishment was to be the test of the capacity of the Hindu members of the National Congress to do constructive work. Let us contrast the words of 1906 with those of 1912. In 1906, "if the Hindu members of the National Congress establish a noble University with branch colleges in many parts of India, and govern it so wisely that it becomes a model for other seats of learning, they will do more than can be accomplished by many speeches to prove that they possess a considerable share of the creative and administrative qualities to which claims have been made." In 1912, however, "a university that would try to mother the whole country, or rather the students of a particular religion in every province, would set itself an impossible task." It is said that in the course of seven years every part of the human constitution is renewed and physiologically the person whose body undergoes this change is an altogether a new man. This would not certainly justify perjury after every seven years, but even if it did, the *Pioneer* may well have waited till the 6th January 1913 to contradict its statement about a "noble university with branch colleges in many parts of India."

The *Pioneer* wrote—less than seven years ago—that "indeed, it may be said that one of the chief features of the proposal is the challenge it gives to critics who assert that the Congress deals in words spiced a little with sedition and nothing more." If anything, it was the *Pioneer* itself that had often enough thrown down the gauntlet before Indians of all creeds and all schools of politics. Now that both the great communities and political parties of India have lifted up the gage, the valiant *Pioneer* comes hurrying on and says: "I had dropped my glove accidentally. Please return it to me if you have picked it up."

Egypt.

I.

Many a superficial critic of contemporary affairs has disposed of the Egyptian problem by setting it down as another "Riddle of the Sphinx." The simile may do credit to his sense of the word-usage, but it offers no guidance to a serious student of Egyptian affairs. Nor is the problem, in its salient features and general character, very difficult to understand. It is only one of the examples—a very pronounced and complicated one, no doubt—of how a country's destinies can be permanently affected for good or evil, when a confluence of circumstances sweeps it into the vortex of cosmopolitan finance tempered by imperialism. Egypt furnishes the best object-lesson of the truth of the inexorable law of history that father's sins are visited on his children. The Khedive Ismael mortgaged the revenues of his country to the money-lenders of Europe and paved the way for the bondage of his people. The State verged

on bankruptcy, and in sheer alarm the creditors urged their respective governments to secure the payment of their bonds. The European control was imposed on the finances of Egypt; and in order to keep the country solvent and keep down anarchy and chaos, Great Britain undertook the duties of international police. The Khedive was in any circumstances to be kept on the throne lest an internal revolution might bring in a new order of things and a tyrannised and exasperated people might repudiate the engagements of a ruler who had recklessly squandered away national patrimony. The Financial Control tightened its grip by degrees and Great Britain assumed through her Agent and Consul-General the administration of Egyptian finance. How the sovereign authority of the Khedive declined and the government of the country passed virtually into the hands of the British Agent, assisted by a large staff of "advisers" and "inspectors", is a matter of recent history. The problem of Egypt was in its initial stages mainly financial. Modern finance is, however, a trusty handmaid of modern imperialism. British interference, ostensibly to help the Khedive against his rebel army, led to the military occupation of the country. The occupation has grown to be indefinite and, if some of the imperialists of England are to be believed, it is going to be permanent. The presence of British troops in the country against the wishes of the people and without any legal sanction, and the virtual exercise of sovereign power by the British Agent who possesses no *locus standi* from the point of view of international law or right, form the *crux* of the problem at the present time. The financial aspect of the situation has been completely overshadowed by the far-reaching moral and political issues that have come into existence during the past thirty years of British domination over Egyptian affairs. The problem is unique only in the sense that, from the political standpoint, it is a paradox. The legal status of the country is that of an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire governed by a hereditary Viceroy. Yet the province has been declared neutral when its Suzerain is at war with Italy and the Turkish officers are arrested and deported if they happen to be passing through the country on their way to the Tripolitan frontier. The Khedive is legally vested with absolute powers in the internal administration of the country. Yet the initiative of sovereignty has virtually passed into the hands of the British Agent and all important decisions on Egyptian affairs are taken by the British Foreign Office.

The strong agitation that is now going in the British Press for a large increase in the Army of Occupation, the methods of the masterful regime introduced by Lord Kitchener and the recent trial and heavy punishment of the men charged with plotting against the Khedive, the British Agent and the Prime Minister, have considerably increased the anxiety of those who have been watching the course of affairs in Egypt with abiding interest. The one outstanding fact of the recent Egyptian history is the growth in the activity and power of the British Consulate. Lord Cromer was a dictator of Egypt for more than a generation and brooked no interference in his ways. Nevertheless, he was careful to preserve old forms of authority and contented himself with pulling the strings from behind the scenes. But Lord Kitchener has dispensed with every outward form that preserved the *Amour propre* of the people, has relegated the Khedive to a passive rôle and himself stepped forth as the virtual ruler of the land. His triumphal progresses through the provinces, after the manner of a potentate, receiving State officials and waited upon by provincial notables and deputations of the people cannot be entirely innocent of design. The British Agency is emerging out of its status as an indirect, though powerful, influence behind the throne and is rapidly converting itself into a source of direct authority and power. Various other indications are abundantly forthcoming from other quarters which greatly strengthen the impression that the idea of evacuating Egypt has been definitely abandoned by the British Government. What visible legal form the Occupation may take in the near or distant future, it would be a futile speculation to forecast. It is enough for practical purposes to remember that the oft-repeated and solemn pledges of successive British Ministers of the last century have passed into the limbo of forgotten ideas, that the British hold on Egypt is daily strengthening, that the ideal of "Egypt for the Egyptians" is more than ever unthinkable to the British imperialist and that, profiting by the existing uncertainties of the European situation, an early attempt might be made to "regularise" the relations of Egypt with Great Britain. Frankly enough, the last contingency is based purely on our calculations of the supposed or real exigencies of the British Empire. At any rate, it must be frankly admitted that the British interest in Egypt is mainly governed by the imperial and diplomatic needs of England. It was never a purely philanthropic interest. To-day it has grown plainly and loudly "imperial." Yet, apart from the Egyptian national interest, the question has some weighty moral and legal aspects which it should not be entirely profitless to consider. The Cairo correspondent of the *Pioneer*, who passes his days in rapt adoration of Lord Kitchener as the modern Pharaoh, has a passage of refreshing candour about this question in his recent "Egyptian Notes." He says:—"We are strengthening our hold on Egypt: our weak protestations that we

should 'shortly evacuate,' are luckily things of the past; and now that a Liberal Government has on at least three occasions within the last two years either expressly or by inference disavowed that policy of sentimental hypocrisy, there is precious little fear of its ever being revived. If anything, this attitude of 'shortly leaving' has been in the main responsible for the political agitation in Egypt, for it encouraged Young Egypt to indulge in false hopes and to put faith in our protestations which were as insincere as they were impossible of realisation. The one unanimous view that Egypt takes to-day of the decision to create a torpedo station at Alexandria is that it spells good-by to all their hopes of release from the British yoke."

This plain unvarnished statement of the Imperialist attitude of to-day bears a strange contrast to the "sentimental hypocrisy" which is associated with some of the greatest names of recent British history. Immediately after Tel-el-Kebir, British statesmen of the day assured the world in solemn and unequivocal language, that the British force would be withdrawn from Egypt as soon as the internal peace was secured. In view of what is being preached now, and how the "protestations" of responsible British Ministers are being repudiated as "insincere," it would be worth while quoting textually some of the pledges given to Europe and the world about British intentions in Egypt. The quotations would be useful, if for the only reason that they would afford an interesting glimpse into a chapter of modern imperialism. The official pledges were made at different times and on different occasions and their number is legion. We only select the following as they are plain and emphatic in their import:—

"I, admiral commanding the British fleet, think it opportune to confirm without delay once more to your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention of making the conquest of Egypt, nor of injuring in any way the religion and liberties of the Egyptians. It has for its sole object to protect your Highness and the Egyptian people against rebels." (Sir Beauchamp Seymour to Khedive Tewfik, Alexandria, July 26, 1882, published in the Official Journal of July 28.)

"I can go so far as to answer the honourable gentleman when he asks me whether we contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt. Undoubtedly, of all things in the world, that is a thing which we are not going to do. It would be absolutely at variance with all the principles and views of H. M.'s Government, and the pledges they have given to Europe, and with the views, I may say, of Europe itself." (The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone in House of Commons, August 10, 1882.)

"You should intimate to the Egyptian Government that it is the desire of H. M.'s Government to withdraw the troops from Egypt as soon as circumstances permit, that such withdrawal will probably be effected from time to time as the security of the country will allow it, and that H. M.'s Government hope that the time will be very short during which the full number of the present force will be maintained." (Lord Granville, December 29, 1882; Egypt, No. 2 (1883) p. 33.)

"The very fact of our having endowed the country with representative institutions is a proof of our disinterestedness. It is the last thing we should have done had we desired to retain its Government in leading strings; for, however irresistible may be the control of a protecting Power when brought to bear on a feeble autocracy, its imperative character disappears in the presence of a popular assembly." (*Ibid.*, p. 83.)

"The uncertainty there may be in some portion of the public mind has reference to those desires which lead towards the permanent occupation of Egypt and its incorporation in this Empire. That is a consummation to which we are resolutely opposed, and which we will have nothing to do with bringing about. We are against this doctrine of annexation; and we are against everything that resembles or approaches it; and we are against all language that tends to bring about its expectation. We are against it on the ground of the interests of England; we are against it on the ground of our duty to Egypt; we are against it on the ground of the specific and solemn pledges given to the world in the most solemn manner and under the most critical circumstances, pledges which have earned for us the confidence of Europe at large during the course of difficult and delicate operations, and which, if one pledge can be more solemn and sacred than another, special sacredness in this case binds us to observe. We are also sensible that occupation prolonged beyond a certain point may tend to annexation, and consequently it is our object to take the greatest care that the occupation does not gradually take a permanent character. . . . We cannot name a day, and do not undertake to name a day, for our final withdrawal, but no effort shall be wanting on our part to bring about that withdrawal as early as possible. The conditions which will enable us to withdraw are those described by Lord Granville—restored order in the state of the country and the organisation of the proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority. . . . The Right Honourable gentleman (Sir S. Northcote) has treated us as if we intend to stay in Egypt until we had brought about institutions which would do credit to Utopia. We have no such views. . . . In popular language we mean to give Egypt a fair start, and if we secure its order, supply a civil and military force adequate to the maintenance of order and with a man on the throne in whose benevolence and justice we have confidence, with institutions for the administration of justice under enlightened supervision and in fairly competent hands—if we have made a reasonable beginning towards legislative institutions into which is incorporated some seed of freedom our duty may be supposed to be complete." (Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, August 9, 1883.)

"From the first we have steadily kept in view the fact that our occupation was temporary and provisional only. . . . We do not propose to occupy Egypt permanently. . . . On that point we are pledged to this country

and pledged to Europe; and if a contrary policy is adopted it will not be by us." (Lord Derby in the House of Lords, February 26, 1885.)

"It was not open to us to assume the protectorate of Egypt, because H. M.'s Government have again and again pledged themselves that they would not do so. . . . My noble friend has dwelt upon that pledge, and he does us no more than justice when he expresses his opinion that it is a pledge which has been constantly present to our minds. . . . It was undoubtedly the fact that our presence in Egypt, unrecognised by any convention, . . . gave the subjects of the Sultan cause for a suspicion which we did not deserve." (Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, June 10, 1887.)

After reading these extracts no doubt is left in the mind as to the character that British occupation was intended to assume in its early history. No language could be more emphatic in meaning and more transparent in intention. It was, however, left for a Liberal Secretary of State of to-day to almost repudiate in so many words the spirit of the declarations in which his predecessors had pledged the honour and good faith of England. Sir Edward Grey has defined the attitude of the present Liberal Government to the Egyptian question in the following words:—

It was the policy of H. M.'s Government to maintain our occupation of Egypt, because we cannot abandon without disgrace our responsibilities which have grown up around us.

It is now plain, even to the meanest understanding, that a change has come over the temper of the ruling classes of Great Britain, and Egypt is being held, not as a trust to be discharged, but as a dependency to be governed. Scores of writers and politicians have sprung up who have discovered the supreme importance of Egypt in the scheme of British imperialism. The "responsibilities" which Sir Edward Grey cannot abandon without "disgrace" must be very weighty, indeed, when they can justify the successors of Gladstone to override all moral considerations and political engagements, which he held so sacred and binding. If Sir Edward Grey refers to the "responsibilities" that constitute the political axioms of latter-day imperialists we can understand what he means without admiring his Liberalism and we can have little reason for surprise. Foreign occupation of a weak country has never been justified on any other ground than that it is useful and beneficial for that country. We have often heard of the benefits of the British occupation of Egypt, of the growth of material prosperity in the land, of the honest and successful administration of its finances, of the duty of managing the affairs of the Egyptians who are incapable of understanding their own interests, of the dangers of the country relapsing into chaos in the event of evacuation, and of the need of Egypt to be governed by some benevolent despot as the Orientals generally are unfit for self-government. All these questions constitute a text apart, and we intend to deal with them or rather with the results of the British Occupation in Egypt in our next. We may only remark here that a plainer method would be more appropriate and surely more effective if it is necessary to convert Egypt into a British dependency. The Egyptian problem does not now stand alone. It has become a part of the general problem that Sir Edward Grey has created for Europe. In his game of counterpoises and manœuvring on the diplomatic chess-board, Egypt has become a useful pawn.

British diplomacy, under the influence of a few masterful officials of the British Foreign Office and a number of scare-mongers of the British Press, is rapidly changing its centre of gravity. The Tueton, armed to the teeth and driven by an imperious economic necessity, is casting about for "places in the sun." This is the one fact of the situation. Diplomacy, in search for "balances" and "equilibriums," is revolving round this central reality. Methods have passed into ideals and instruments are being cherished and perfected for their own sake—such is the mad obsession that has turned the diplomatist into an artist. The materials that he spends his life in moulding into finished products as treaties, alliances and conventions, are the elfin shapes that come to birth in the region of high diplomacy when diplomacy becomes a pure art. Every profession tends to become a close corporation, and the diplomatic corps of a great European Power lives in a world of its own creation to-day. It is a machine run by the specialist, who would rather wipe a country out of existence than suffer any change in the mechanism of his theory and logic of international relations. As a creature of flesh and blood, he tries to see the direction in which the world is moving. Deep in the shadows of his profession, he begins to take the direction for granted and sets about to make sure that the world does not move away on a different course. Egypt is in the vortex of this diplomacy and its fate will be decided, it may be, by some obscure pressman who is clever enough to make the "German bogey" raise its head in the Valley of the Nile. The military "expert" who thinks Egypt necessary for his scheme of Imperial defence, the cotton syndicates and the financiers who are interested in the country's "development," the "Imperialist" who talks of "civilization" and thinks it a "disgrace" to take the "whiteman's burden" off his Herculean shoulders, and, above all, the diplomatist who bases his calculations of the future on the wisdom of these compatriots of his, have declared Egypt to be an indispensable factor for the safety of the British Empire and the imperial glory of the British race.

CORRESPONDENCE



Visitors to Delhi Mosque.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

DEAR SIR,—Referring to your comments on page 29 of the issue of your widely circulated paper of the 13th July 1912 on a letter of one of your South African (born Indian) correspondents, by name Mr. Husain Davood, expressing his sorrow and disappointment with the Muslims of Hindustan and complaining of the want of religious zeal amongst them by referring to the fact of his having seen, on the 30th June 1912, a European lady and gentleman walking about in the courtyard of the Jama Musjid, Delhi, with their boots on, I wish to say that the said correspondent, while speaking generally of the apathy of the Mussalmans to their religious duties, expects the Imam of the Musjid to put up a few notices asking visitors to take off their boots at the entrance. And you, while upholding the remarks of your correspondent, think that if the Committee in charge of the mosque realized their duty, framed necessary rules in this behalf, and enforced strict observance thereof, no visitors, European or Indian, will deliberately go out of their way to give offence to the Mussalmans. I beg to point out that it is no fault of your correspondent or yourself to be unaware of the circumstances and conditions under which the use of the said mosque was allowed to the Muhammadans of Delhi. The fact is that the management of the mosque is entrusted to a body of Muhammadan gentlemen subject to the orders of Government and there do exist rules and standing orders in connection with the management which are duly observed. I admit that the practice referred to by your correspondent is sorely touching to the feelings of all the Mussalmans, but you know that at the time of the Restoration of the mosque the Government did not allow them to bid European visitors to the necessity of taking off their boots or shoes at the entrance of this holy but historical mosque evidently for the reason that great inconvenience might be caused to the said visitors in having to bare their feet. Accordingly this violation of the sanctity of the mosque, though offensive to the generality of the Moslems was suffered to continue. The Mussalmans generally, and the Managing Committee of the mosque specially, ever since the Restoration, have been fully alive to the necessity of having the said practice discontinued; but they have not yet fully succeeded and I may tell you that the Managing Committee, strongly prompted by their own religious susceptibilities and those of their co-religionists, made strenuous efforts in representing the matter to the notice of the Government of India during the Viceroyalty of His Excellency Lord Curzon, and succeeded so far as to have the conditions of Restoration altered, so that European visitors are now asked either to take off their boots or put on the boot coverings when entering the marble quadrangle termed "Jammat Khana" by your correspondent. It is surely admitted on all hands that the Courtyard is as sacred in the eye of the Moslems as any other space inside the mosque, and your idea of inviting the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy with due deference to the feelings of Islam is surely laudable. But I see that you are not justified in your remarks about the indifference to the matter of the members of the Managing Committee of Jama Musjid, Delhi, whose work in the cause of Islam generally, and in the interests of the mosque, in question specially, has never given cause for any complaint, and who are as mindful of the feelings of their co-religionists as all true Mussalmans should be. Had the Managing Committee of the mosque been neglecting any of their legitimate duties the Mussalmans of Delhi must have first of all raised a cry against them. But as they know that the interests of the mosque are carefully watched they are quite satisfied with their work.

Under the circumstances I hope you will do justice to the endeavours of the Mosque Committee by changing the view held by you.

MD. SARDAR BAHADUR.

KATRA DINA BEG KHAN,
LALKUA,
Delhi, 17th August.

Lord Kitchener and His Friends.

LORD KITCHENER has certainly been unfortunate in the friends who have undertaken the duty of advertising his recent Egyptian work. Lord Cromer used to do that part of his diplomatic business for himself, but the new British Agent, gifted with a less attractive pen, has been obliged to leave the task of praising himself to others: and they have made, it would seem, a sad mess of it.

To say nothing of Mr. Garvin, who with somewhat wild headlines, for us most afternoons in the *Pall Mall Gazette* the Field Marshal's Viceregal progresses through Lower and Upper Egypt, we have had two articles of a more seriously inspired character in the pages of *The Fortnightly Review*, and these have been a cause of trouble. To the first was given the exceptional honour of anonymity. It consisted of a laudatory and highly coloured picture of Lord Kitchener's inner thoughts and plans for Egypt, which had every appearance of being derived from Lord Kitchener's entourage, if not from himself. It let us into the secret of the great soldier's appointment to Cairo last summer, representing it as, what it doubtless was, a military precaution forced on the Government in view of the impending raid on Tripoli. Lord Kitchener's prime business, it was explained, had been to keep Egypt neutral during the coming war, to prevent that country from being made a base of military operations by Turkey or any assistance from being given by the native government and people adverse to the Italian plans. In this difficult task the new Agent had been entirely successful, not by mere military force, but still more by an astute diplomacy. While pretending to be sympathetic with Turkey, whom our Government was unwilling to quarrel with, he had been able, by a series of dexterous moves, light hints, and covert threats, to discourage Egyptian patriotism and hinder its more dangerous manifestations; the full weight of his open severity he had reserved for those presumptuous organs of the Egyptian press who were for helping their co-religionists in the war, and for the Nationalist leaders, whom he had successfully prosecuted, imprisoned, and driven into exile. Lord Kitchener had thus rendered a notable service to his Government and to Italy, where, by the way, he is just now being entertained with banquets and demonstrations of gratitude as an acknowledged friend. It was an alluring picture of a strong military personality, endowed with gifts of the most subtle as well as the most strenuous kind, and addressed to Englishmen, it obtained its full object of popularising an already popular hero.

Unfortunately, however, there was another public to be counted with, besides the public at home. The article, reproduced at Cairo and Constantinople, became the cause of unexpected embarrassment. The candour of the writer had been largely overdone; he had repeated words and phrases wounding to Muhammadan ears and diplomatically incorrect. Lord Kitchener had been represented as expressing a hope that it might fall to his official lot to be entrusted with the eventual annexation of Egypt, and this, though it was a sentiment nine Englishmen out of ten were ready to applaud, proved more than Sir Edward Grey, sound Imperialist though he was, was as yet prepared to endorse. Lord Kitchener was obliged to repudiate his admirer's article as all inspired by him.

To-day in the July number of the same *Fortnightly Review* we have another friend and admirer also affecting intimacy with the Field Marshal's inner thoughts, who has given us the benefit of his still better knowledge, correcting and reproving his fellow panegyrist and drawing a picture altogether different of their common hero. Sir George Arthur scoffs in his articles at the notion that military considerations played any part in Lord Kitchener's appointment to Egypt, or that they had since been his chief pre-occupation there. Still more he scoffs at the wider views of Imperialist ambition attributed to him by the anonymous friend. On the contrary, Lord Kitchener, he tells us, is the most "correct" of diplomats, one who would never venture to give expression to any unauthorised opinion in international politics. In his real heart the conqueror of Omdurman is less soldier than administrator, less politician than philanthropist, and the love he bears to Egypt is one of an altruistic kind, for only doing good. He has no ambition but to make the fellah happy, and, if he has used a certain military rigour in putting down the "pestilential publications of the native press," it has been solely in order to wean the Egyptians from politics they do not understand, to agriculture at which they are experts, and to a calm consideration of practical reforms—a homely, unambitious aim, and one worthy of a member of that glorious band of Englishmen—and not the least of British soldiers—who are running our Eastern Empire on the lines of the "White Man's Burden."

I should not venture to intrude myself in the domestic quarrel thus raised between Lord Kitchener's two admirers, were it not that Sir George Arthur goes out of his way to attack me while attacking the other, as being in some way connected with the trouble. He reproaches me because, in a letter I recently wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* about Lord Kitchener's press prosecutions, I omitted any word of praise for his hero's philanthropic schemes and high moral standpoint. These, when I wrote my letter, had not been officially announced, and my subject was not these, but the demoralising influence on Egypt by his elimination of the honest and more patriotic elements in the native ministry, and by a violent straining of the law in order to secure political convictions. I had commented also on Lord Kitchener's exaggeration of his political rôle in Egypt and assumption of an authority there not properly his own. I do not hope to make a convert of Sir George Arthur, but I will try to explain to him what our English international position in Egypt really is. He, in common with most military Englishmen, evidently imagines that Egypt is already a British Dependency, and that the fact of our having so long maintained a British garrison at Cairo has given us a legal title to possession which cannot be challenged without eccentricity. He speaks of me on this head as *bizarre*, and of my opinions on Egyptian matters as neither "sane, nor competent, nor candid." If he will take the trouble, however, to examine the case with any care, he will find that it is his, not my position that is in contradiction with realities.

Not only are we English without any title to Egypt in international law, but it is exceedingly improbable that, in the ultimate settlement of the Near East, Egypt will become permanently ours. Egypt—I do not speak of the Soudan—is a Mediterranean province, and will follow Mediterranean fortunes. We have not even such prospective claim to it as a local English Colony would give, and in the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, should such a misfortune happen, it is not we whose title would be the best as heirs. The foreign population established on the littoral is Greek, Italian, French, anything you will, except English. English rule may be better than the rule of these—I do not say the contrary—but we are withdrawing our fleet already from the Mediterranean, where we have no Colonial settlements, and Egypt will sooner or later have to follow suit and be withdrawn from. If, therefore, a philanthropic regard for the native Nile population is to be our guide—and Sir George's defence of Lord Kitchener's policy is an appeal to philanthropy—our duty clearly is, not to treat the fellah as an interesting subject for experiments in fatherly English administration, which can at best be only temporary, but as a free man who must be encouraged to think and act before long for himself. Education in self-government is his only protection against the terrible fate of being merged in the general gulf of European demoralisation which has overwhelmed the other Muhammadan populations of North Africa. It cannot be either wise or kind to keep the Egyptians in close leading strings, to forbid them to think on any political subject, and to insist that they should occupy themselves with nothing but the cultivation of their fields, a coddling policy which would leave them unarmed and helpless to such tender mercies as the French have shown to the Muhammadan fellahin in Algeria and the Italians to those in Tripoli. Either European Power if it got possession of the Nile, would rob the fellah of his land altogether, and replace him with a foreign colonial scum imported from Europe.

This consideration of the political situation is in itself a sufficient answer to Sir George Arthur's attack on me. But, as he challenges me on wider ground, that of what he calls the "moralities," I am glad to meet him on it and discuss with him the case of practical philanthropy. I beg him to believe that I am not so incompetent an authority on the subject as he supposes. It is one, on the contrary, which has occupied my best attention for close on forty years. During thirty I have been a landowner in the Delta and have thus acquired some practical knowledge of what the fellah needs and, I may add, of what he is likely to gain from English philanthropic experiments. I have witnessed a whole series of such experiments from the time of the Dual Control downwards, watching their rare success with pleasure, their more frequent failure with sorrow, and occasionally even suggesting ideas myself to the authorities. Some of the schemes announced to-day as due to Lord Kitchener's initiative I recognise, as having been in the minds of native reformers as long ago as in Arabi's time. Thus, I think I could prove to Sir George Arthur, if he would allow me, that I brought before Lord Cromer in 1883 the case of recovery at law, and advocated precisely Lord Kitchener's remedy for the debts of the fellahin. Lord Cromer entirely agreed with me at the time, and said that it should be a first object of his care. Yet twenty-nine years have passed since then, and nothing whatever has come of it. I shall not grudge my praise to-day, if Lord Kitchener succeeds in driving this matter through; but it is too much to ask me to throw up my cap all at once for a scheme which is still in embryo. I notice that, at this very moment of my writing, it is announced in the Egyptian papers that, under pressure of a moneylender's deputation, Lord Kitchener has been obliged, since his report was printed, to abandon half his proposed remedy. The scheme, which was to have

included five-acre holdings, is to be limited now to those of two and a half; also I see all mention omitted of what is an absolute necessity of the case if it is to give any immediate relief, that the indebted fellah should be started with a clean financial slate. Without it greater ruin may result.

Again, on another question of morality, I think I could show Sir George Arthur that in the year 1893, being prayed by the villagers around me, Moslems to a man, to prevent the establishment of drink shops among them in connection with a railway about to be opened, I took their petition to Lord Cromer, and, as before, obtained his hearty sympathy, but with an equally futile result. The Egyptian Prime Minister of the day happened to be a somewhat "fanatical" Muhammadan, and there was no difficulty at all with him. Nothing lay nearer his heart than to prevent scandals of village drunkenness. It was not his fault, but the English Agency's, which trifled with the case and raised difficulties on the ordinary excuse of being obliged to respect the capitulations. I pointed out in vain to Lord Cromer that, the offenders being Greeks, the thing could be put through by simple police regulations, and that it was ridiculous to suppose that the Hellenic Government would go to war to enforce the right of their subjects to demoralise these villagers. Lord Cromer, however, was bent at the time on making up a general case against the capitulations which interfered with him in other ways, and he preferred to let the drink matter go on and accumulate as stronger evidence for their abolition.

It has been the same all along in Egypt with other immoralities. I wonder whether Sir George Arthur has read the latest book on Egyptian affairs, *To-day in Egypt*. Its author, Mr. Alfred Cunningham, is as devoted an admirer of Lord Kitchener as Sir George is himself, and as advanced a British Imperialist, yet this is his description of what Cairo has become under our thirty years' management of its affairs. I quote with reluctance a few paragraphs, omitting the most realistic passages:—

"If ever," Mr. Cunningham writes, "a city deserved the name of Modern Babylon it is Cairo; in fact, it is questionable whether Cairo in the light of twentieth century civilisation is not infinitely worse than the ancient city referred to. To one who has seen most capitals of the world, new and old, and many other cities which have an unsavoury notoriety, there is none to compare with Cairo in the degradation, vice, and depravity which are permitted to exist and flourish, even in the very midst of the city under the very nose of the authorities, who make no attempt in the name of morality and decency to check these evils. . . . At the south-eastern end of the public gardens is what is popularly known as the Fish Market. The greater part of this district is given up to grog shops, cheap cafes, low class music-halls, and brothels; and such brothels! . . . Check by jowl with these scores of flaming foreign hells, full of their gaudily dressed occupants soliciting from every window of the thronged streets below, is the quarter where the native prostitutes dwell, and even this quarter has been invaded by the more degraded of their European sisters. Their dwellings are hovels of the vilest description. . . . Dirt, vermin, vice, in their most loathsome forms, are here; and these animal dens with their fearful occupants, are under police supervision! Here every form of immorality is practised. . . . This suppurating moral cancer is permitted to exist and spread every form of loathsome disease not only through Egypt, but even to the Soudan. The evidence of every medical man who has practised in Egypt and served in the Soudan will confirm this. It is perhaps undesirable for numerous reasons that Great Britain as the tutelary power should seek to impose upon Egypt its own peculiar legislation with regard to the control of vice of this nature. . . . but it is impossible to believe that if the British Adviser, backed by the British and other communities, suggested a measure for the purification of this district, he could not but be successful. . . . It is begging a most important if distasteful question for the British Adviser to blind his eyes and wrap himself in his diplomatic mantle, saying it is not his business. If a few views of the 'Fish Market' in Cairo by night could be produced throughout Great Britain they would raise such a storm of disgust and indignation that the demolition of this quarter and the deportation of the bulk of its occupants would occur in a very short time, in spite of the indifference of the British Agent and the Egyptian Ministers, and the existence of the Capitulations. The whole thing is a blot upon our Administration in Egypt, and discreditable to the British religious bodies in Cairo who profess to ignore it. It is a disgrace which is felt keenly by all patriotic native Egyptians, for such a cancer comes upon them from without, and they alone are powerless to regulate or destroy it."

In quoting this passage—and I have left out the most terrible details—I would make the following remarks, and I beg Sir George Arthur to consider them from a philanthropic point of view. First, it is an absolute truth that the whole of this abomination is due to the British occupation. Though before the occupation there were immoral quarters in Cairo, they had all been swept away by Arabi's Revolution in 1882; the brothels, the drink shops, and the other public indecencies. It was against these leproses of Europe that the Revolution was largely directed.

We English re-established them after Tel-el-Kebir, and thereby are solely responsible, and they have flourished under our rule exceedingly. Secondly, I will remark that the writer, a strong admirer, as I have said, of the English occupation, testifies that the British Agent is indifferent to their existence: nor do I see improvement in this direction, however moderate, mentioned as being among Lord Kitchener's proposed reforms. It is likely enough that, as in Lord Cromer's time, the abominations are being allowed to continue as an accumulating case against the capitulations with a like political end in view, philanthropy notwithstanding. Thirdly, all this has been going on in Egypt proper for thirty years. Mr. Cunningham tells us the same horrors have been introduced by us more recently in the Soudan where the capitulations are not in force. I emphasise that refutation of the capitulation excuse. In the Soudan England is all powerful, the country is under military administration, and for its conquest and occupation by our troops Lord Kitchener himself is the person more than any other responsible. Is it possible that Lord Kitchener as a soldier considers these things to be a military necessity outside the action of his philanthropy? Or, as I myself think, is not this the invariable and unavoidable result of substituting Christian for Moslem rule in Muhammadan lands?

To go on to other and cleaner matters, let us see what Lord Kitchener is actually doing at this moment for the provinces. All the telegrams tell us that he is constructing motor roads. In this he overrides every consideration of expense, and will brook not a day's delay; here, I suspect, we have his real preoccupation far more truly indicated than by what Sir George Arthur ascribes to him. These broad highways of European civilisation, whatever else they may effect, will certainly not be to the fellah's moral elevation; they will be to him like that other "broad road" which we are told "leadeth to destruction." They will spread the moral diseases of the capital where they are taken. It is hardly pretended that they will add to his material good, though they will be built at his expense. In their lighter aspects they will attract European tourists; in their more serious they will be a convenience to Lord Kitchener on his tours of inspection; but we may be quite sure that to his military mind their overwhelming reason for immediate building is the military one of increasing the British Army's mobility and strength. We may put them aside altogether in speaking of philanthropy. Of his other schemes in project or begun we have, of course, the great drainage works which are to cost five millions sterling. These he has insisted on inaugurating with much pomp in person, and it is claimed for him as a great proof of his care for fellah interests.

What, however, is the history of this notable and costly enterprise? I will give it in a few words. Lord Cromer in the early days of his administration followed lines in Egypt economically sound. He was adverse to every kind of speculation, he denied himself short cuts to wealth, he would have nothing to do with mines or industrial enterprises, and he limited his interference with the ancient agricultural ways of the fellah to a better distribution of the existing water-supply, a less burdensome collection of the land tax, and an abolition of the *corvées* levied irregularly by the rich upon the poor. Above all, he discouraged the excessive growth of cotton, preferring to that speculative and exhausting crop, the production of a larger food supply. If he had remained content with this wholesome moderation and had paid off little by little the public debt, he would have indeed earned the fellah's gratitude, and laid the foundations of a really prosperous agricultural State. Unfortunately, he yielded to influences stronger than he could contend with; in the later years of his proconsulship he launched agricultural Egypt on a showier and less certain line of economy. In order to increase the revenue and pay for the conquest of the Soudan, and also in order to satisfy Manchester's demand for Egyptian cotton, the Assouan dam was designed and built, with other costly experiments of irrigation which have transformed good Father Nile to his more glory but less advantage. Much official credit was to be won by this, and much English profit. In vain the native Press protested; it doubted the experimental figures, it doubted the engineering wisdom, it doubted the economical results. Native opinion was not listened to, and English pressure prevailed. The outcome of the experiment has been in three ways destructive of the fellah's well being. It has turned Lower Egypt from being a corn-producing country into a vast cotton field, where the few rich have made themselves richer and the many poor have been brought to greater poverty. All Lower Egypt is now an appendage of Manchester; for the first time in her six thousand years of labour, foodstuffs are being imported into the country. The price of living has been raised fourfold over what I knew it first, while the rate of wages is little higher than it was. The landless poor are in an unhappy plight. Secondly, and most disastrously, it has changed the landed fellah's laborious hoarding habit into one of speculation; he is alternately well off and in poverty, and is consequently more hopelessly than ever in debt. Nor is this all the evil. It has been discovered that the native Press was right. The English engineers had miscalculated their business grossly; they had supplied abundant additional water, but they had made no provision for its being drained away; all the lower lands of the Delta were becoming

water-logged, the land was poisoned with salty infiltrations, the cotton crop was becoming deteriorated in quality, and was, moreover, a prey to the cotton worm. I think it was Sir William Willcox, who first declared some years ago that it would need an immediate expenditure of another £7,000,000 to undo the evil done and restore the injured lands to their ancient fertility. Manchester became alarmed at this, and the drainage works are the result.

Of course, I am very glad to see Lord Kitchener undertaking this job which has been long overdue; I should, however, be better pleased if instead of putting himself forward as the representative of England in bestowing a generous gift on Egypt, he had taken the more modest line of treating the matter as an act of reparation for an error and a wrong. I do not doubt Lord Kitchener's sincerity in desiring to see the low lands of the Delta once more prosperous, but I demur at treating it or his energy in the destruction of the cotton worm as pure philanthropy. I see the Manchester mill chimneys too clearly in the background.

There is only one thing else for me to allude to in Sir George Arthur's article. He tells us Lord Kitchener on his personal initiative is taking up the case of how to check infantile mortality in the villages. With this I should like to sympathise unreservedly; but I am something of a eugenicist, and am a little suspicious, not of the philanthropy, but of the ultimate result of good. There are some few evils in the fellah's life which can be doubtless mitigated by medical treatment. Ophthalmia is one of them, and medical aid on that point can be of certain use without the danger of any corresponding evil. But to submit the villagers to a general course of doctoring and hygienic treatment is a somewhat perilous experiment, whoever undertakes it. Looked at broadly, we find the Egyptian fellah living under insanitary conditions the same as he has had to face during all the thousands of years of his dwelling on the Nile. Yet in spite of these he is robust and vigorous; he is long-lived and exceedingly prolific; he increases in spite of every seeming disadvantage. It is quite certain that he dislikes and fears the sanitary regulations imposed on him by modern science; he generally manages to escape from them. I cannot help suspecting he may be right. How if it should happen that Lord Kitchener, or, let us say, the wisest medical opinion in England, should be doing him an unconscious wrong and impairing his racial vitality.

But I will say no more. The real point of disagreement between me and Sir George Arthur is probably this: he believes in the advantage of what is called European civilisation, especially English civilisation, for the Muhammadan world; I do not. It may have the best intentions, but it does only harm. I believe the worst Muhammadan misgovernment to be a lesser moral corruption for a Muhammadan people than the best Christian rule. We English have a duty of reparation to the Egyptians. We destroyed their fighting strength at Tel-el-Kebir for an Imperial interest of our own, and we owe it to them, to make them once more a nation capable of self-defence in provision for the day of our departure. Our immediate moral duty should be to transfer our own military guardianship to that of the Sultan's troops, make terms for the Egyptians with Europe and withdraw with the least possible delay.—WILFRED SCAWEN BLUNT, in *The Fortnightly Review*.



Anecdote.

JONATHAN SWIFT, the Dean Swift so well known to fame, dearly loved a joke, and constantly inflicted them on his friends and servants. Sometimes they were kindly enough, and sometimes quite the reverse. In "Martha, Lady Giffard," Julia G. Lange gives an amusing example of the former kind.

Once when the dean was travelling in Ireland he found himself obliged to stay the night at a wayside inn. In the morning, when his servant brought him his boots, he saw that they had not been cleaned: he asked why.

"I thought, sir, as you were going to ride, that they would soon be dirty again."

"Oh!" said his master. "Very well; go and see to the horses." The man obeyed, and in the meantime the dean ordered the landlord not to give his servant any breakfast. When the man returned his master told him to bring the horses round.

"But, sir," remonstrated the man, "I have not yet had my breakfast."

"Oh, that is no matter," replied the dean, cheerfully. "We will start on our journey, for it is certain that if you were to have your breakfast you would soon be hungry again." And he took him breakfastless away. We may suppose that he never again neglected to clean his master's boots when on a journey.

The Moslem University.

"The University of Aligarh."

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MUHAMMADAN COMMUNITY.

No ONE can be surprised at your keen disappointment at the recently announced decisions of the Government regarding the constitution of your proposed University. But some of us who wish you nothing but well, are surprised that you had not seen before that this disappointment was in store for you. The letter of the Sub-Committee of the Constitution Committee to Sir Harcourt Butler shows, however, that your leaders are at last fully alive to the fact that the scheme of the Muhammadan University is in danger of breaking down altogether, and it is high time that you, the Community as a whole, should realise that the University you have dreamt of can never be yours. For these decisions, declared to be irrevocable, rob the scheme of all those features which roused your enthusiasm and obtained your practical support.

What was the ideal you had before you? An All-India Muhammadan University; a University that should be the centre of culture and education for the Indian Muhammadan world; a University in which the intellectual and religious ideas most precious to you as a Community should find their free scope and their highest expression; a University that, in its universality, its true learning and its Muhammadan atmosphere, might perhaps in time, revive the glories of Cordova and Seville, of Bagdad and Cairo.

This was your dream. But what must now be the reality? Simply Aligarh College, somewhat enlarged and dignified with a new (and empty) title; Aligarh College shorn of its comparative freedom and bound with the red tape of a Government Department; the "University of Aligarh" (save the mark)—local, small, fettered, "cribbed, cabined and confined."

For it is to this that these decisions will reduce your ideal. What was to be "The Muhammadan University," is now to be only the "University of Aligarh;" what was to be a University for All-India, is to be confined to one small place and forbidden to affiliate other Colleges in other parts of the country; what was, above all, to be a University whose special aim should be the free development of Education on Muhammadan lines and according to Muhammadan ideals, is simply to be another Government University, under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council, which, of course, means the Minister of Education and the Education Department. Don't you see that if you go on with the scheme in its present altered shape you will simply be providing the Government with yet another Government University, entirely at your own expense? If you care to do this, of course it will be very kind of you; but it will scarcely be what you first intended to do. Is this to be the result of all your enthusiasm, toil and sacrifice?

It is not for me to criticise the motives of the Government in this matter. No doubt they are sincere in their desire to secure the efficiency of the education provided by your University and in their distrust of your ability to manage a University of your own, without their paternal supervision and control. They are probably sceptical of your organising capacity, and possibly think that some day such an independent centre of intellectual activity might become a centre for voicing inconvenient political opinions. Perhaps they are right! But why did they not tell you so from the very first? It would have been kinder and more straightforward if, when you first approached them two years ago, the Government had told you, with English frankness, that they did not like your scheme and would never sanction it except under the conditions which they are now, in a belated and piecemeal fashion, laying down. But they professed to smile upon your plan and applaud your enthusiasm; and the only condition they imposed then was the practical one that you should first provide the necessary funds. I wonder if they calculated on your proverbial impulsiveness (forgive me), and thought that, long before the necessary thirty-five lakhs had been realised, you would have grown weary of your toy, and would be attracted by another? To your honour, however, you have not grown weary; but with an enthusiasm and self-sacrifice that has surprised and delighted your English well-wishers (and they are many), you have practically raised the money and fulfilled the Government condition. And now, when you come asking for the final granting of your Charter, you find these new and unexpected conditions imposed, which are well calculated to rob you of the result of all your toil. Yes, and you are given to understand that these impossible conditions are not all; more of the same kind are on the way; so that the more you yield, the more you will have to yield. It is the fable of Hercules and King Eurystheus over again; every "labour" Hercules accomplishes simply means another more difficult one imposed.

You can now have no doubt as to what is the real attitude of the Government to your University. You may protest against these alterations in its constitution; but it is no use. The decisions, as Sir Harcourt Butler tells you, are final and irrevocable. If you still go on, and allow this travesty of your ideal to be established, you will find still more formidable difficulties ahead. Will the "University of Aligarh" be allowed, think you, to compete with the existing Government Universities successfully? The Aligarh degrees may be excellent; but will they have the same "Open Sesame" magic in rolling back the doors of Government employment to their possessors as the degrees of Calcutta and Allahabad and Bombay? If the Government, in filling a vacant post, has to decide between two men, otherwise equal, one of whom holds an Aligarh degree and the other a degree from a Government University, will it not be tempted to give the preference to the latter? I am afraid the majority of Indian students look on degrees simply as keys to Government Service; and when they (and their fathers) discover that the Aligarh key does not open the lock as quickly and surely as the Government University key, I fear that their patriotic loyalty to their own University will not be strong enough to hold them to it. Your sons will fight shy of their own University as being an inferior road to Government employment, and then, where will your University be?

You have reached a crisis; and, before it is too late, you must pause and consider seriously whether, in view of all these facts, it is worth while going on with the scheme. Nay: you must consider whether it is *right* to go on. Those of you who have given the money, did not give for *this*; and your donors have a right to say: "Either use our money for the purpose for which we gave it, or give it back to us to be used more wisely in our own localities."

Why should Muhammadans in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Lahore give money, badly needed for local educational work, simply to enlarge a single College in the United Provinces and bring it more completely under Government control?

If you will be wise, you can still turn your disappointment into a lasting benefit instead of allowing it to become a lasting regret. Thirty-five lakhs of rupees is a large sum, but Muhammadan Education is backward enough to need it all. Some of your best friends, even from the first, were doubtful whether the formation of even such a University as you desired was the very wisest way in which to spend such a sum of money to advance Muhammadan Education.

With your Primary and Secondary Education so weak, to begin with, a University seemed like trying to build a pyramid from the apex. Now you have a chance of retrieving what some of us felt was a mistake. You can now honourably abandon your University scheme altogether. No one can accuse you of cowardice or fickleness. You have done splendidly and shown a courage and determination beyond praise. It is not now *your* fault that what you strove for cannot be realised. What the Government offers you now is *not* your scheme; and you would show cowardice and inconsistency, indeed, if you accepted it. You are now perfectly free to say that, rather than spend this money in establishing what you do not want, you will give up the University idea altogether, and, with the consent of the donors, devote the money to the same objects (*viz.*, the improvement of Muhammadan Education), but in a different way. Let this money be formed into a great Muhammadan Educational Fund, to be administered by a carefully appointed and representative Trust; and let it be devoted to building Islamia primary, secondary and high schools, and establishing Islamia Colleges, all over India, wherever they are needed most, and to improving the efficiency of those that already exist. Such solid work could be done in this way as would establish the education of the Muhammadan Community on a sound basis for all time.

If you do this, you may yet be thankful for this disappointment. This money was badly needed for your ordinary educational work; but, perhaps, it could never have been raised except in response to a romantic appeal. Now you have it, do not waste it on this mockery of your hopes. Use it to establish the Education of your children on a solid and lasting foundation, in some such way as I have suggested. Believe me, your best friends will honour you for having the moral courage to refuse to stultify yourselves, for the sake of a false consistency, by obstinately going on with a scheme that is in danger of becoming a laughingstock and a snare.

Yours sincerely,
AN ENGLISH WELL-WISHER.

Press Opinions.

The "Statesman."

IT SEEMS clear that the Government of India have involved themselves in a most unfortunate quarrel with the Muhammadan Community who were already irritated by the course of

events in Persia and in Europe, and by the reversal of the Partition of Bengal. The present misunderstanding might have been avoided if the Government had from the first made up their mind what was to be their policy in relation to the proposed sectarian Universities. More than a year ago we pointed out that if funds were collected, and a propaganda carried on for the establishment of such Universities, the refusal of the Government at a later stage to grant a Charter on acceptable terms would provoke deep resentment. The Government, however, did not define their attitude. What they did was to state that they would allow a Muhammadan University at Aligarh and a Hindu University at Benares to be established, provided that a sufficient endowment fund were raised and that the constitution and curriculum were framed to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State. It seems probable that they did not at the time seriously consider what educational requirements it would be necessary to demand. They relied, and not without some reason, upon the likelihood that the sum needed for an endowment could not be raised. This somewhat cynical method of putting off the day of decision has, unluckily for the Government, proved illusory. To the surprise of everyone, the Muhammadans, though not a wealthy community, threw themselves into the movement with a zeal which compels admiration and subscribed towards the University which was to revive Muhammadan culture with a wonderful generosity and self-sacrifice. The undertaking became the supreme effort of a people who knew how much they had lost by backwardness in education and who were resolved to make good the deficiency. The enthusiasm displayed was prompted by two considerations. In the first place, the type of education evolved at Aligarh has won the confidence of the Muhammadan community all over India, and, as a consequence, there is a general desire that Muhammadan education everywhere should be shaped and inspired by the University in which the ideals of Aligarh are to be embodied. Hence, the appeal put forth in behalf of the proposed University laid stress on the fact that every locality would benefit by the movement, and it is a credible supposition that no small part of the list of subscriptions was contributed in the belief that Aligarh was to be a beneficent and active centre of Muhammadan education. In this way the funds accumulated until, in spite of all discouragements, the prescribed minimum of 30 lakhs was laboriously got together. Great care was taken to frame the constitution of the University in such a way as to anticipate and meet the objections to which the creation of a sectarian University naturally gives rise. Provision was made for external examiners to secure the maintenance of a high standard. Liberal powers were vested in the Viceroy, who was to be the Chancellor of the University. A large proportion of European professors was stipulated, and their tenure of office was duly safeguarded. When, therefore, the promoters of the University, with their cherished funds and their enlightened constitution came before the Government to claim a fulfilment of the promise made earlier, they had no great misgiving as to the issue. But their optimism was quickly disabused. It was laid down that no affiliation of schools or colleges to the University of Aligarh would be permitted. Further, the promoters were told that the Viceroy was not to be Chancellor and that the powers vested in him would be exercised by the Governor General in Council. And, to accentuate the disappointment even the name of a Muhammadan University was declared inadmissible. The refusal to allow the character of the University to be disclosed in its title was not perhaps a grave matter. Aligarh has a world-wide repute and the name speaks for itself. Presumably, moreover, some compromise could have been arrived at in regard to the powers vested in the Viceroy. It is manifestly unfair that the authority entrusted to the Viceroy personally should be passed over in its entirety to the Education Department. The difference between the Viceroy as an Englishman or Scotchman of rank and distinction and the Viceroy as an expression which signifies the Government of India is obvious. The one is unofficial, the other official; and the reluctance of the promoters of the University to pass from unofficial to official control is justifiable. But the crux of the situation is the question of affiliation. The funds have been gathered on the assumption that affiliation would be sanctioned, and there is already an outcry from nearly all India against devoting money subscribed for the common advantage to the glorification of a single favoured College. It is possible, therefore, that the refusal to grant affiliation may be the death-blow of the whole scheme. Some may suspect that the Government of India were throughout cognisant that with this weapon they could give the project a paralysing stroke. It is more probable, however, that the idea occurred to them after they had approved in principle the formation of a Muhammadan University. More mature reflection perhaps showed them that a University whose organisation would unite Muhammadans all over India might become a political force of undesirable strength and magnitude. Or the growing erudition of the Education Department may have brought to light the fact that the affiliation of external schools and colleges is inconsistent with the establishment of a teaching and residential University. In this view they are undoubtedly right, nor can there be any question that the type of University which India now requires is one in which the University can exercise a direct and effective control over the instruction and

daily life of the student. But, however justifiable may be the requirements of Government, the delay in making known the fundamental conditions which they intended to impose on the new University is inexcusable. It is difficult to see any way out of the tangle, and there is certainly no departure from the original scheme of the University which will not rouse strong resentment among Muhammadans throughout India.

The "Empire."

From everything that has come to our cognisance since we last wrote on the subject of the Government and the Mahomedan University we gather that the authorities are now face to face with another agitation which has at least as much the appearance of going on as the agitation against the partition of Bengal. The *Comrade* in its latest issue openly scoffs at the announcement that the decision of the Secretary of State must be taken as "final" and adds:—"Surely the Government knows that the Committee can recognise only one mandate, and that is the mandate of the entire Moslem community." These bold words are, we understand, being backed up by deeds. We learn from sources which we believe to be trustworthy, that a meeting of the Foundation Committee will be held at an early date to finally settle the attitude of the community upon the question. It is regarded as certain that the Committee will decline to accept the truncated scheme now put forward on behalf of the Government, and this refusal will be immediately followed up by the holding of protest meetings all over India and by the sending of a deputation to England.

In other words, the Mahomedans are about to take a leaf out of the book of the anti-partition agitation, and, judging from the aspect and demeanour of the leaders of the movement, they are even more confident of success. We are informed that there has been the utmost difficulty in holding back the community as a whole from demonstrating, and that the moment the signal is given the agitation will burst upon the country full grown. The advocates of the Mahomedan university have more than 30 lakhs in the Bank. A professor from Aligarh is now on his way to Burma to collect some more, and we are informed that it is proposed to use the interest on the thirty odd lakhs which have already been got together, partly to agitate in favour of the original scheme, and partly to begin the equipment of Aligarh so as to get it into a state of readiness against the time when, as the promoters fully believe will happen, the interdict is withdrawn, and Aligarh becomes the nucleus of a system of higher education which will embrace the whole of India. In short, the Mahomedans of India, led by most of the wealth and education in their ranks, are preparing to force the Government to reverse its final decision in the matter of their University.

We must confess the outlook does not strike us as altogether reassuring. Agitation symbolises unrest. Unrest tends to grow, and to attract to itself interests and aim which its original promoters did not contemplate. An agitation among Mahomedans has, moreover, always held graver potentialities than among Hindus, and it is impossible to ignore the influence which recent developments in the Near East have had upon the opinions and feelings of Indian Mussalmans. We do not profess to know enough about the science of education to be able to say whether the concession of a central Mahomedan university at Aligarh would conflict with the educational interests of India as a whole to such an extent as to warrant the Government in continuing to oppose it at all costs. But if, as seems probable, its opposition proceeds, not so much on educational as on political grounds, we venture to question its wisdom. Whether the growth of communal self-consciousness on the part of the Mahomedans is a thing to be deprecated or not, it is certain that that growth will not be retarded, but rather accelerated by the somewhat erratic opposition which is being offered to this particular scheme.

The "Tribune."

The spirited reply of the Constitution Committee of the Mahomedan University to the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler shows that that body has no intention of accepting the decision of the Secretary of State without protest and is fully prepared to voice Mahomedan feeling on the subject. The Committee takes exception to the restriction of the power of affiliation and to the power of the Chancellor being vested in the Governor-General in Council. It also requests that the naming of the University may be reconsidered. The names given to the two Universities are Hindu and Mahomedan Universities and there is no reason why the Government should change them into Benares and Aligarh Universities. The promise of a liberal Government grant has not effected the firmness of the Committee. It is curious that the Hindu University Committee has so far made no reply to the Education Member's letter. The Maharaja of Durbhunga is now himself an official and he cannot with propriety reply to Sir Harcourt Butler. The remarkable change that is noticeable is that the Hindus appear to be content to let the Mahomedans fight out their battle for them. Only a few years ago it was the other way about. The Mahomedans did not join the Congress

because they were aware that they would have their full share if any benefits resulted from the agitation of the Congress while they avoided being called agitators by refraining from joining the movement. When, however, the reforms were conceded they agitated for preferential treatment and succeeded in getting it. Since then they have been steadily feeling sure of their position and have lost no opportunity of asserting themselves. In deference to their protests Mr. Montagu had to withdraw the remarks he had made in the House of Commons about Pan-Islamism. On the present occasion they are right and the general Mahomedan feeling seems to be that rather than have a cribbed and confined Mahomedan University it will be preferable to have none at all.

The "Punjabee."

The refusal of the Government of India to permit the Aligarh University to affiliate mofussil colleges has, as we anticipated, created bitter disappointment. The *Comrade* discusses the situation in a four-column article and regards the Government of India *communiqué* as the "*Ukase of the Czarism*" which takes long "to cure the loyalists of their belief in the Government's kindly consideration." It is suggested this decision is due to the evil advice of Sir Theodore Morison, who in 1898, was favourable to the idea of affiliation. Our contemporary is surprised why Sir Theodore has changed his opinion in 1912 about the Moslems of India whom he knows pretty well. The *Comrade* says:—

"Not a single argument has been brought forward by the Secretary of State or the Government of India against the phalanx of reasons and yet a final decision has been arrived at. Are we not then justified in suspecting that the Government does not desire the spread of Aligarh Movement? If so, may we not ask what Aligarh has done to deserve this suspicion? It has not turned out Khudiram Boses and Kanhaialal Dutts. It has produced no Dhingra and no Savarkars. . . Its teaching has been a byword for loyalty and the conduct of some of its Governors has even savoured of subservience. More than a generation of India's 'patriots' has taunted it on the score of trying the sweet uses of flattery. Yet the Government honours patriots and humiliates the subject of their jibes. Such is the statesmanship of to-day and we shudder to think of the destination to which, in certain contingencies, it may lead the Mussalmans of India."

The last reference is a mysterious threat which taken along with the repetition of certain forgotten names may mean anything. But surely there is no room for so much bitterness and bad feeling merely because the power of affiliation is denied to Aligarh. It does not mean that the Benares University will be given what has been denied to Aligarh. And moreover between 1898 and 1912, even the loyal Moslems in India have changed a little. Sir Theodore Morison who knows them, ought to have reasons for considering that affiliation of mofussil colleges is now needless. In 1898 there was no Pan-Islamic movement in India and Mr. Amir Ali had not established the patent text: "Mussalman first, Indian afterwards." When an Arab was wounded in Tripoli the Dacca Moslem's body did not bleed. The cry of "down with Italy" did not produce distant reverberation in the plains of the Himalayas. All these have doubtless conjured up visions of political possibilities of Islam which even Sir Theodore Morison could not safely ignore. The Mahomedans thank their London leader, Mr. Amir Ali, for all this. The Hindus also suffer for this, but we are astonished that the *Comrade* does not see through it. It is apparent that the Indian Mahomedans must renounce Pan-Islamism before they can get all they want from the Indian Government.

The "Madras Times."

THE decision of the Secretary of State, that the proposed Hindu and Muhammadan Universities shall not have powers of affiliation outside the localities in which they are established, will, no doubt, come as a grievous disappointment to many of the supporters of the schemes, who expected that the two bodies would gradually assume control over all Muhammadan and Hindu educational institutions in the country. At first sight, the decision would appear to restrict the scope of the two institutions, for after all if then control is only to extend over the Colleges at Aligarh and Benares respectively, the number of student who come under their influence must necessarily be extremely limited. On the other hand—and this is the reason of the Secretary of State's decision—once grant an unlimited power of affiliation, and the *raison d'être* of the new Universities removed. The proposals to establish Universities at Aligarh and Benares came, not because there were not enough Universities in India (though this may be the case), but because it was felt that there was something vitally wrong in the present system, under which the existing Indian Universities are, to all practical purposes, nothing but examining bodies. It was felt amongst the more thoughtful Hindus and Muhammadans that, to fulfil its true purposes, a University must be something far more than a mere examining body—that it must, in fact, teach as well

as examine, that it must not only impart knowledge, but mould character, and have a far more vital influence over the lives of its *alumni* than is possible when its only connection with them is the imposing and determining of educational tests. In these circumstances, and with these objects in view, it was decided, first by the Muhammadans, and later by the Hindus, to establish teaching and residential Universities, at Aligarh and Benares respectively, and the future of the two schemes rests entirely on the carrying out of these aims and objects, failing which, as far as we can see, the new Universities would simply be copies, and probably imperfect copies, of the existing institutions at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. Once permit the new Universities to affiliate Colleges outside their own area, and a blow is struck at the teaching and residential systems, which must result in their ultimate disappearance. Were the new Muhammadan University to have, say, one or two Colleges at Aligarh itself, and a dozen in different centres all over the country it would result, if not at once, in the course of a very short time, that the teaching and disciplinary functions of the institution would be subordinated to, and gradually crushed out, by the one pressing idea of examinations, which would be the only means of controlling the outside Colleges. With these possibilities in view, the Secretary of State has, very wisely in our opinion, decided finally against giving the new Universities powers of affiliation outside the localities in which they are established. Though, as we have said, this will no doubt come as a great disappointment to many of the more ambitious supporters of the schemes, they may take comfort from the fact that, restricted to the towns of Aligarh and Benares, the new Universities will be able to follow the high ideals they have set before themselves, and to carry out the residential system to the best possible advantage. The Muhammadan College at Aligarh is already recognized as one of the best educational institutions in India, and its *alumni* are carrying out its best traditions in their respective walks of life, so that, in India, to have been at Aligarh carries with it the same distinction as does a public school education in England. Though not quite as successful perhaps, the Hindu College at Benares is doing excellent work, and has attracted some of the best talent in India to its teaching staff. With these two splendid institutions already in existence, the new Universities ought to find little difficulty in building up a residential system similar to that prevailing at Oxford and Cambridge, and in becoming the best educational institutions in India.

The "Advocate."

On the eve of an urgent meeting called by the promoters of the Muhammadan University to consider the constitution of the University in the light of the announcement of the Government as to the power of affiliation, the Government of India through the Education Member addressed a letter to the Muhammadans which will be read with feelings akin to disappointment. That the letter has intensified the feeling of disappointment which the two previous *communiqués* had created goes without saying, and those who were present at the meeting held at Lucknow in the house of the Raja of Mahmudabad on Sunday last say that they found perfect unanimity among the Muhammadan leaders present from all parts of the country on all questions relating to the University. There exists a feeling that the Muhammadans have not received fair treatment. The resolutions passed by the Committee which we publish elsewhere show that the leaders are determined to have a University on the lines laid down by them and not one which the Secretary of State will be pleased to give them on the lines settled by him. They have resolved to submit a representation to the Secretary of State asking him to re-consider his decision on some points which are of great importance in regard to the future of the University. If the Secretary of State declines to re-open the question then the members will not press for a Charter. The question has thus assumed an aspect which is full of difficulties and all the resources of statesmanship will have to be brought together to solve in a manner so as not to lead to any friction or excitement in the country.

We must say that the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler has been rather late in coming. If the Secretary of State was unwilling to grant power of affiliation to the proposed University both for Colleges and Schools, if he felt that the University though denominational in the scope should be local, if it was thought necessary to give the Governor-General in Council powers which he has not reserved to himself in the case of any of the existing Universities, then the promoters of the movement ought to have been told about these things at an earlier stage. Even now the Secretary of State is not pleased to say what are the details which he has yet to settle. There may arise some difference of opinion in the settlement of the details. The Muhammadan University will be a denominational one. We do not understand how can mere change in the name make it non-denominational or territorial. The promoters have collected money from all parts of the country on the distinct understanding of its being an all-India movement. How can they now establish a University which will not appeal to their sense of

communal patriotism and religious feeling? The one condition on which an all-India movement can be made successful is that it should appeal to people of all parts of the country and be not confined to one particular province. Everybody will sympathise with the difficult situation in which the Muhammadans have been placed and we trust that the Government of India will yet find out some means of taking them out of it.

The chief debatable problem relates to the power of affiliation. The promoters of both the Universities are anxious to have the power to affiliate colleges and recognise schools. We must frankly state our own views, which may or may not be in agreement with a large number of promoters of either of the two Universities, but they must be stated. The question of affiliation has to be divided into two parts, namely, one dealing with colleges and the other with schools. We are as keen about the Muhammadan and Hindu Universities having the power of affiliation as any member can be, but we find that the Government of India is not willing to grant this power over colleges for reasons stated by Sir Harcourt Butler some of which are weighty. We must for the present accept the power to establish only a teaching and residential University. We can make ourselves sure that the Government of India after some experience of the working of the Universities will give the power of affiliating colleges. There can be no finality in these the matter. We have to prove that the apprehensions expressed by Sir Harcourt Butler are not well founded. We have to establish colleges like the one at Aligarh all over the country, which is not an easy matter, and then go to the Government with the prayer that we may be given the power of affiliating these colleges. There is not a single Muhammadan college besides the Aligarh College which is run on the residential system. Hindus have none besides the Dayanand A. V. College and the Central Hindu College. It will take quite a decade for the two communities to found new colleges on the lines of the Aligarh or the Benares Central Hindu College. Then why should we now quarrel over the grant of the power of affiliation which we cannot use at once. The case with schools is quite different. If the Government insists on our admitting to the Muhammadan or the Hindu University only students who have received their education at Benares or Aligarh the restriction will be absurd. If the Government asks that our Muhammadan friends should make a beginning to start the University with such restrictions, then it will not be worth while to have the Charter. Indian parents will not send their boys in their seventh or eighth year at a distant from their own homes. The Universities if they are to effect the education of the country must be allowed to recognise or affiliate schools all over the country. They should be allowed to hold their own matriculation examinations to which students from all parts of the country may be admitted. They should have full power to admit students passing from the schools recognised by the present territorial Universities as also from schools that may be recognised by them. We hope it will be possible to persuade the Government to allow the affiliation of schools.

The Hindu will naturally support their Muhammadan brethren in all their efforts to get from Government favourable terms, but we think the principal work before the supporters of the Hindu movement is collection of funds. They should first get together Rs. 50 lakhs. Their collections are very poor. They must devote all their energy in the collection of funds, without which they can not even approach Government with any proposal. Such of their leaders as are willing to cooperate with the Muhammadans cannot do so unless they have in their hands the sum of Rs. 50,00,000. We are now sanguine that the Universities will come into existence. There will be some struggle but struggle in a righteous cause always succeeds. When the Government is convinced that on certain questions both Hindus and Muhammadans are united, we are sure it will meet them half way, and we hope Sir Harcourt Butler, to whom the credit of developing the two movements greatly belongs, will before laying down the reins of his present office, have the satisfaction of seeing the Muhammadan and Hindu Universities established.

The "Leader."

WE PUBLISH elsewhere the highly important letters addressed by the Member for Education to the Raja of Mahmudabad and the Maharaja of Durbhanga regarding the proposed Hindu and Moslem Universities. Sir Harcourt Butler therein communicates to the leaders of the two movements the decisions of the Secretary of State, which, of course, are binding upon the Government of India. In the first place Lord Crewe has decided that the universities shall be designated the universities of Aligarh and Benares, the denominational appellation being dropped. In the second place he disapproves of the Viceroy being the chancellor of either university and leaves it to the promoters to elect their own chancellor. In the third place Lord Crewe transfers to the Governor-General in Council the powers which the promoters of the schemes wanted to reserve to the Viceroy as chancellor. Fourthly the Viceroy or the Government will reserve no

power of control over the appointment of professors. Fifthly, the Government of India will make a "liberal" grant-in-aid of the universities. Sixthly, the universities will have no power to affiliate colleges outside their own localities.

The Moslem university Constitution Committee met at Lucknow on Sunday under the chairmanship of the Raja of Mahmudabad and passed resolutions disapproving *in toto* of the Government decisions. The committee declines to delete the word Moslem from the name of the university, it declines to leave in the hands of the Governor-General in Council the powers which it would be content to reserve to the Viceroy, it objects to the condition that outside institutions shall not be affiliated, it still wants the Viceroy to be the chancellor of the university, and it has appointed a sub-committee to draw up a representation to Government in the sense of the resolutions it passed. We publish below Sir Harcourt Butler's letters and the text of the resolutions passed by the Moslem university Constitution Committee.

The attitude of the Moslem community as revealed in the resolutions passed at Lucknow on Sunday and the articles that have been appearing in the columns of Moslem newspapers such as the *Observer* of Lahore and the *Comrade* of Calcutta, is one of manifest, we had said determined disinclination to accept the Secretary of State's decisions as final, whereas the two press *communiqués* and the present letters of the Education Member leave no room for doubt, in our mind at any rate, that there will be no reconsideration of the decisions. Will the Moslem leaders then proceed with their scheme in the altered circumstances or will it rather be abandoned? Appearances point to the latter course as the more probable. What will the promoters of the Hindu university scheme do? Will they agree to delete the word Hindu from the name of the university? Will they agree to have a university with no power of affiliation of outside colleges? Will they agree to the other conditions? We do not know. Nor have we the desire to anticipate the conclusions of the committee of the Hindu university society. We can, however, say what we would do if we could influence the deliberations of that body. Speaking for ourselves, then, we have no hesitation in saying that the conditions may be accepted without disadvantage. Whether the university is expressly designated a *Hindu* university or simply called the university of Benares, everybody will know that it is the Hindu university, established wholly and exclusively by dint of the exertions of Hindu leaders and by the generous pecuniary support of the Hindu community only. We certainly would not sacrifice a noble, beneficent and grand educational scheme for the sake of a word. It would have lent fresh dignity to the university if His Excellency the Viceroy had been able to see his way to be its chancellor, but if this is not to be we see nothing wrong or inconvenient in the election of an eminent Hindu scholar as chancellor. Hindu leaders are not wanting who, by virtue of their learning, capacity, character, antecedents and status, are eminently worthy of filling the chancellor's chair with dignity and distinction. It is a valuable concession on the part of the Secretary of State to allow the university as an independent non-official body to have its own elected chancellor. Whether the powers reserved to Government be reserved nominally to the Viceroy or expressly to the Governor-General in Council makes hardly any difference in practice as it was not to be expected that the head of the Government of India would find time himself to exercise the powers reserved to him. In either case it would be the Department of Education of the Government of India which would exercise the powers. It is a further valuable concession that the Secretary of State has made in withdrawing the condition that the appointment of professors would be subject to the approval of the Viceroy. As a corollary to this and in order to make the concession of full effect, the Hindu university society may reasonably ask for the withdrawal of the condition about an adequate proportion of European professors being appointed. The aim of the promoters being to impart efficient and useful instruction, they will of their own accord appoint a certain number of competent European professors. The Secretary of State may take this for granted and withdraw the condition as being an unnecessary reminder of the amount of Government control that is imposed. If the Hindu university society accepts the other conditions, we trust Lord Crewe will not insist upon the retention of the one under discussion. We feel grateful for the offer of a liberal Government grant. If there will be no conditions attached to the grant which will be felt as an undue encroachment upon the independent exercise of powers by the university authorities, the grant may certainly be accepted, as they are not likely to have at their disposal so much money realised from the public that they will not know what to do with it. If however the pecuniary support will carry with it an excess of control and destroy the character of the university as a self-governing institution we should certainly advise the university to do without the proffered help. Lord Morley has told us that Gladstone "argued that defective instruction with freedom and self-government would, in the choice of evils, be better than the most perfect mechanism secured by parliamentary interference." And Disraeli said that if he were asked whether he would rather have Oxford free with all its imperfections, or an Oxford without imperfec-

tions but under the control of the Government, he would reply, "Give me Oxford free and independent, with all its anomalies and imperfections." So do we say of the Hindu university. Lastly we do not regard it as a calamity that the university will not have the power to affiliate outside institutions. It need not be both an examining and a federal university and a teaching and residential institution. It is immensely more important that it should be the latter. It is not without advantage if the university authorities will concentrate their attention on the university colleges at Benares itself. A group of colleges imparting efficient education in languages and literature, in science and technology, in politics and history, in medicine, with all the teachers and students in residence, moulding character and evolving a higher type of man to take part in the national regeneration of this ancient land, is a picture that appeals to the heart and mind much more than a university with affiliated institutions scattered over a wide and large area, loosely related to one another and inefficiently controlled from the centre.

The reasons given for the Secretary of State's decisions are not so wanting in force that they can be summarily disposed of or attributed to motives that cannot stand examination. Let the Moslem leaders take what decision they may, it is our conviction that the Hindu leaders should not be discouraged by the contents of Sir Harcourt Butler's letters, that they should not think of abandoning their magnificent educational scheme, that they should continue unabated their endeavours to make up the required amount of money and hasten to materialise the project. And we earnestly trust that the subscribed amounts will pour in at an accelerated pace.

The "Beharee."

We may take it that the decision of the Secretary of State is final as regards two important questions in connection with the Hindu and Moslem Universities; firstly, as regards the question of affiliation and, secondly, as regards the name by which each of them will be known, if they should come into existence. To take the latter first, the Secretary of State has carefully refrained from giving any reason, for his decision that the contemplated universities should be known as Aligarh and Benares Universities. While he does not object to the principle of denominational universities why he should object to a denominational style and designation, it is difficult to see, and unless he desires that his decision should be accepted as the fatwas of an unreasoning and unbending mullah, he is bound to assign some reason for this strange decision. But whatever reason he may assign, or fail to assign, the decision has to be considered as final for the time being and the attitude of the originators has to be communicated to the Government of India. The question is if it is worth while to give up the whole undertaking, simply because of the change in the name. It seems to us that this is the least objectionable condition imposed by the Secretary of State and the change is not of such a character as to commend any violent opposition from the promoters of the two universities. On the other hand to many an intelligent, patriotic and thoughtful person the change of names proposed by the Secretary of State will come as a distinct improvement inasmuch as the denominational character of the institutions will not be so jarringly emphasised as in the case of the proposed names. And so far as Hindus are concerned the name "Benares" is as significant to them as the word Hindu and a Benares university in their case is perhaps more expressive than the name Hindu university. It calls forth immemorial associations connected with the holiest place known to them on earth, associations of learning, spiritual culture, devotion, faith and an inflexible spirit of attachment to the eternal and the Real in existence, which even the word Hindu fails to do. Whereas the name "Hindu university" is *nondescript*, the name "Benares university" is more tangible and suggestive and carries to the entire Hindu population as close a significance as they might desire of the character of the institution. In the case of the Moslem university also the change is a distinct improvement as Aligarh has become the seat and centre of the hopes of the Muhammadan community, and "Aligarh university" can mean no more than a Moslem university for all practical purposes. Unless the Muhammadans of India desire that the Moslem University should be a bond of union between Moslems of the world, an institution of a pan-Islamic nature, they need not feel disappointed at the change of name. In case any of its promoters have been actuated to any extent by any ambition to make the Moslem university of India a centre of attraction and a focus of activity of a pan-Islamic type, they have every reason to hold that the name "Aligarh university" will do as efficiently for the purpose as the proposed name of Moslem university. But we do not believe that any of the chief promoters of the movement have been actuated by such an extravagant desire and the whole end and aim of the Moslem university movement is to promote the progress of Muhammadan education in India. That being the case both the Hindu and Moslem Committees can accept the change without impairing the object of the undertaking in any way whatever.

As regards the question of affiliation, as we have said before in these columns, the decision is deeply to be regretted. But if the choice is to be between having a Hindu or Moslem University as a purely residential and teaching institution and not having either of them at all, we have not a fraction of a moment's hesitation

in accepting and urging the acceptance of a teaching university foregoing the right of affiliation. In fact we must admit that there is a good deal of force in the contention that a denominational university is not quite compatible with the constitution of an examining university, and if a denominational university is to be established at all, it is best to have it as a residential university. We admit that the objection raised by the Secretary of State that the means at the disposal of these universities of satisfactorily exercising efficient control over colleges that may be situated from Kashmir to Travancore, from Assam to Sind, will be too inadequate. Nor are we disposed to belittle the point raised by the Secretary of State that liberty of affiliation may lead to undesirable attempts on the part of colleges to change their affiliation from one university to another. Above all these considerations, there is no seriously controverting the fact that the need of the country in the sphere of higher education is the establishment of teaching universities and not of examining boards. What is really wanted is a seat of learning where examination would be completely subordinated to acquisition of knowledge and assimilation of what is taught, and where acquisition of knowledge is subordinated to the development of the higher faculties of research and enquiry. It is worth all the money we can spend to bring into existence one such university leaving the function of examining to the existing universities themselves. It is absurd that such an institution can undertake the work of examination, for its object is to impart knowledge of facts and methods in such a manner that the university may be said to exist to teach and not to examine, that it teaches, not to examine the candidate in the subjects taught but to develop the higher faculties of a student whose object of study is not to obtain a diploma but to narrow the domain of human ignorance and expand the realm of human knowledge. It may not be every one of those who go to such a university will become a student in this sense, but the ideal of the university is to create the atmosphere for students of this type and each such institution must be a self-contained one and can be neither affiliated to nor affiliate another. The promoters of the Hindu and Moslem universities may well devote their attention and their means to the bringing into existence of genuine teaching universities, rather than attempt to establish two glorified colleges to which inferior institutions may be affiliated. The two above conditions insisted upon by the Secretary of State are such as will be conducive to the good of the university scheme that has been before the public and we should earnestly hope they will be accepted by the promoters. We do not ignore the sense of disappointment such acceptance will engender, but that is due to the unpardonable lethargy of the Government of India in this matter; but apart from the fact that the expected constitution has not been granted, the restrictions themselves are thoroughly sound from the point of view urged by the Secretary of State and need not be understood as subversive of the utility of the institutions or the object entertained by their prime movers.

The "Maharatta."

Another press *communiqué* has been issued by the Government of India *re* the Hindu and Mahomedan communities:—"In view of the recent announcement, it is important to state that the decision in regard to the affiliation to the proposed Universities at Aligarh and Benares is the decision of the Secretary of State and is *final*." Soon after the original *communiqué* was issued limiting the power of affiliation of the new Universities, Hon. Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya was reported to have said that the *communiqué* was not the *last* word on the subject and was likely to undergo modification, if a case was made out for such modification. We have had, immediately afterwards, the second *communiqué*, dispelling all hope of modification and setting the original *communiqué* on the pedestal of a "settled fact." It will be admitted, of course, that the purpose of a teaching and residential university will be much better served by concentrating institutions in one locality than by localising them in different places. At best, the question, however, is one of efficient teaching, and if a University takes the best precautions to see that the teaching in differently located institutions is up to the mark, there can be obviously no reasonable apprehension of separate localisation frustrating the purpose of the University. It would have been perfectly right for Government to have laid down stringent conditions for affiliation of other institutions to the new Universities, say, in the matter of the teaching staff and residence. Such a course would have given the Universities wide field of work and at the same time would have secured the object in view. That would have been a just demand for Government to make. It must be also noted that for the present at least, there is not a very pressing demand for affiliation in respect of these two new Universities. Government have graciously permitted the creation of these two sectarian Universities, and to secure the best results from them, for the immediate present, a scheme of local concentration would be more a matter of necessity than State compulsion. The question of affiliation may arise when the central bodies have shown good results. But in that case the solution also will not be very difficult. Finality is not to be thought of in the affairs of progressive institutions.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Rejoicings are proceeding in Bulgaria to mark the jubilee of the reign of King Ferdinand. His Majesty reviewed the army at the ancient capital of Tirnovo and delivered a speech emphasizing the need for a pacific policy. The speech has had a tranquilizing effect on the population.

The German Emperor has given ten thousand marks for the relief of the sufferers in the recent earthquake.

The Ecumenical Patriarch has wired to the Archbishop of Canterbury appealing to British generosity.

Reuter wires from Cetinje on August 17th:—The Christians have risen in the Turkish district of Berano. They seized two villages and plundered the town. The Turkish troops replied by cannonading the Christian villages. The Christians thereupon attacked and razed three Turkish blockhouses on the Montenegrin borders. Fighting near Berano is going on day and night. Both sides have suffered heavily. The Turks threaten to exterminate the whole Servian Christian population in the revolted district.

Reuter learns that Austria-Hungary has invited the Powers to take part in an exchange of views with regard to the condition of the Balkan Provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Count von Berchtold's invitation to the Powers to take part in an exchange of views with regard to the Balkan provinces is much commented on.

The inspired Austrian press is careful to explain that intervention in the affairs of Turkey is not contemplated. Austria merely wants to assist Turkey to carry out her desire to conciliate nationalities and convince the latter of the necessity for facilitating the task of appeasement. There is no idea of summoning a European conference and the conversations will be conducted by the Ambassadors.

The European press generally gives a cautious approval to the suggestion. Some attribute it to a desire to anticipate the action of Russia as a result of the conversations at St. Petersburg. It is regarded as significant that Count von Berchtold is returning to the European fold which Count von Aehrenthal shunned.

The *Austro-Hungarian* continues to emphasize that there is no suggestion that the Powers should intervene in Turkey's affairs. The only desire is to ensure quiet in the Balkans till the new Turkish Government has been given full opportunity to meet the demands of the various nationalities in the Turkish Empire. At the same time the Powers will give pacificatory advice to the Balkan States.

Count von Berchtold's action is regarded as inexplicable in Constantinople because there is no question of decentralisation in Macedonia or grant of autonomy to Albania. The demands of the Albanians to which the Porte has agreed are in accordance with the existing laws. Further developments in connection with Count von Berchtold's proposals are considered impossible.

A state of panic prevails at Uskub which a large force of Albanians have entered and are pillaging and releasing the prisoners. They now threaten to march to Salonika. Three thousand are reported to have reached Kiuprili.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Government in a *communiqué* says the period of revolution inaugurated in 1908 must be ended. That of evolution has begun. It emphasizes the desire of the Government to pursue a policy of conciliation.

Reuter wires from Rome:—The Italians advanced from Zuara with the object of occupying an important group of heights in order to cut off supplies from the Tunisian frontier. They carried the position after a hard day's fighting, losing six killed and ninety-eight wounded. Five officers were wounded. The Turkish losses were heavy.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—It is understood that *pourparlers* have been begun between the new Turkish delegates and the Italian representatives to discover a basis for the conclusion of peace.

The *Times of India* correspondent, writing from Aden on August 4th, says:—A persistent rumour is current here that a party of Italian sailors landed from an Italian cruiser off Zaranek coast at Rasal Mugamalah, which is some hours away from Hodeida, and that some of the Arab tribesmen there fired on them, killing two. As a consequence the Italian cruiser is said to have bombarded Rasal Mugamalah, but no serious losses are reported. According to a private telegram just received from Hodeida an Italian warship is bombarding the Turkish ports and the military quarters at Hodeida.

Reuter wires from Cetinje on August 19th:—Reports in connection with the situation on the Montenegrin border are alarming. The massacres in Berano district are continuing. The frontier is crowded with refugees. A general state of excitement prevails. The Malissori tribes are threatening Scutari.

The Turkish account of the Berano incident accuses Montenegrins of distributing arms among the Christians. The impression is

increasing in Constantinople that Montenegro is determined to force a quarrel.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—It is denied here that the Albanians are pillaging Uskub, but they have decided to levy a toll on the inhabitants for the purpose of covering expenses. It is reported that a hundred Albanians have succeeded in arriving at Salonika. The authorities have announced that they will arrest them unless they return to their homes.

Count von Berchtold's invitation continues to figure most prominently in the Press.

The *Neue Freie Presse* states that Germany, Italy and Russia have accepted his proposal. Great Britain and France have not replied, but it is expected that they will accept.

A section of the French Press insinuates that Count von Berchtold's object was to obtain entrance to conversations from which Austria was excluded on the occasion of the visits of the Kaiser and M. Poincaré to Russia.

The attitude of the British Press is cordial but cautious, the papers complaining of the vagueness of the proposal.

A telegram from the Dardanelles states that on the night of the 17th instant the Italian Fleet appeared off Tenedos close to the Dardanelles.

Reuter wires from Salonika on August 20th:—Three Turkish Divisions are concentrating at Kiuprili and will attack the Albanians failing their submission.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—An agreement has been reached between the representatives of the Government and the Albanians who have begun to return to their homes.

It is believed at London on 21st August that the *pourparlers* between the new Turkish delegates and the Italian representatives with a view to the conclusion of peace are being conducted in Paris between Turkish Ministers from Sofia and Cetinje and the Italian ex-Ambassador and two officials. It is understood that negotiations are making headway.

The Porte and Powers have invited Montenegro to withdraw the troops from Berane where fighting is still proceeding.

While the situation in North Albania appears to be more settled, advices from the Turco-Montenegrin frontier are serious. It is stated that the Montenegrins have burned several blockhouses and are besieging others. The German semi-official press warns Montenegro that Europe cannot allow her to stir up trouble.

Emperor Francis Joseph has given £400 in aid of the sufferers by the earthquake in Turkey. A Mansion House Fund has also been opened. The French Government has given 10,000 francs in aid of the sufferers by the Turkish earthquake.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on the 22nd August:—News has arrived here of the resignation of the Montenegrin Cabinet, which is regarded as paving the way of the present situation. A telegram to the *Daily Telegraph* from Constantinople says that the Foreign Minister has good hope of seeing the Montenegrin question settled soon.

It is hoped that the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Kechana incident, which will soon be published, will appease Bulgaria.

The Porte has circularised Ottoman representatives with regard to the Berano incident, stating that it does not accept responsibility for consequences of Montenegrin aggression. A strong Turkish force is being concentrated at Berana.

Reuter learns that Bulgaria is anxiously awaiting the details of Count von Berchtold's proposals regarding the Balkan States. Bulgaria thinks that decentralisation will only benefit the Albanians. Bulgaria will only accept local self-government. France has accepted Count von Berchtold's invitation to take part in the exchange of views with regard to the Balkan Provinces.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—Hussein Hilmi Pasha, Minister of Justice, has resigned. Ferid Pasha, President of the Senate, has been appointed Minister of the Interior and Senator Halim, Minister of Justice.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—In an interview, the Foreign Minister admitted that semi-official negotiations with Italy were proceeding.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on August 22nd:—Ferid Pasha has declined the Portfolio of the Interior.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on August 23rd:—The departure of King Ferdinand and M. Gueshoff, the Premier, for Europe, and of the Austrian Ambassador for a holiday is regarded as reassuring.

The Montenegrins have withdrawn from Berane.

Four hundred Malissori, led by priests, attacked Durazzo. They were eventually routed by reinforcements. The Malissori lost 30 killed and 70 wounded. There were a few Turkish casualties.

News by the English Mail.

Berlin, August 2.

The *Vossische Zeitung* recently telegraphed to Enver Bey, the Turkish commander at Benghazi, Tripoli, asking for information as to the condition of his health and the situation of the Turks, and also as to whether peace was in sight. The following reply, dated Derna, Tripoli, July 28, was received to-day:—

"Both myself and the Turkish army are in splendid condition. We don't bother about peace.—Enver."

The fact that the message is dated from Derna, 160 miles distant from Benghazi, appears to indicate that Enver Bey is in the immediate vicinity of this place, which is occupied by the Italians.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, July 31.

Commander Millo has sent a report, the first part of which has been published, on the recent attack on the Dardanelles by five Italian torpedo boats. He states that the object of the raid was to torpedo the Turkish Fleet. The *Splca*, *Astore*, and *Climene* were to attack the three outermost warships, while the *Centauro* and *Persue* were to penetrate among the fleet and to destroy the others and a big vessel laden with mines. The attempt failed, all the audacious raiders except the *Centauro* being hit, though without damage. The second part of the report is being kept secret. Eight copies were prepared, of which one was delivered to the King, the second to the Premier, and the others to the Ministry of Marine.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 1.

The publication of the names of persons included in the amnesty has provoked the hostile criticism of many members of the Committee of Union and Progress, who profess to dread the reactionary tendencies of the former members of Abdul Hamid's *entourage*. But the balance of opinion favours the measure on the ground that the members of the old Yildiz Camarilla are mostly broken in health and spirit and will return to a country which whatever its present difficulties are, does not evince the slightest desire to go back to the system of Palace government which made the dominance of the Tahsins, Izzets, and Raghibs possible.

Vienna, August 1.

The amnesty granted to the Turkish exiles elicits adverse semi-official comment from the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, which deprecates the return to Constantinople at this juncture of prominent representatives of the Hamidian régime. While it is a sound principle to pursue a beaten enemy, writes the *Tagblatt*, it is, to say the least, impolitic and imprudent to enlist auxiliaries of such quality as Izzet Pasha, Tahn Pasha, Munir Pasha, and others. The return of Cherif Pasha, one of the initiators of the Military League, is natural: his party has triumphed and its leaders are evidently entitled to appear upon the scene. But the resuscitation of some of the most dangerous influences of the past is a proceeding the more dubious in that it appears to have been unnecessary.

The Situation in Albania.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* telegraphs that the Albanian rebels are stated to be considering the plan of marching on Salonika in order to release Abdul Hamid, "who for thirty years was a father to them." Isa Boletinat, who has arrived at Mitrovitsa, and one of his first acts was to open the local prison and to release and arm all its inmates.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, 25th July.

The Albanian chiefs who are conferring with the peace mission at Prishtina have demanded the immediate dismissal of a number of unpopular officials. The rebellion in Northern Albania is extending. Troops and gendarmes continue to join the rebels. Signs of an intention on the part of the rebels to demand the autonomy of Albania are becoming evident.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, July 26.

The new Cabinet has begun its efforts to deal with the Albanian question with the despatch of a long manifesto to the population of the northern province. The document opens with a flattering reference to the Albanian qualities, and indicates the peaceful tendencies of the Ministry by laying down the axiom that henceforth the use of armed force against the Albanians is categorically forbidden on any pretext. Dealing with the question of the dissolution of the Chamber, the Government states that it is proceeding with a rigorous inquiry and has decided to nullify the election of deputies who owe their seats to the undue influence of the Committee. The reforms demanded are to be the subject of inquiry by a commission which

leaves Constantinople without fail on Thursday. The Commission is endowed with authority to treat and to conclude an accord with the *Bairaktars*. The Government further promises to indemnify the peasantry for damage done by pillage during the recent military operations.

Following on Hassan Bey's entry into Prishtina, the prisoners profited by the confusion to make good their escape. They seized Mausers and ammunition and opened fire on the gendarmes. The result of the ensuing engagement was that 18 were killed and 17 wounded on both sides. The rest of the prisoners fled.

A battalion of Infantry has left Monastir for Uskub.

July 27.

The latest news from Albania confirms what I have already telegraphed concerning the amicable tendencies of the new Ministry and the determination of the rebels to drive home their advantage. Hassan Bey, who has installed himself director-general of the movement at Prishtina with a force, according to his own estimate, of 50,000 men, has taken charge of the telegraph system and transmits orders to the friendly *Bairaktars* like a commander-in-chief. He has advised Abdul Bey at Tirana and Azida Pasha at Elbassan to hold themselves in readiness to receive instructions. Boletinat, who is now in Yeni Bazar, has imprisoned the local director of telegraphs for refusing to transmit his *soi-disant* official despatches without payment.

The Albanian chiefs have accepted the pacific assurances of the Cabinet in so far as they have ordered their adherents to avoid bloodshed. This was demonstrated at the Pass of Katchani, which was threatened by a strong force of rebels. The commandant of the six battalions stationed there summoned his enemy to retire and thus avoid the necessity of his attacking them. The Albanians thereupon withdrew, but continue to menace the position.

There is reason to believe that the Government contemplate returning to Prishtina the families of rebels removed to Uskub. This removal, designed with the idea of forcing the rebels to return to their homes, did more than anything else to fan the flames of revolution.

I note, however, among Kassovo officials a tendency to adhere to the Committee idea that the temper of the Albanians is such that, failing their coming to an arrangement with the military commandants, the only method of settlement consists in the use of armed force. This attitude is ably exposed by the special correspondent of the Committee organ *Roundlie*, who, writing from Prishtina, declares that the agitation is the result of intrigues undertaken by the *Ententi Libérale* with Russia, Italy, Austria, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, and concludes:—"Les meilleurs désinfectants contre cette pourriture sont le canon et la mitrailleuse."

The officers of the Djakova Corps, who have made common cause with the insurgents, explain their action on the ground that when leaving Constantinople they received orders to fire against brother Mussulmans. On arriving in Albania they found that the neighbouring States were seeking an opportunity for intervention, which would have occurred had they obeyed their instructions. Consequently, they had no option but to make an agreement with the rebels. They insist on their demand for the dissolution of the Chamber.

A battalion of Reservists has left Drama for Ferizovitch.

July 28.

The Parliamentary Commission reaches Prishtina to-day. Pending its arrival, the armistice has been observed on both sides. The rebel control of the province is, however, complete, and with the exception of Ipek all the Government centres are occupied by Albanians, who have driven out the Turkish officials. Hassan Bey has prohibited the despatch of cipher telegrams over the wires and has forbidden the troops to advance from their present positions. When Hassan entered Prishtina the garrison consisted of six battalions of infantry, four squadrons of cavalry, and two batteries of artillery.

The chiefs assembled at Prishtina, in telegraphing their thanks to the Sultan, call attention to the statements of certain foreign journals to the effect that they intend to proclaim separation from the Ottoman Empire. Denying these reports they add that now that they have a Cabinet of experienced statesmen in whom they have confidence they beseech the Khalif to order the dissolution of the Chamber.

The Slav population of Novi Bazar have likewise telegraphed to the Sultan expressing loyalty and demanding new legislative elections.

The meeting of officers who are partisans of the Committee was held here on Thursday. It was attended by only 150 adherents.

In order to reinforce the Macedonian divisions, which are at present under strength, 11,500 new recruits from the Smyrna, Aidin, and Sandukli districts are being called to the colours. This measure, however, has been decided upon, more in view of the general political situation than from any anticipation of adverse developments in Albania.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 26.

Though the Albanian insurgents in Kassovo province and their military allies received the news of the advent of the new Ministry with enthusiasm, they have neither slackened their military preparations nor ceased to bring pressure to bear on the Government

to dissolve the Chamber. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the insurrection, which, till recently, was localized, is spreading throughout Albania, from Ipek to Argyrocastro, with the tacit consent or overt co-operation of a large proportion of the local forces.

During the last 24 hours numerous telegrams received from foreign Consular authorities, or from representatives of Turkish newspapers, which no longer dread the censorship, show that the First (Ildiz) Division, which was sent to Albania in June, has deposed its Commander, Hassan Izzet Pasha, and is making common cause with the insurgents; that practically the whole of the Uskub and part of the Monastir Army Corps are either joining the Albanians or refusing to engage them, and that Prishtina, with its artillery stores and arms depôt, has been occupied by the insurgent army, led by Hassan Bey, ex-member for Prishtina, Riza Bey, and other noted *Bairaktars*, who control the railway and are now engaged in telegraphing their demands to Constantinople. It also appears that on the 18th instant two battalions guarding Hass, between Tchernoleva Ferizovitch and Prizrend, were attacked by a great force of Moslem Malissori plainsmen. Some troops deserted, others surrendered, and some 300 fell fighting, with most of the Committee officers. Six hundred prisoners, 1,000 rifles, and 25 loads of ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. Hair-ed-Din Bey, the Turkish Commandant, accused of cruelty to Albanian women, was hanged within a hollow square composed of captive soldiers on the spot where the famous *Bairaktar* of the Krasmitch clan, Shaban Binaku, was executed in 1910 after surrendering on terms.

Grand Vizier's Statement of Policy.

Constantinople, July 30.

The following is the text of the programme of the new Turkish Ministry as read by the Grand Vizier in the Chamber to-day.

The Government expresses the hope that all Ottomans, appreciating the exceptional gravity of the historic times which the country is passing through, will facilitate its task by observing calm and tranquillity. We expect from the Press, on whose patriotism we rely, the fulfilment of its patriotic duty by strengthening the union of patriots and by not making the subject of disputes the effective precautionary measures that have been taken by the civil and military authorities for the maintenance of order.

If we analyse the causes of the discontent which have led to the present difficulties, we find there are four: first, the interference and illegal actions of officials during the elections; secondly, the participation of the Army and officials in party politics; thirdly, the violation of the provisions of the existing laws in the distribution of powers; fourthly, anti-constitutional proceedings and measures.

As for the first grievance, we are proceeding within the law to an examination of the complaints in regard to the elections. We shall not fail to do what is necessary within the law in conformity with the results of the inquiry. Concerning the second grievance, we shall prevent the Army without exception from taking part in politics, and we shall also dismiss all officials who depart from a strict neutrality towards citizens. In order to abolish the third cause of discontent we shall apply literally the existing laws and regulations on the appointment, dismissal, and promotion of officials. We shall entrust all posts to competent persons of proved ability. As for the last grievance, it has been proved that the happiness and tranquillity of all the countries of the world depend upon respect for the laws. Without law, disorder and calamities occur. Now we are firmly resolved not to depart from the path of legality either in the administration of the country or in the proposal of laws. Thus we have decided to repeal and annul the provisional laws in force before our coming into office, laws contrary to the Constitution.

Our fundamental maxim shall be the strengthening of Ottoman fraternity by respect for all privileges and rights which the Constitutional charter concedes and recognizes for all Ottoman elements without distinction of race and religion. The work of reform is the basis of our programme. Our financial intentions will be set forth in the Budget of next year.

You know that for ten months we have been in a state of war with Italy. Until bases of peace compatible with our rights, honour and dignity have been found we shall continue with rigid resolution to defend our country and to protect our rights against the attack of which we are the object, leaning on Divine aid and the self-denial of the Ottoman race. With regard to our foreign policy we shall continue and elaborate that inaugurated after the resolution of 1908, which was followed with complete success until the beginning of 1909, approved on several occasions by the Chamber as being in perfect conformity with the sentiments and interests of the Ottoman nation, and received with favour also by the Great Powers.

Our relations with all the friendly Great Powers are distinguished by sincerity and cordiality.

The Demands of the Officers.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION FOREIGN SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, July 26.

THE local papers publish the text of the programme of the Military League, the self-styled "Group of Saviour Officers." After pointing out the gravity of the present crisis, the authors say:—"Although it was believed that the Constitution had saved the Ottoman Empire, nevertheless the country has been progressing towards its ruin with the same speed as under Abdul Hamid. Thus the opinion has gained ground in Europe that nothing will prolong the days of the Ottoman Empire, which is destined to disappear as an independent Power. The Italian aggression in Tripoli and Europe's indifference thereto constitute the first fatal but significant proof of this new attitude. In face of the danger threatening it the Empire has been compelled to appeal to Ottoman officers. Although we desire the abstention of officers from intermeddling in politics, we are unable to remain silent in face of the illegal acts and violations of the Constitution committed by those seeking only their own personal advantage. We must think of the misery awaiting us if the Fatherland is a prey to the stranger. Those are speaking in the name of patriotism to-day who seek to harness us to their chariot, and would then seek refuge in Europe, which, indeed, some of them have already done, in order to devour in tranquillity the money of which they have robbed the country. Therefore our duty is to persist in those demands which were the battle-cry of the army four years ago when the tyranny of Abdul Hamid was destroyed. It should be noted that, owing to the bad administration of the Government, the army is unable to find time to devote to special studies, because all its time is taken up with superfluous military expeditions. We are, therefore, compelled to form a Military League. We are ready to obey the injunctions of patriotic duty, military honour, and humanity. We have no personal exigencies. We wish to prove to our enemies that Turkey has no lack of men prepared for any sacrifice to save their country."

The Confusion in Turkey.

TELEGRAPHING ON July 26th, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* says:—"The prospects of a normal course of affairs are more slender than ever. The Ministry lacks not so much experience as unity. The burning question of the dissolution of the Chamber gives rise to great differences. Some of the Ministers regard the dissolution of the Chamber as a breach of the Constitution, which they are anxious to avoid. There is likewise no agreement on the question of the treatment of Albanian affairs. The difficulties are increased by the latent differences among the officers. Here, too, there is a split. Officers' committees are springing up like mushrooms, and make the confusion worse founded. Scarcely have the officers decided to keep away from politics than new demonstrations are made which show the contrary. The officers' pronunciamento which caused the fall first of the generalissimo and then of the Cabinet has had the effect of depriving the Crown of all influence. It has become the plaything of passions, and is obliged in its helplessness to let things run their course. New developments are bound to follow this situation—in fact, a change on the throne is being earnestly discussed, and public attention gravitates to this question more and more."

The correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* gives another aspect of the situation. "The events in Albania," he writes on Thursday, "are apparently effecting a change in public opinion here. The *Tanin* asserts that the execution of the officer Hairi Bey at Djakova by the rebel chief Riza Bey has caused a profound commotion in the army. This act has covered the cause of the Albanians with disgrace. The feeling in the country is rapidly becoming more friendly to the Committee. Protests are coming in from all parts of the country against the dissolution of the Chamber. The differences are becoming more and more acute. The country is on the eve of grave events. The Government Commission will not go to Albania just yet. The Government is embarrassed by the boundless demands of the Albanians. A reconstruction of the Cabinet is possible."

Commenting upon these events, and especially on the ultimatum said to have been transmitted to the Chamber by the officers of the Military League, the *Berliner Tageblatt* says:—"This league, which embraces the so-called liberal—in reality conservative—elements among the officers, had co-operated in the revolution of April, 1909, and in the overthrow of Abdul Hamid. As it nevertheless still remained suspect in the eyes of the Young Turks, it saw itself gradually excluded from the advantages of the new régime. Its members were not promoted, and all the chief and most influential posts were filled with adherents of the Committee. Since the power of the latter began to wane the officers of the league

became bolder and more venturesome. Now when they have achieved a great triumph by overthrowing Said Pasha's Cabinet some of them apparently think that the time has arrived for wiping out their opponents altogether. And all this at a moment when Turkey is carrying on a war and is beset by the gravest foreign difficulties! However great the errors and sins of commission and omission of the Young Turks may have been, the present action of the Military League has inflicted upon the Empire still greater damage."

Turkey and the Committee.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

A WELL-INFORMED correspondent writes to us from Constantinople under date of 22nd July:—

Things are very uncertain here. A short time since the Committee seemed quite firmly established in power. A strong despot alone can govern Turkey; and the Committee had apparently crushed all opposition, nominated a devoted Parliament, and succeeded in making itself supreme. There is, of course, no party of "Old Turks;" all are "Young Turks;" but the opposition favoured a real Parliament, and open free criticism, and all the other things that we call liberty. The Committee was doing a considerable amount of good, and there can be no doubt that they have been slowly constructing a machine for governing. Now, however, we learn from European papers that the opposition to the Committee, though crushed in Parliament, is making itself felt in the army, where it is much more dangerous.

The opposition consists of the best among the "Young Turks"—in the sense of the most high-minded and idealist,—but they are devoid of constructive ability, and have no common policy and nothing except ideals, all inconsistent with each other. Riza Tewfik, a moderate and patriotic man, was seized and beaten by orders of the Committee, when he presented himself as candidate for re-election at Adrianople; most of his small patrimony was destroyed, and he fled to London. He was repeatedly warned by the agents of the Committee, but would take no heed.

The truth is that it is absurd to think of Parliamentary Government here. The people want a despot; they do not want freedom: they are like the Cappadocians, who, when Rome gave them freedom, sent to Rome and begged for a king. Rome marvelled that people should prefer despotism to freedom, and appointed a king. The Turks don't know what to do with themselves, and there would be anarchy everywhere if a real Parliament began: that I now see, must result. A strong despot is wanted, and the Committee, with all its faults, was the strong despot. I hope (little as I like it) that it may succeed.

Bulgaria and Macedonia.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, July 25.

THE resolutions of the recent conference of the Macedonian revolutionary committees here seem to show that the "Inner Organisation" has lost all patience. It is impossible to give these resolutions in full, as the conferences were naturally secret, but they deal with two points—the politics of Bulgaria and the revolutionary activity in Macedonia. There are to be a press campaign and a series of meetings in Bulgaria in favour of immediate war with Turkey, and an attempt is to be made to force the hand of the pacific Premier, M. Geshoff, and constrain him to give up his "Turcophilism."

In Macedonia the activity of the bands is to be increased, and there are to be still more terrorist attacks on public institutions, or even on private property—the outrage against the Ottoman Bank may be remembered. There are, besides, to be local risings where the population is best prepared for an armed struggle. The aim is to increase the disorganisation of Turkey and at the same time to provoke reprisals, which cannot fail to arouse the indignation of Europe and bring about an intervention in Macedonia, on the part of European diplomacy—and of Bulgaria.

The Powers and the War.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT)

Berlin, August 1.

THE *Cologne Gazette* published last night a long telegram from Berlin on the subject of the war, the prospect of negotiations, and the future of the Turkish Empire. Its interest is not so much

that it reveals the conviction that peace negotiations are not far distant, as that it appears to invite a discussion regarding the situation which may follow them, and seeks to explain to the Powers in good time that their interests are the same as Germany's. The writer begins much on the lines of a leading article on the same subject in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, by drawing, from the words of Hilmi Pasha on Tuesday, the conclusion that the disinclination for negotiations is less acute than before. Although the military successes of Turkey are such as to make an uncompromising spirit in the Army perfectly intelligible, it is with the diplomatists that the decision rests, and it is for Mukhtar Pasha, Noradungian Effendi, and Kiamil Pasha to ask themselves whether the African and Aegean situations warrant a continuation of the war.

The writer then proceeds to distribute compliments among the Powers for their gentle and self-sacrificing attitude towards Turkey, and to question the virulence of the disintegrating influences. The prediction made at the beginning of the war that the hostilities would create international complications in connexion with the Balkan question has been proved quite wrong. On the contrary all the Great Powers have of late made it quite clear that it is their intention "not only to prevent an extension of the trouble during the war, but also to secure to Turkey her position as a Great European Power and thereby to have a guarantee of Balkan peace in the future as well." Russia, it is urged, has by her policy given the lie to the suspicion that Turkey would be involved in difficulties through her. Nor is it to be expected that the attitude of the small Balkan States will give rise to any complications. Equally above reproach is Austria-Hungary, "which has never left it in doubt that she had a paramount interest in the maintenance of a strong European Turkey." Finally Pan-Hellenism is at a discount, and is not encouraged by Italy. The telegram proceeds:—

"The policy of England and France is visibly founded on the thought that Turkey must be spared as far as possible any far-reaching complications, while, in order to say the same of Germany, one need only appeal to the friendly feeling which we have always felt for the Turkish Empire and have always translated into action. Europe thus presents for once in an important question of the present time the unusual picture of unanimity of thought and action."

England to Blame.

SIGNOR GAABIELE D'ANNUNZIO, the famous Italian writer, who is on a visit to Paris, discussed with a *Herald* representative Mr. Winston Churchill's reference to the Italian fleet.

There had been, he said, a change lately in the Italian sentiments towards England. Discussing the causes, he declared that "the malevolent, mendacious, and contemptible campaign of some English newspapers in connection with the so-called 'atrocities' in Tripoli first amazed, then pained, and finally infuriated all Italians. We were accustomed to consider England as the firm friend, as the protectress of Italy, whose friendship and support could be depended upon in any crisis."

"We feel that England has not given Italy the support that Italy had every reason, had every right to expect. The prolongation of the war is in a great measure a consequence of England's policy. England could end the war, could have ended it long ago, with a word. If England had wished to prove the reality of the professions of friendliness towards Italy she had only to adopt a resolute attitude in Constantinople in the early phase of the war. Italy would have been on her side."

"However, the war has demonstrated to the world that the regeneration of Italy as a military Power is an accomplished fact. No one with eyes in his head can possibly have failed to realise years ago the perfection of Italy's maritime power."

"Mr. Winston Churchill," he added, "is quite right: the Italian fleet must, from now on, form an element in all international calculations. Whether England should regard it as a weapon to be wielded for her or as one that may be used against her is a question that England's actions will answer."

Afraid of Tripoli.

THE *Vossische Zeitung* prints from its Vienna correspondent a message about the desertions from the Italian army, which, it seems, have of late become exceedingly frequent. Thus, a few days ago, during the exercises of the Italian artillery near the frontier of Tyrol, four artillerymen, in spite of the cordon drawn along the frontier, succeeded in crossing by mountain passes into Tyrol, pleading bad

treatment and fear of being sent to Tripoli. Since last Thursday two Italian Bersaglieri may be seen at Bozen in full uniform, but without their swords, which have been taken away from them. They, too, have deserted because they did not want to go to Tripoli. A couple of days before two other Bersaglieri were stopped near Landro by the Austrian frontier guards. They made no attempt to hide, but admitted that they had deserted in order to avoid being sent to Tripoli. Lastly, on the very day of the despatch of the telegram (Tuesday), four deserters were brought in to Görz who explained that they had left the colours for fear of being sent away to Tripoli.

Old Turks and Young.

A STUDENT of Eastern Affairs who wanted to define the inner psychological difference between the old *régime* in Turkey and the new, might dwell with a lingering and affectionate interest on the place of the *Ghazi* in each. The title of *Ghazi* is the proudest which any Turk may wear. There is nothing quite so honorable in Europe. We confer a dukedom on a great soldier, which his descendants make haste to vulgarise and cheapen. The Turks confer the honorific distinction of *Ghazi*, which means simply victor. Very few of them have borne it in our time, and only two were of any real note. One was the old lion of Plevna, Osman Pasha, and the other was the equally distinguished, if not quite equally famous, Mukhtar Pasha of Kars. Their fate under Abdul Hamid was pitiable and mean. He feared nothing so much as a great soldier—not even an Armenian bomb-thrower. Osman Pasha he kept always about him, a palace prisoner, and degraded him to the level of his lackeys and his eunuchs. The brave old man might be seen driving by his side once a week in his state carriage; for the rest he was a captive. The other *Ghazi*, Mukhtar Pasha, was sent into a sort of splendid exile in the Turkish residency at Cairo, where he relieved the tedium of oblivion by studying Lord Cromer, and talking with the Nationalist leader, Kamel. To-day the world is changed. A *Ghazi* is no longer a danger to the throne whom a jealous Sultan thrusts into an honorable obscurity. He is a pillar of society, a prop to the tottering Empire, a rallying name to be raised to power in the hour of direst danger and crisis. That is the real significance of the nomination of Mukhtar Pasha to the Grand Vizierate. The Empire needs a popular head, whom soldiers will venerate and crowds applaud. He has come to power at last after his years of exile, a Wellington summoned to overawe Tories and Whigs alike. Nothing has been done by halves. Three former Viziers stand by his side—the octogenarian Kiamil, the astute Hilmi who kept Europe at bay in Macedonia, the suave Ferid who ruled the Porte in the last days of the old *régime*. The new Cabinet means nothing from the standpoint of parties and ideas. But emphatically it means the rallying of the Old Turks, the experienced octogenarian Turks, against the extravagances of the Young.

Despotism has been shaken and destroyed. In the new crisis the personality of the Sultan and the sacrosanct authority of the Caliph counted for nothing at all. He was fain to summon a *Ghazi* to his aid. The choice means, finally, the recognition of a popular era, in which the forces of personal popularity may decide the fortunes of an Empire. But it is not yet the democracy of the West. Much is altered in Turkey, but in one characteristic it is more Turkish than ever. It has returned to the military epoch which seemed to have ended somewhere about the 'thirties and 'forties of last century. Thereabouts Turkey entered on a civilian phase. Great civil servants ruled at the Porte. A centralised bureaucracy grasped authority, and the plague of the telegraph began to unify the provinces. The Porte was in the ascendant, and astute Ministers in frock coats made a Levantine State on a pseudo-French model. Under Abdul Hamid the courtier and the Palace secretary won what the Ministers had gained under his predecessors; but still the civilian dominated. Then came the Young Turk revolution. It had, from the first, two faces. It was a coalition of soldiers and civilians. It triumphed by arms and lived by scheming. Until the end we never knew which power really dominated. We heard on the one hand of the officers who had joined the Committee, the gallant Enver Bey and the Dictator-General Mahmud Shevket. We heard on the other hand of the astute civilians, the "intellectuals," the Jews and the crypto-Jews who supplied the brains of its inner organisation and in the end filled the Cabinet. Which element was really dominant? The events of the past month are explicable only on one theory. A schism has declared itself between the military and civilian elements of the Young Turks. The soldiers have become dissatisfied and have formed their rival Military League. It organised, it conspired, and the dreaded civilian secret society has become a thing alarmed, negligible, defeated. It has fallen, in the end, without a struggle. For a second time in four years the officers have made a new *régime* in Turkey. It has for its head a *Ghazi*, because the legal government must appeal by all the ties of sentiment and prestige to the real power within it, the military aristocracy.

We seem, in short, to have returned to the epoch of the Janissaries, when a Pretorian guard, honeycombed by secret societies and quasi-monastic ties, controlled Palace and Porte and people alike. Looking back upon the past, it is tempting to conclude that all the talk of Parliaments and Constitutions was so much froth and make-believe. The reality was always the army. The civilian Young Turks did not themselves take the Parliament seriously. They so manipulated the last elections as to make their artificial majority within it at once supreme and contemptible. It was so strong that it, last week, voted its confidence in Said Pasha's Ministry by a vote unanimous save for four dissentients. The Ministry fell next day. No event could have proclaimed with greater eloquence that the Chamber counts for nothing at all. The real question for the future of Turkey is what will become of this important Chamber. If the Sultan dissolves it, if fresh elections are held, if an honest vote is taken, then Parliamentary government in Turkey may yet have a future. If, on the other hand, the Cabinet of the Elder Turks elects to rule by the sanction of the army, and contemptuously trusts a Chamber, which ought to be against it, to ratify what it does, then there has been no advance towards Parliamentary government; there has not even been a beginning. The Chamber was elected to serve as the Committee's tool. If it slides complacently into the rôle of the Military League's tool, it makes itself an absolute nullity. For the moment it seems that this will happen. No great harm will be done so far as practical momentary politics go. But the real meaning of such an arrangement will be the recognition of Janissary rule. That is perhaps the inevitable, the natural *régime* in Turkey. It may work well or ill. But, however it works, the Constitution has become already a mere form and simulacrum.

Apart from these larger questions, it is probable that the immediate effect of the change will be salutary. The Committee had become a reckless, and probably also a corrupt, organisation. It will take some time for the new Military League to descend to the same level. Meanwhile in two particulars it has begun well. It has abolished martial law in the capital, and it has inaugurated a policy of conciliation in Albania. If it can pacify Albania without fighting, and bring an era of peace and good government to Macedonia and the Yemen, it will be the best Government that Turkey has yet seen. We await events, and we await them hopefully. The Turks have passed through the gravest crisis which has faced them since the counter-revolution of 1909. Once more it has been rapid and bloodless, and once more their external enemies have failed to take advantage of it. The continuance of the Tripoli War is a trifle in comparison with this internal re-adjustment which has suddenly ended a despotism which had become as powerful as that of Abdul Hamid himself. But a wise critic will withhold his verdict yet awhile. Can the Albanians in fact be pacified, and is the Committee in reality dead?—*The Nation*.

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I am highly pleased to have such a nice little machine. Now it runs as smoothly as can be expected. At present it is not very difficult for me to knit one pair in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours, thus giving me 6 pairs in 9 hours. I expect to reach as high as to knit a pair an hour not in a very distant future. Your promptness in sending me the Cheque and Yarn really astonishes me. Now I clearly see, that dealing with a respectable firm as yours anyone, not once only but always, can earn Rs. 30 from the outset and Rs. 60 easily when proficiency comes, that is, after a month or so, with a capital of Rs. 160 to earn Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 per month, is not a job to be trifled with. Now I can safely say, working on your principle no one will have any reason to complain. You are at liberty to freely use my name and be assured that if any one calls on me, I will try my best to push on your interest, which is not only yours but ours too. Hoping to remain in the same intimate terms as at present.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) GOPAL CHANDRA GHOSH,

Head Master, B.M.M.E. School, Pabna.



Genz, Wheeler & Co.

Dept. 36, 28, Dalhousie Square, West, CALCUTTA.



The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by / Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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The Week.

Morocco.

REUTER wires from Tangier :—The Pretender, El Hiba, entered Marrakesh on the 18th instant after fighting with Kaidel Glawi, who remained loyal to the French. El Hiba has besieged the house in which are the French Consul and the French police instructors.

Reuter wires from Paris :—The Council of Ministers has considered the events at Marrakesh, and it is understood that it has decided not to extend field operations to the southern capital.

A message to the *Times* on 24th August from Paris, says that Colonel Mangin, who is now 75 miles from Marrakesh, is preparing to make a dash on the city with 4,000 men.

The Resident, General Lyautey, is now going to the South and will join Colonel Mangin.

Reuter wires from Paris on 25th August :—General Lyautey has transmitted to M. Poincaré a message from the new Sultan declaring the latter's desire for a complete and perfect *entente* and friendly collaboration with France in the interests of peace and progress.

It appears that the French Consul and his companions, whose house was attacked by the Pretender El Hiba on the latter's entry into Marrakesh, attempted to leave but were stopped some miles from the city and obliged to return. The house of El Glawi, who remained faithful to the French, is still besieged. It is said that France proposes negotiating with the Pretender to release the Consul and

his companions. If efforts in this connection are not successful, France will despatch a relief column.

Reuter wires from Paris on 25th August :—Colonel Mangin yesterday came into contact with advanced posts of the Pretender El Hiba and repulsed them, capturing the banners and a quantity of ammunition. El Gaw handed nine Frenchmen over to El Hiba, but it is not mentioned whether the Consul was among them. El Hiba promised to protect the Frenchmen and convey them to the coast.

Reuter wires from Tangier on 26th August :—The delivery of the nine Frenchmen to El Hiba has caused great anxiety in official circles. There are still vague hopes of saving them, though negotiations with El Hiba's Khalifa may be suspended at any moment.

The French Government is anxious to avoid an expedition to Marrakesh not only because of the lack of forces but also on account of the excessive heat of the district. It is feared, however, that Colonel Mangin's success may result in vindictive measures.

Reuter wires from Paris :—There is a strong demand here for the rescue of Marrakesh prisoners. The newspapers unanimously insist that vigorous measures be taken.

Morocco.

REUTER wires from Paris on 28th August :—The Pretender's forces have made repeated attacks on the French advanced camp at Sukelarba. The French had few casualties. General Lyautey has joined Colonel Mangin.

China.

THE *Times* of 23rd August publishes a lengthy letter from Dr. Morrison, lately Peking correspondent of the *Times*, and now Political Adviser to the President of the Chinese Republic. Dr. Morrison, who is now in London, protests against alarming reports from China and hysterical forecasts of disruption appearing in the English press.

When Dr. Morrison left China, the conditions everywhere were improving and he dwells upon the cordial relations between Yuan-Shi-Kai Liyuanhung and Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, the high character of the *personnel* of the present Government and the administrative reforms introduced.

Reuter wires from Peking on 25th August :—Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen has arrived here. He met with a magnificent reception. The Assembly has not yet met owing to the small attendance of members. The proposed impeachment of the Government, therefore, has collapsed for the present.

Reuter wires from Peking on 26th August :—Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen and Yuan-Shi-Kai conferred for many hours. Both afterwards declared that they were in perfect agreement on all important questions.

Reuter wires from Peking :—Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen in an interview with Reuter's representative said, he believed that the incident of the executions was settled. North and South would henceforth work more smoothly together. He considered that Yuan-Shi-Kai was eminently fitted for the Presidency and was worthy of support.

Tibet.

A CORRESPONDENT confirms the statement as to the settlement reached at Lhasa. He states that the arms and ammunition handed over by the Chinese troops are being sent on the 18th instant to the Terapchi Monastery where they will be stored in a sealed room.

In compliance with news from Peking, the Governor of Szechuan left Cheng Tu on 24th July with a force of several thousand men including the contingent of regulars from Yunnan to clear the Tibetans out of the country to the west of the Yatung river. His object will be to re-occupy Litang and Ba'ang.

The *Times* in a further article on Tibet contends that during the past few weeks an entirely new situation has arisen in Tibet. All our acknowledgments of Chinese suzerainty, it says, were made in circumstances which are now non-existent. Renewed Chinese invasion will doubtless be accompanied by barbarity and followed by merciless oppression. We ought to insist that Chinese intervention shall never again be exercised except within well-defined limits. Tibet must not be again deprived of her twice-won autonomy. The clause in the Anglo-Russian Convention prohibiting representatives at Lhasa ought to be re-considered. The extent of British interests and the welfare of the Tibetans suggest the appointing of a British representative at Lhasa and the present is a favourable moment to examine the suggestion.

New Delhi.

THE Punjab Government and Foreign Office are working out the programme of the Viceroy's State entry into Delhi, the date of which is unsettled. The 20th December, which has been announced in some papers, may be found impossible, as the 18th, 19th and 20th are Mohurram holidays and days of Moslem mourning. The neighbouring Chiefs will join the procession and a large number of members of the Imperial Council may be expected to be present in spite of the election contests, which will then be taking place all over the country.

The "Burma Critic."

The District Magistrate continued on, 23rd August, the hearing of the defamation case by Mr. G. P. Andrew, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Mergui, against Mr. C. Arnold, Editor and Proprietor of the *Burma Critic*.

The complainant was recalled by his counsel and produced a copy of the *Burma Critic*, dated 15th August 1912, after the filing of the complaint in which he complained of the article under the title "the McCormick case." The article was not true when it said that "illegality and irregularities have already been proved."

Mr. Finnie, I.A., Superintendent of Police, in course of examination, deposed to having investigated the McCormick case on 16th July 1911, and to Inspector Sherard informing him that McCormick had refused to give up the girl (Ina) except on condition that she was made over to Sherard, and two days later the girl made a statement of McCormick having abducted and raped her. Sherard also stated that McCormick had the reputation of being a dangerous man. Sherard recorded the evidence of witnesses and witness discussed the case with Mr. Buchanan, Sub-divisional Officer. Witness next deposed to his recording the statement of witnesses in the enquiry and to the examination of the girl lasting an hour and a half at the most. Whilst the examination was proceeding Mr. Buchanan issued a warrant against McCormick and insisted on its execution as in his (Buchanan's) opinion a *prima facie* case against him had been made out. Buchanan gave witness no explanation for taking the case out of witness's hands, because before the enquiry by the witness started Buchanan had said he had washed his hands of it. Witness considered Mr. Buchanan's action was improper. Witness after the issue of the warrant by Mr. Buchanan wrote a note asking McCormick to see him at once. He arrived on 19th July and he was put under arrest in the dak bungalow as there was no suitable place in Victoria Point to confine a European. Witness then sent a telegram in cypher to Andrew so that the Telegraph Office might not know that he was passing remarks about the Magistrate. In it he stated Buchanan had lost his head. In another message witness said McCormick had asked for bail. Mr. Andrew granted bail of Rs. 500 by wire on 20th July and witness released McCormick after 25 hours on 21st July. Witness continued the examination of several witnesses and sent a telegram to Andrew to the effect that abduction and rape were false. All statements were handed to Mr. Buchanan, who said he was going to convict.

In further examination by Mr. Rutledge in the defamation case on August 24th Captain Finnie said he did not understand the allegation that the inquiry was held secretly. It was an extraordinary allegation that the complainants were kept in entire ignorance of what was going on. There was not needless delay in the inquiry. It was "an absolute lie" that witness tried from the first to burke inquiry as to McCormick's guilt. He did no such thing. It was an absolute lie that he let Mr. McCormick escape and helped him to escape. It was also a lie that he conspired with the District Magistrate (Mr. Andrew) to burke the case.

In reply to Mr. Hamlyn in cross-examination, the witness said he had nothing to say of Mr. Andrew's character. He (witness) wrote a lengthy opinion on the case. He did in effect find Mr. McCormick not guilty. So did Mr. Sherard. To a certain extent the case was made up against Mr. McCormick. He thought Mr. Buchanan, the Sub-Divisional Officer, was not above board. He did not know that the girl (Ina) was examined by Mr. Sherard in Mr. McCormick's house with Mr. McCormick present. On June 5th witness received an order from the Secretary of State to return to

Burma in connection with a charge accusing a Deputy Commissioner and witness at the instance of a local newspaper. There was no Government inquiry about these accusations against them. Witness had never been called on for any sort of explanation. He hoped the sum of Rs. 15,000 he was claiming in the Chief Court would heal his wounds. Mr. McCormick and witness were acquainted with each other.

On August 26th in the Chief Court a written statement was filed by the second defendant in the suit for Rs. 16,000 damages for defamation brought against Mr. Arnold, editor and proprietor of the *Burma Critic*, the printer of the paper and W. H. Lidbetter. The third defendant, who is in Mandalay, has not yet been served with process. In his written statement the second defendant stated that the first defendant was the sole proprietor and publisher of the *Burma Critic* and that he (the second defendant) was the printer. He admitted having printed the articles referred to in the plaint but did not admit that the effect of such articles was correctly set out in the plaint. He did not admit the articles meant what was alleged in the plaint or that they were capable of any such meaning or of any defamatory meaning. In so far as the articles consisted of allegations of facts they were true in substance and in fact. In so far as they consisted of expressions of opinion they were fair comments made in good faith and without malice upon matters of public interest.

On August 26th Captain McLean Finnie, D. S. P., Mergui, was further cross-examined by Mr. Hamlyn. Witness said in the course of the cross-examination that he did not want to execute a warrant against Captain McCormick as he thought it improper and premature. He did not disobey but executed the warrant. Mr. Buchanan had been actuated by panic. Witness received the warrant. Witness did not tell Mr. Buchanan that he would get into trouble if he did not cancel it. Mr. Buchanan said he issued the warrant after seeing the papers in Sherard's possession. Witness did not lock up McCormick on grounds of humanity as the lock-up was unfit for a European and as he had not been refused bail. He released him when he got Mr. Andrew's reply. While McCormick was in the custody of witness he dined with witness. He provided him with all that he required in the way of bed, etc. Witness said he could not enter into any discussion as to whether it was right for McCormick to have kept the child from its mother. There was evidence that the girl was given to Ali's troupe as a dancer. It was the general opinion that the girl had been tampered with. McCormick claimed his right to the child because he had adopted her and paid her Rs. 30. McCormick's clerk and McCormick both talked of buying and selling in connection with the child. He knew what they meant by it. It was in Sherard's diary that McCormick refused to give the child back to her mother. Witness's cross-examination will be concluded to-morrow.

On August 27th the cross-examination of Captain Finnie was closed in the defamation case of Andrew vs. Arnold, and after the assistant editor of the *Rangoon Times* was cross-examined as to the communication that passed between the Local Government and the *Rangoon Times* in regard to a letter from a Mergui correspondent discussing the McCormick case which had not been published, Mr. Hamlyn asked the Court to call the Lieutenant Governor to produce telegrams sent to His Honour by the complainants in connection with the case.

Mr. Rutledge strenuously objected, but he had no objection to secondary evidence being called to prove the fact.

His Worship refused to issue summons to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Mr. Hamlyn asked the Court to call Mr. Dawson, Commissioner, Mergui Division, Inspector Sherard and Mr. Buchanan, Sub-Divisional Officer, as witnesses. This was also refused.

The accused made a lengthy statement in the course of which he protested against the gross partiality shown to the prosecution by His Worship from start to finish. In order to get documents in evidence his Counsel had to fight tooth and nail like trying to get blood out of stone. He could not conceive any enquiry conducted under a British magistracy under more partial circumstances. He could conceive no proceedings where the prosecution had been shown such favouritism on every occasion as that which His Worship had done. If he were a stronger Magistrate he would not have committed him. He had no hostile feeling towards either Mr. Andrew or Captain Finnie. He had a duty to perform to the public, and he did it with much reluctance. He had no reason to injure anybody. He considered there had been miscarriage of justice and it was his duty to draw the attention of the authorities. He accepted all the responsibility for his acts.

The accused was then charged with defamation and committed to the Chief Court Sessions.

The accused's advocate promised to file the list of witnesses for the Sessions on Monday.

The next criminal sessions are fixed for November.

In order to secure the attendance of witnesses for the defence the Chief Court has fixed a special session to try the defamation case of Andrew vs. Arnold for 2nd October. Sir Charles Fox will preside.

TETE À TETE



WHEN Austria usurped Bosnia and Herzegovina soon after the Turkish Revolution, and the Turks revenged themselves as best they could by a boycott of Austrian goods, it came as a shock of surprise to many that most of the Fezes which the Turks wore

Egyptian and Turkish Fezes.

had been manufactured in Austria. They were, of course, given up, and in their place the Turks wore white Fezes of their own manufacture, though they were of much inferior quality. This boycott gave such an impetus to honest Swadeshi that better quality Fezes began to be manufactured, and now that Italian goods are boycotted, including Italy-made Fezes, those manufactured in Turkey and Egypt are in common use. Messrs. S. F. Chishti and Co., of Delhi, have ordered some of these and we have received one each of three qualities. We have no hesitation in saying that the Fezes are as good as the best made in Austria or Italy, and, at the prices marked, are even better. The prices are Rs. 2-4 and Re. 1-8 each for the Turkish, and Re. 1-12 for the Egyptian caps. There are other qualities, too, in stock, 7 manufactured in Constantinople and 5 in Cairo, with prices ranging from As. 12 to Rs. 2-8. Superior qualities have also been ordered. We were anxious to be satisfied that these Fezes are really of Turkish and Egyptian manufacture, and not Austrian or Italian in disguise. This has been proved to our satisfaction by the marks on the caps themselves and lead seals attached to them. We are sure Indian Mussalmans would make a rush for these caps in preference to inferior and more costly Austrian caps. We are informed by the firm that a liberal discount is given to Muhammadan colleges and schools and other institutions ordering large quantities. We should think Nigarh alone would consume some 1,500 Fezes a year.

THE situation in the Balkans has cleared a little, though it still retains some features of ennobled gravity. Montenegro has been brought to a proper frame of mind by a rebuke of the Powers:

The Balkans.

and Bulgarian growls are mere stage thunders to attract international attention. Turkey is powerful enough to cope with these petty and noisy enemies at her frontiers if there were no danger of Austria and Russia beginning to fish in the troubled waters. The real source of anxiety for the Turkish Cabinet is the Albanian situation. It is yet too early to say if the large concessions that have been promised will lead to a permanent settlement of the question. If the pacificism of the Government is once interpreted as weakness, the danger of fresh insurrections and of sympathetic outbreaks in Macedonia would become imminent. The recent move of the Austrian Foreign Minister to invoke the dead "Concert" into life again has a very sinister outlook. The Turkish attitude, however, is firm in regard to Austrian proposals, and we are sure if this attitude is maintained the "Concert" will not move out of its grave to sit in judgment again on Turkish affairs. The inspiration of Germany may not be wholly absent in the Austrian move, in view of the fact that the present Turkish Government is of a somewhat Anglophile character. The loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina occurred at a time when British friendship for Turkey was very loudly demonstrative. We hope Austria, the "brilliant second" will not be allowed to prove to Turkey once more that British friendship is merely platonic and is quite powerless to save her from further laceration or disgrace. The informal peace negotiations that are said to be proceeding in Switzerland have not yet entered a decisive stage. It is rumoured in Berlin and Vienna that a formula has been discovered which would be acceptable to both the belligerents. According to this formula, Tripoli is to be administered by Italy on the lines of Egypt, and the suzerainty of the Sultan is to be preserved. We are sure no Turkish Government, jealous of its "honour, dignity and rights", will be content with this shadow. Peace will be concluded in Tripoli itself when every Arab, man, boy and child has shed his blood in defence of his home, faith and country; and not before.

In response to our invitation to our Muslim subscribers to vote whether a University on the terms of the Government should or should not be accepted, we have received a few replies. Unfortunately, the last week's issue could not be

Muslim University Voting Papers.

posted on the usual date on account of delay in the printing of a forty-page Supplement containing the Muslim University Constitution, and, therefore, there was not time enough for us to receive voting papers except from subscribers at short distances. However, every succeeding post is bringing a larger number of them, and we hope the strength of the voters would be much greater during next week. We trust our Muslim readers would not delay sending in their votes because it is essential that the opinion of the majority should be ascertained as early as possible, so that the Muslim University Foundation Committee could meet at an early date and arrive at a final decision. We do not intend to keep the voting open indefinitely, and it is our present intention to close it by the 15th of September. Now that we have supplied to every reader of the *Comrade* the fullest details of the Draft Constitution, they have ample material on which to base their judgments. The voting during the week has been as follows:—

For the acceptance of the University on the Government's terms	2
Against the acceptance of the University on the Government's terms	35
Total	37

A shout of relief, not unmingled with groans, went forth from the Press in this country when it learnt that the Midnapur trial had at length run its weary course and the Hon. Mr. Justice Woodroffe had delivered a tremendous judgment. An industrious contemporary has calculated that the judgment, if spread out in cold print, would cover a mile. Its length, however, is not the only feature that has staggered our dainty contemporary. However great may be the difference of opinion as to the findings of the Judge, there can be no question that the pronouncement of Mr. Justice Woodroffe is very decisive, very sure and very full-blooded. Indeed, it is because of its "full-bloodedness" that one feels, at times, as if one were listening to the pleadings of an advocate. One comes across sentences, here and there, that sound like a retort and a challenge. The learned Judge, in the course of his elaborate argument, turns round to Mr. Justice Fletcher and to the plaintiff's Counsel again and again, as to someone in the witness-box, to give them a piece of his mind. The net result of the judgment has been that the defendants, holding responsible positions in the public service, one of them being a district magistrate, have been declared *not* guilty of the charges that were proved against them in the Lower Court. The matter would have been one for unalloyed satisfaction if the Press, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, had not imported into its discussions of the case a partisan feeling of the most virulent character. As the *Bengalee* had grandiloquently declared some time ago, a section of the Bengalee public regarded the case as a trial of strength between "the people and the police armed with the resources of the bureaucracy." The chief concern of some of the Anglo-Indian journals had been to bring about a vindication of the character of Mr. Weston: they rarely felt any excessive love for "the ends of justice." Now that Mr. Weston has been declared innocent, they have thrown up their caps for sheer joy and ridiculed and savagely assailed the Judge who had dared to cast a slur on the character of an Englishman and a member of the Indian Civil Service to boot. Be that as it may, we congratulate all the three defendants cordially.

This partisan and savage temper has been shown at its best—or worst—by that faithful henchman of the Services, the *Pioneer* of Allahabad. It loudly calls upon Mr. Justice Fletcher to resign

Its After-math.

because his judgment has been reversed by three brother Judges of the High Court. In itself, it is a petty outburst of impotent rage and malice, and Mr. Justice Fletcher can well afford to treat it with silent contempt. But the attack has a serious public aspect which gravely affects the impartial administration of justice in this country. It is an undisguised attempt to trench upon the judicial independence of the Bench; for a judge who would happen to differ from a journal that has a habit of fawning on executive authority would have to suffer a vulgar vilification and abuse. It is for the Government of India to decide if the Indian High Courts can work independently under the vague shadow of journalistic terrorism. The best course, under the circumstances, would seem to be to break up all the Tribunals of Justice in the land and hand over the functions of the Judiciary to the paragraph writers and newsvendors of the *Pioneer*. Not that the Bengali Press is any better. The *Patriki* is a good match for the *Pioneer* any day. In this connection we recommend to our readers the excellent comments of the *Empire*.

A CALCUTTA telegram, dated the 27th instant, stated that Haji Ahmed Moosaji Salehji had withdrawn his contribution of Rs. 10,000 to the Muslim University Fund, and that in view of the

False Indignation.

Recent Government decision other leading Calcutta contributors contemplated following his example. This was stated to have been published on good authority. We hope it was not the authority of Mr. Ahmed Moosaji Salehji himself, because that gentleman knows it as well as we do that his contribution, along with that of his friend, Mr. Ehsan Karim, who had also contributed Rs. 10,000, had been withdrawn as much as four months ago, and for quite different reasons from those on which the Calcutta telegram stated that it had been withdrawn. These donations were very substantial indeed, because they formed as much as about 40 per cent. of the total contribution of Western Bengal. But those who were responsible for collecting subscriptions in this sub-province know with what difficulty these contributions were collected from the donors. So far as we recollect, the gentlemen did not send the money to the bank for nearly a year after having subscribed, and the Secretary of the Provincial Committee and those who assisted him had to serve no less than three or four dozen reminders in the shape of letters, verbal entreaties and personal calls. Even then, these gentlemen, along with three others from Calcutta, were the only donors throughout India that made their contributions conditional on the establishment of the University by the 31st of March, 1912. On account of this condition, these five contributions, aggregating Rs 35,000, were never calculated as part of the Muslim University Fund for purposes of publication, and the event has justified the precaution in the case of Messrs. Ahmed Moosaji Salehji and Ehsan Karim. For, as we have already stated, they withdrew their contributions immediately on the expiry of the period mentioned. As a matter of fact, when Nawab Vihar-ul-Mulk asked the Bank not to return the money pending the receipt of the reply from these donors to a letter which he was addressing to them, entreating them not to withdraw their contributions, we hear they wrote a very insulting letter to the Nawab Sahib accusing him of breach of faith and of a desire to misappropriate their money. We do not know if they have in any way suggested or authorised the telegram of the 27th instant; but if that is so, it is clear that they wish to gain a certain amount of distinction as stubborn Muslim patriots, whereas they showed the full measure of their self-sacrifice and patriotism when they withdrew their contributions and insulted Nawab Vihar-ul-Mulk. In any case, we are glad that an authoritative telegram from Aligarh has made matters clear. It states the facts which we have already mentioned, and adds that the contribution of Messrs. Moosaji, Ahmad & Co. was never treated as part of the University Fund, and, therefore, nothing has been refunded from the University Fund. We trust that the other three gentlemen from Calcutta, whose contributions were also conditional, but who, so far as we know, have not yet withdrawn them, will not now do so, and on the contrary make them absolute. This is not an occasion for withdrawing a pie from the University Fund, and patriotism consists in contributing still more to it so that Government and other communities may be impressed with the willingness of the Mussalmans to undergo every sacrifice for the sake of their University, which, God willing, they will soon establish.

THE selection of a president for the Indian National Congress affords to the cynic every year an excellent occasion for amusement. The choice is usually swayed by strange considerations—

Not Good Enough for Behar!

none of these considerations, of course, is so low as to ignore "public interest." The number of acceptable "candidates" is limited, and they may be arranged in three categories. There are those who have graced the Congress chair more than once and only escape re-election by accident. There is the stop-gap "candidate" on whom the choice falls in extreme emergency as the "next best veteran" after Mr. So-and-So. Then, again, there is the "perpetual candidate" on whom, through some irony of fate, the choice never seems to fall at all. The "veteran" figures in the list every year and, at the last moment, is quietly placed on the shelf. The Hon. Mr. Muldholker is one of the "perpetual candidates." The Provincial Congress Committees wax enthusiastic over his "long and steadfast services to the country," but—the presidential chair is offered to somebody else. This year he has come perilously near being elected. The majority of the Provincial Committees have recorded their vote in his favour, but Young Behar has put her foot down and would have none of him. The Hon. Mr. Mudholker is a good Congress man, an old veteran who has grown grey in the "service of his country," but he is not good enough for Behar. Behar has "its peculiar circumstances"—her youth or babyhood, her inexperience, her new-born consciousness of self require a more picturesque and popular hero to champion her cause than an old, colourless, unromantic gentleman who has merely done "great service to his country."

Few countries can offer parallels for the tender gentleness of nature, the heroic self-effacement and the whole-souled devotion to the cause of suffering humanity which have always characterised the Indian ladies. Unfortunately, however, their

The Sisters of India.

high potentialities for organised humanitarian work had hitherto lain dormant because, in their head-long rush for progress, the Indian reformers forgot to accept the limitations of the present constitution of Indian society and refused to give our womenfolk a place in their elaborate programmes for the uplifting of the nation. They made it a postulate that the Indian ladies before taking part in the work of the great Indian Renaissance which is now working out its mighty destiny, should immediately and absolutely break away from all those restrictions of purdah, caste and society which Indian ideas of modesty or propriety imposed on them. Apart from the question of the desirability or otherwise of such absolute break of "continuity with the past," it should be patent to the most perfunctory observer of Indian society, that such a sudden revolution, however easily achieved by the radical sons of modern India, is nothing short of impossible in the zenana. It is a circumstance of happy augury, therefore, that quite recently right-thinking Indian reformers have come to recognise that, good or bad, they have to make the best of the present situation in working out schemes for the amelioration of the women in India. The Seva Sadan Society of Bombay, which we referred to when noticing the recent death of one of its founders, the late Mr. Malabari, is an institution which, while doing admirable work for the amelioration of Indian women, has not failed to adapt itself to the present constitution of Indian society. The two "basic principles" upon which it works are (1) that "Life is a trust for loving, self-sacrificing service," and (2) that all Indian sisters should be "one at core, if not in creed." It is an institution organised almost exclusively by high-souled ladies who gratuitously undertake to be "ministers of mercy" or the bearers of the torch of light into the darkness of Indian homes. The institution is unique in view of the fact that it is the first "indigenous, non-proselytising, non-sectarian organisation for lovingly serving all the three races of India, independently of caste and creed." Here for the first time are seen Hindu, Muhammadan and Parsi ladies working shoulder to shoulder in the service of a United India. Another unique feature is that no less than 78 of the members are *pardanashin* ladies. The work done by the society is divided into several departments. Not the least important of these is the department of Famine Relief in which some of the "sisters" have done such admirable work that H. E. Sir George Clarke, in his speech on the 10th April, 1912, acknowledged their "valuable personal service in helping to mitigate distress due to famine." Another useful department is the Home for the Homeless, which not only offers protection to waifs and strays and even to old and blind women, but also rescues women and children from dens of ill fame and wins them back to higher life by teaching them "domestic work, needlework, knitting and the three R's." Then, there is the Industrial Home where girls belonging to poor families of the town or those taken in from the mofussil are admitted free to the classes for weaving, knitting, tailoring, type-writing, sewing and drawing, and thus helped to earn bread for themselves and their families. There is also a Nursing and Midwifery class for the training of probationary "sisters" for work in the different branches and hospitals of the Sadan and a free dispensary for poor women and children. Some of the more enterprising "sisters" have joined the "Social Service Section" and visit the cottages of the poorest classes "to discover cases of distress." The Islamia Section, besides taking part in the general work of "Ministers of Mercy," has started Home Classes for *pardanashin* women. There are also free educational classes for the teaching of the poorest girls and boys of all castes and creeds, and libraries and reading rooms for the use of the members and of poor women. The Sadan endeavours to educate public opinion and popularise its work by issuing a continuous series of booklets, pamphlets and tracts on such subjects as self-sacrifice, unity, hygiene, care of infants, evils of smoking, the drink demon, etc. In short, the Sadan has been doing eminently useful work in all its various departments for the amelioration of Indian women, "by helping them to help themselves." And it was no empty compliment which Lady Clarke paid when she said that "the predominant impression left on me, in each of them (the branches of the Sadan), was the very happy one that the spirit of love, charity and sisterhood is the keynote of their activities. It was a pleasure to meet so large a number of kind-hearted, philanthropic women, who devote their lives to the relief of the poor and those in distress. All communities are welcome. . . . I cordially wish continued success to this noble work." We understand the "sisters" are appealing to the public for funds to extend their scope of usefulness. We have no hesitation in strongly recommending this appeal. And we earnestly request our sisters all over India to establish similar Sisterhoods in other parts of the country and to emulate the admirable work which is being done by the Seva Sadan of Bombay. Noble work is being done here by noble women to ennoble their sisters. The soul of B. M. Malabari in heaven must be doubtly blessed at the thought of this.

WE WERE gratified at the extremely sympathetic reply which Lord Crewe gave last month to the members of the strong deputation that waited upon him to plead for certain drastic reforms in the Excise Administration of India. Though

A Successful Deputation.

some of his lordship's replies to definite proposals were vague and unsatisfactory, his general attitude of approval of the main principles advocated by the deputation gives bright promises for the future. We frankly concede, as did Mr. Gokhale, that total prohibition is a pious dream which, in the present constitution of society, is not within the realm of practical politics anywhere in the world. But we must say that we are disposed to call into question his lordship's statement that in India the Government are faced by "special difficulties" in the matter of temperance reform. On the contrary, we firmly hold that in India, more than perhaps in any other country, the bulk of public opinion, representing all castes and creeds, feels very strongly on the subject of the appalling increase of drunkenness; and we believe that more is to be gained by associating public opinion with the licensing authorities in India than in those countries where the drink habit has come to be considered a necessary concomitant of modern industrial progress. We, therefore, heartily welcome Lord Crewe's statement to the deputation that "he was much impressed by the desire for the multiplication of Advisory Committees with a view to securing more local control and that he would sympathetically represent to the Government of India their views of the question." We also agree with his lordship that the Advisory Committees should not be "turned into Licensing Committees with full powers," for, we are afraid, in certain industrial centres the vested interests of the modern "captains of industry" militate strongly against "the social well-being" of the working classes who are somehow the easiest prey to the insidious advances of Bacchus. But we earnestly hope that, in "reconsidering the various points raised in the light of the new facts that have come into being since the subject was last examined" by the Excise Committee which Lord Morley appointed in 1907, the Government of India will have regard for the consensus of public opinion which lays "great emphasis on the desirability of separating the Licensing from the Revenue Department," and we agree with Lord Crewe "that this was one of those double functions in India which we would be glad to see gradually disappear." Far be it from us to insinuate that the Revenue Department is deliberately callous about "the social well-being of the people," but we submit that a Department, whose chief business it is to collect the revenue, cannot help being subconsciously actuated by money-grabbing motives in those secondary duties which it considers a bye-product of its industry. With all our "fairness to the officers," we certainly cannot absolve the Excise Department of all blame in "the prevalence of the drinking habit." Nor can we be satisfied with the explanations that Lord Crewe has given about the increased consumption of liquor. We readily concede that "illicit distillation," "medical purposes," and the "growing prosperity" of the people are not factors to be neglected. But allowing an ample margin for each of them, we still fail to account for the appalling increase of the drinking habit. We wish we could agree with Lord Crewe in thinking that it "has been greatly exaggerated." By the united testimony of the official returns, and the private opinion of administrative officers, missionaries, Indian judges and public men we must admit that the question of drink is rapidly coming to the forefront of the Indian programme of social reform as one of the most difficult problems to solve. Whether or not the prevalence of the habit is a historic category, is a question of purely academic interest; but the broad fact cannot be blinked that its frightful increase is a factor which has come into prominence only during the latter part of the British Rule, and whether that Rule was responsible for it or not, it is now the clear duty of the Government to leave nothing undone which could at all tend to repress it. But by no stretch of imagination can we believe that that duty can be performed by making Excise a Provincial Head of Revenue. Last year ours was the solitary voice raised against it, and we are glad to find the *Statesman* now coming to keep us company.

SOME time back we drew the attention of the Moslem public to the great financial inadequacy which hampers the Managing Committee of the Calcutta Muhammadan Orphanage in the work which they

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have been carrying on in face of great difficulties. Along with our issue of the 10th August we sent to our readers "An Appeal" for the sum of rupees one lakh of which the institution stands in immediate and dire need. We have now the greatest pleasure in announcing that the appeal on behalf of the poor Muhammadan orphans of Bengal, Behar, Assam and Burma has met with a hearty response from some of our readers. And it bodes well for the future of Moslem India that sympathisers even from distant towns have contributed liberally towards the necessary sum. Some of the latest subscriptions received by the Managing Committee are:—Rs. 500 from Ghulamali G. Chagla, Esq., of Karachi, Rs. 20 from M. A. Nayeem, Esq., of Waini, and Rs. 20 from A. Mohammed, Esq., of Nowgong.

The Comrade.

The Muslim University.

II.

THERE is hardly a responsible newspaper that has not condemned the Government on the score of its encouraging hopes which it is now anxious to destroy. It must not be imagined that such a patent objection to the present policy did not occur to so shrewd an official as the Member for Education. He realized its force to the full, and, therefore, commences his letter to the President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee by stating that "you will remember that the movement was started without any reference to Government." In other words, Sir Harcourt Butler very cleverly tries to shift the responsibility for the deep disappointment of the Mussalmans to their own leaders. We trust the Muslim leaders will not forget this act of kindness, for it amounts to nothing less than throwing them "to the lions."

But the responsibility for so deep a disappointment cannot be so easily shifted. Does Sir Harcourt give us to understand that Government knew nothing of a movement that was revived so long ago as 1898? He may not have had access to the schemes put forward by Muhammadan leaders, because most of their speeches and writings were embodied in Urdu. But the scheme of Sir Theodore Morison, which was launched the same year, could not have been out of the reach of Sir Harcourt Butler, and, in view of his deep interest in Moslem education, it is difficult to believe that he was ignorant even of the general lines on which Sir Theodore Morison, among others, proposed that a Muslim University should be established.

In the issue of the 3rd instant we have already quoted from the speech which Sir Theodore delivered in December 1898 at Lahore before the Muhammadan Educational Conference.* In his brochure on "Imperial Rule in India," Sir Theodore Morison goes even further and recommends to Government the entrusting of every college to some community or other. Again, in his "History of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh," which was published in 1903, he says that "the general principle which I believe is capable of very wide application is, that a University should be the University of a community not of an area; there should, for instance, be a University for the Muhammadans, for the Parsis, for the Hindus of Eastern India, etc., but no University for the Punjab or Madras or Bombay." Referring to the University Commission of Sir Thomas Raleigh and their regretfully noticing the absence of the pious benefactor from our Universities, and to the remarks of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (now Lord St. Aldwyn) at Aligarh, that "experience has shown that there is no more certain way of encouraging the flow of private generosity than by associating education with some form of religion," he writes: "I believe that the Muhammadans would bestir themselves to endow a Muhammadan University in a way to relieve the Public Exchequer of all burden, if they were confident that the Government would grant them a charter; if they failed to contribute a stipulated minimum endowment fund the question of a Muhammadan University would not be brought before the Government." Could Sir Harcourt justify his "deep interest in the movement" by asking us to believe that he was ignorant of these statements about the scope of the Moslem University? The University of a community and not an area, a Muhammadan University which could relieve the Public Exchequer of the entire burden of the higher education of Mussalmans, and a University which would not confine residence to Aligarh alone but would accept as satisfactory residence in the boarding-house of a college which can give guarantees that the training of character is not less carefully attended to than in the parent institution, could not have been the "University of Aligarh" without powers of affiliation which Sir Harcourt Butler commends to the acceptance of the Mussalmans.

It is true that the Mussalmans did not formally approach the Government in 1911, when H. H. the Aga Khan first girded up his loins in order to accomplish what was being proposed year after year in the Educational Conference of the Mussalmans. But even though the Aga Khan was not so simple as to rush to the Member for Education with an elaborate constitution for an educational Utopia, it is well known that the Member for Education did not leave the

* Since writing on the subject on the 3rd instant we have found in Appendix (A) to "The Report of the Sir Syed Ahmad Memorial Fund Committee up to the end of October 1898" a scheme of the proposed Moslem University prepared by Sir Theodore Morison, on which he evidently based his subsequent speech at Lahore. We therefore quote the following because they are his own words, although our re-translation of the Urdu version of his speech is substantially the same: "I do not mean to say that residence must be in Aligarh, but in the boarding-house of a College which can give guarantees that the training of character is not less carefully attended to than in the parent institution."

Aga Khan unquestioned about the character of the proposed Muslim University. If the four practical objections which Sir Harcourt Butler has now raised on educational grounds against affiliation—and the many more which he can presumably raise when these four have been met with—had occurred to him earlier than the 9th of August, 1912, he had ample opportunities to bring them to the notice of H. H. the Aga Khan or the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad even before the Mussalmans approached him for the first time in May, 1911.

If, however, these are after-thoughts—and, in that case, they would by no means be the first of their kind—the Member for Education had three subsequent opportunities, before the end of September, 1911, of informing the Mussalmans that affiliation would be altogether impossible. A deputation consisting of the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, the Hon. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan and Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmed waited on Sir Harcourt Butler on 16th May, 1911, in order to make sure that they were proceeding generally on lines acceptable to Government before proceeding any further with the task of framing the details of the University constitution. The Government of India had a clear opportunity at the time to lay it down that they would not be responsible for any disappointment caused to the community, if the Muslim leaders continued to ask for donations on the understanding that affiliation would take place, and the Government of India, or the Secretary of State, subsequently refused to grant that power.

Again, on the 31st July of the same year, Sir Harcourt Butler communicated to the President of the Constitution Committee the readiness of the Secretary of State to sanction the establishment of a University, and forwarded a Note on the results of the discussion at Simla in May. It was not unreasonable to believe at the time that affiliation would be granted, because in the Note containing the views of the Government of India it was clearly laid down that affiliation of outside colleges and recognition of schools would be allowed, but would require the sanction of the Chancellor.

The objection to affiliation was raised for the first time on the 23rd of September, when the Muslim University Constitution Committee had a conference with the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler and the Hon. Mr. Sharp. But then, too, the only argument that was advanced was that "A Friend of India" had been writing to every English daily paper against the principle of denominational Universities, resenting their cutting across the territorial jurisdiction of Provincial Universities. Why go beyond Aligarh? Why take away other colleges from other Universities which must be the poorer for their loss? It was also said that Sir Syed Ahmed, had he been alive, might not have approved of affiliation, and that his grandson had written to the *Comrade* against it. Our contemporary, *Al-Bashir*, of Etawah, was also cited as a witness; but not a single argument was advanced on behalf of Government. All this was excellent, amiable talk, and was listened to with becoming deference. But there was no mention then of a probable conflict with older territorial universities. Nothing was said of an inevitable lowering of the standard of Aligarh degrees. And not a word was whispered of the impossibility of the Moslem University controlling outside colleges. To-day it is all solicitude for the Moslem University. But then the only solicitude that was apparent was shown for the older territorial Universities of the federal type which, after 50 years, the Government is now condemning with a vengeance. On the other hand, the Hon. Mr. Shafi, who was deputed to be the spokesman of the Committee on the subject of affiliation, in view of his being a member of the governing body of the only other Muhammadan college in India, explained in great detail how affiliation would be beneficial both to Government and to Mussalmans, how the leaders of the community had pledged themselves to affiliation and how, if its hopes were disappointed, it would not blame them but would blame the Government. It was also explained that promises of payment would no longer be fulfilled if it became known that affiliation was in doubt, while many a donor might demand his money back. Even then it was not stated on behalf of Government that no further subscriptions should be collected on the same terms because there was a great likelihood of affiliation being disallowed. The Member for Education promised that the matter would be re-considered by Government, although in the matter of the previous approval of the Chancellor to appointments of Professors he declared that it was quite impossible for Government to give it up, and he could not ask Government to reconsider their decision. It is thus that the impossible has come to pass, while the almost certain is "finally" declared to be impossible.

Whosoever may now have "finally" decided that there shall be no affiliation, it cannot be gainsaid that such a decision has come upon the Mussalmans as an unexpected blow, and the responsibility for its results cannot be repudiated by Government merely because an elaborate constitution was not submitted before the first pie was collected for the proposed University. As we have said before, it would have been foolish of the Muslim leaders to rush to Government, like so many Shaikh Chillis, with an elaborate constitution before they had reasonable certainty of collecting the necessary

funds. The proper thing was to raise funds first, and, in the words of Sir Theodore Morison, if they failed to collect the stipulated minimum endowment fund, the question of a Muhammadan University was not to be brought before the Government. And this is just what the Moslem leaders have done. It came to our notice more than a year and a half ago that, when H. H. the Aga Khan would not indulge in the futile occupation of constitution-making before he had reason to believe that a minimum endowment fund would be collected, the Member for Education, his curiosity not having been satisfied to the fullest extent, facetiously remarked to His Highness that he understood that the Aga Khan intended one day to place the revolver of 25 lakhs against the Education Member's head. But if the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler would only reflect, he would concede that the Muslim leaders did not approach him like the bandit with the demand: "Your life or a charter." The moment they had reasonable assurance of the stipulated minimum endowment they consulted the Government about the terms of the charter, and availing then shaped their course, so far as possible, according to the suggestions of the Government. But even if the Mussalmans had not formally consulted the Government about the constitution of the proposed University before May, 1911, it cannot be said that Government was ignorant of the general lines on which it was proposed that a University should be established. Government knew of it from the schemes of the late Mr. Beck and Sir Theodore Morison, which were framed early in 1898. If after all this the Viceroy (Lord Elgin) contributed Rs. 2,000 to the University Fund, and the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir James La Touche) followed his noble example by contributing Rs. 500, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Government encouraged the movement and had no objections to affiliation in 1898. Therefore, as the Hon. Mr. Shafi put it at Lucknow, Government is now estopped from pleading ignorance of the terms on which funds have all along been collected and of the real character of the University which the Mussalmans have for so many years been desiring to establish. And lest the Mussalmans suspect the Constitution Committee of having knowingly kept from them the fact that affiliation would under no circumstances be granted, let us say once for all that, beyond what we have stated, the Committee had no knowledge that this would be the Government's "final" decision.

Egypt.

II

THE politician who invented a moral basis for modern "Imperialism" deserves a conspicuous niche in history. His phrases have grown to be postulates and stick to international affairs with all the vitality of Error. The need for such invention had manifestly become imperative in the prying emotionalism of the nineteenth century. The pedants of the French Revolution had furiously believed that they could, by cataloguing virtues, cure humanity of its sins. They simply roused Finance—the chief driving force in politics since the close of the eighteenth century—to adopt the weapons of the moralist. Hypocrisy was the price it willingly paid to placate the humanitarianism of the epoch. Through a series of events of far-reaching influence and scope, Finance began to pervade the entire range of politics and has gradually emerged as a new doctrine of statecraft, *vis*, "Imperialism." Every known empire of history owed its origin to pure lust of power or dominion, to religious zeal or personal vanity. Conquest was in literal fact a conquest, a bold, sudden, decisive physical stroke that wiped out a dynasty or a kingdom for the sake of an ideal. It is divided from a "conquest" of to-day by a whole gulf of purpose and feeling. French operations in Morocco and the Italian swoop on Tripoli afford the most recent examples of what "Imperialism" means to-day: a calculating, cold-blooded and ruthless exercise of force and ingenuity to grasp fresh, "undeveloped" lands and cheap, docile labour for gold and "dividends." The "imperial" politician has clothed the stark crudity of these financial operations with a curious ethical phraseology. A modern "conquest" is invariably the outcome of a "sad necessity of civilisation." The victims are too ignorant to look after their own interest—that duty must clearly be performed by a more civilised power as a labour of love. "Imperialism" has evolved three remarkable formulas that sum up the philosophy and ethics of the creed:—

(1) A backward race is unfit to govern itself; (2) it is the duty of a stronger and more civilised people to take it under their wing and to try to raise it to a higher plane of morality, culture and life; (3) "coloured" humanity under the "white man's" tutelage has been stamped with political incapacity for all time and should not, therefore, be entrusted with the enormous responsibilities of self-government which it is not fitted to bear.

Egypt has lived under the blighting shadow of these terrible formulas ever since the British Occupation began to assume a quasi-permanent character. After thirty years of British supremacy in Cairo, the formulas continue to be as binding as ever. The advocates of the Occupation are perhaps not wholly unaware of the inconsistency of their position. British presence

in Egypt is usually justified on the ground that it has wrought a "beneficent change in the condition of the people. In the same breath we are gravely assured that British withdrawal would be an incalculable calamity, inasmuch as the people are too ignorant, inexperienced and nerveless to undertake the direction of their own affairs. Surely, the argument, coming after thirty years of benevolent tutelage exercised by England, is a devastating confession of failure, and should induce every "Imperialist" to revise his vocabulary, if not his estimate of his own mission. However, it is not our purpose to study in this article the art and psychology of modern "Imperialism." Our object is to see, by a close examination of the facts, if there exists, in the light of the abovementioned formulas, any justification for the continued domination of England over Egyptian affairs. It should not at all be difficult to arrive at a tolerably sure conclusion after studying the material and moral results of the Occupation during the last thirty years.

Lord Cromer's *régime* is often acclaimed as an era of unbroken prosperity in the economic condition of the Egyptian masses. The revenues of the country have expanded enormously, the population has more than doubled, trade has grown with leaps and bounds, the fellah is waxing fat with riches and peace and contentment reign supreme in the land. This would be a magnificent record and, even if partially correct, would entitle Lord Cromer to the lasting gratitude of the Egyptian people. But while weighing Lord Cromer's achievements, we must bear in mind the state of the country immediately after the Occupation and the aims with which he set to work. It was the fashion in the early eighties to describe the lot of the Egyptian peasantry as the most miserable known to history. Every British official, who desired to bring about British intervention, laid the paint thick on his reports and spoke of the destitution, the woe and the sufferings of the fellah in terms of deep emotion. It is true, the reckless orgies of Ismael and the still more reckless exactions of his usurious creditors had led to a great impoverishment of the masses and the lot of the peasant was not enviable. Yet, according to independent testimony, the condition of the people was not exactly what the tourists' stories of the fellah's misery would have us believe. MacCoan in his book, "Egypt As It Is," dealing with this subject, says "that the general condition of the fellahen will compare favourably with that of any other peasantry in the East." It is remarkable that the British functionaries, who wrote about the condition of the country in pathetic strains in 1885-86, suddenly began to show unbounded optimism in their reports in 1888. Sir Edgar Vincent, reporting at the time, assured the Government of the day that "the debts of the fellahen to the local usurers had been, in a great measure, paid off." It requires, however, some effort of the imagination to believe that millions of human beings, who had been described as verging on starvation and grovelling in frightful misery but a couple of years before, were suddenly transformed into a prosperous peasantry. It is still more remarkable that seven years later, when perhaps it was found necessary to defend the continuance of British occupation, official optimism gave way to pessimism and the fellahen were found to be "borrowing money still". However, it would be incorrect to assume that there has been no improvement in the material condition of the masses. The population has more than doubled, revenues are growing at an almost uniform rate, the taxes are being collected without much difficulty, and there has been some slight remission of taxation. But the safest conclusion that we can draw from these facts is that the tax-paying capacity of the people has improved. It is doubtful if the fellah is left with any appreciable margin of savings after he has paid his taxes. In an interview with a representative of the *Egyptian Standard* on October 20, 1908, Prince Hussein Pasha Kamel, uncle of the Khedive and, at one time, President of the Legislative Council, spoke of the condition of the fellah in these words:—"He passes his life burdened with debts, his wages do not exceed the amount of taxes and the interest on his debts. He is continually obliged to run into debt at exorbitant interest in order to meet his agricultural needs at the proper moment, and as a consequence of this difficult situation, of his lack of money and of the large number who depend on him, the peasant remains in a sea of troubles from which he can find no means of saving himself."

The Prince is admittedly a great authority on the condition of the people and his testimony is beyond question. But even apart from his views, the officials of the Occupation themselves betray an uneasy conscience when they set about to explain away the general poverty of the masses. These explanations have undergone subtle variations according to the need and the occasion. Some of the vagaries of the official argument are eminently entertaining. An early explanation set down the material backwardness of the fellah to his improvident instincts, to his love of borrowing and, above all, to his extravagance in matrimonial matters. These reasons were too manifestly thin to pass muster; and accordingly a new explanation, after a complete *volte face* of the old, was offered to the world, and the fellah was described as a creature who was thrifty even to stinginess and loved to board money underground. T. Rothstein, in "Egypt's Ruin," commenting on this "explanation," says:—

Pity only that this explanation is not new, dating, as it does, back to the time when the apologists of Ismail Pasha were also trying their best to account for the apparent poverty of the masses. . . . The assertion is now, as it was then, perfectly absurd, and only serves to bring into relief the great embarrassment experienced in explaining away a fact which is too patent to be denied straight away.

As a matter of reasonable certainty, the material condition of the masses has not improved very appreciably. They are just able to meet the demands of the fiscal administration; and, perhaps, little is left to them for personal comfort and well-being after they have discharged their obligations to the State. Lord Kitchener's recent scheme of the Village Savings Banks is said to have little chance of success because the fellah would not like to take out his hidden "treasures." Would it not be more accurate and reasonable to assume that he has no hidden "treasures" to deposit in a bank? The problem can, however, be seen in its true perspective if we study it in the light of the fiscal policy which Lord Cromer introduced in the administration of Egyptian finance. T. Rothstein lays bare that policy in a luminous passage. Lord Cromer's task in Egypt, it should be remembered, was mainly financial; and as the author of "Egypt's Ruin" remarks, it was the prime condition of the continuance of the British stay in Egypt that the interests of international finance should obtain complete satisfaction; and it was, therefore, on the administration of finance that Lord Cromer's attention was mainly concentrated. To quote T. Rothstein:—

With a view to obtaining the greatest possible success in that direction, every thing which did not directly bear on the problem was allowed to go by the board, and *per contra*, all that helped to its solution was carefully attended to. In itself, therefore, it was no concern of Lord Cromer whether the fellah prospered or not, except in so far as he was the prime source of State revenue, that is, a tax-payer, and it was accordingly his tax-paying capacity, not his general material welfare, that he was anxious to develop. It is, no doubt, true that both go usually hand in hand, and that the tax-paying capacity of a people is best developed when its economic condition is taken care of. It is, however, possible to improve the condition of the people up to the limit dictated by the necessities of the fisc, and no more, just as it is possible to take care of a flock of sheep up to the limit required by the interest in their wool or meat. And this is just what Lord Cromer had from the first determined should be the limit of his exertions.

The enormous growth in the cultivation of cotton, to the exclusion of almost every other principal crop, is the result of this policy. Great irrigation schemes were taken in hand mainly for this purpose. We have no desire to underestimate the value of these great works of engineering which have considerably benefited the people, though, in some respects, they have not proved an unmixed blessing. And it is necessary to remark in this connection that Lord Kitchener's Drainage Scheme is not a new "gift" to Egypt but a necessary undertaking to counteract the disastrous effects of the existing irrigation works, which have rendered the lower lands of the Delta water-logged and have diminished the fertility of the soil. The most obvious result of the growth of irrigation facilities has been that the cotton area has expanded enormously. The cotton exports have grown from £6,244,000 in 1884 to £17,091,000 in 1908. But the huge growth in the cotton output has been achieved at the expense of all other agricultural pursuits. As Mr. Blunt says in his article on "Lord Kitchener and His Friends", which we reproduced in our last, "all Lower Egypt is now an appendage of Manchester; for the first time in her six thousand years of labour, food stuffs are being imported into the country. The price of living has been raised fourfold." It looks, indeed, a very doubtful economic situation, when the land that was once the granary of the world has been turned into a huge cotton field. The dependence of the people and the State on a single crop is in itself a great economic evil. It must lead to the inevitable exhaustion of the soil. The limit of cultivation must soon be reached. The world's supply of cotton is bound to increase in the near future. All these factors constitute a grave peril to the economic stability of Egypt and we cannot find much to admire in the *régime* of the proconsul who mainly cared for the growth of budget and export figures and left so much undone to place the economic development of Egypt on sound and lasting foundations. To borrow an apt simile, Lord Cromer fed Egypt with irrigation to turn it all into cotton just as the geese at Strasburg are fed and fattened until they turn all into liver. The glamour of prosperity that plays over Egypt is, according to the most competent judges, as unreal as the mirage of the Sahara. The ultimate economic crisis cannot be staved off indefinitely; and when it comes the masses would be plunged into unutterable misery and the State finances reduced to bankruptcy and chaos. It is only a thin line that divides the land, now supposed to be blossoming like a rose, from desolation and ruin.

However, the material condition of Egypt under British control has shown some temporary signs of improvement, though the character of the improvement is artificial and the economic basis altogether unsound. But in regard to the moral and political condition of the people, practically no advance has been effected since the advent of the Army of Occupation. The chief concern of the Occupation authorities has been to keep Egypt solvent by any means, and this object has been temporarily attained. The

moral and political development of the people was no concern of theirs. New and disruptive tendencies were let loose in the midst of an ancient society and culture; and in the absence of any systematic efforts for reconstruction, the moral fibre and political vitality of the people have been impaired. The result has been an alarming growth of crime, to explain which Lord Cromer and his "advisers" used to expend much ingenuity and verbal sophistry. Indeed, Lord Cromer has built up a series of new sociological doctrines on the basis of some of the ugly results of his rule, which prescribe for the entire East a life of servitude without the least hope of redemption. He it was who first propounded the glaring paradox that the increase of prosperity in Egypt was responsible for the growth of crime. Perhaps, he soon realised the absurd nature of the theory he had evolved, for he seems to have shifted his argument later on and began to trace the cause of the enormous increase of crime to "the fact that the law does not inspire sufficient terror to evil-doers." It did not suit his purpose to take note of the most natural and obvious causes of the phenomenon. Poverty and ignorance do not furnish an ideal atmosphere for the moral elevation of the people. Crime has increased in Egypt because the material condition of the masses is not very enviable, and because the force of ancient moral standards has diminished under the stress of the new political conditions. The utter neglect of public education is the most dismal aspect of the Cromer régime in Egypt. Even in the days of general confusion that marked the close of Ismael's rule, when the population was less than half its present number, £87,000 were spent annually on public instruction. In 1888, the educational budget fell to £70,000. It was only in 1906 that this paltry sum was raised to £362,000, when the pressure of public opinion could no longer be resisted. The budget for 1909 was still below £500,000. The total number of those receiving elementary instruction in State and aided institutions was 165,000 in a nation of over 12,000,000. According to the report of the British Consul at Alexandria in 1873, "the number of those attending primary schools represents a proportion of 17 per 1,000, a proportion less than in any European country except Russia." But after a lapse of thirty years of British administration, when the country has been enjoying perfect peace and order and abounding revenues, the number of those attending primary schools amounts to but 16 per 1,000. There are not much above 600,000 persons in Egypt able to read and write.

The state of higher education is still more deplorable. There is not a single institution in the country efficiently equipped for imparting up-to-date education in the higher branches of modern sciences and arts. The sons of the wealthy classes go to France and Switzerland and other European countries for modern education. A university was started in Cairo at the end of 1908 as a tardy concession to the Nationalist demand, but it has scarcely yet developed to a stage when it could become the centre of intellectual activity for the nation. It was estimated that more than 600 young Egyptians were receiving higher education abroad in 1908; and the number of such scholars is yearly increasing. No people possess greater love of learning than the Egyptians; and the great sacrifices they are making are a true measure of their great thirst for modern knowledge. Yet a frightful mass of illiterate continues to exist in the land and no organised effort has so far been made by the State to raise the intellectual and moral level of the people. Lord Cromer justified his indifference by his shallow philosophy. He even indulged in cheap and vulgar attacks on the character of Islam when he tried to account for his failure by pseudo-sociological dogmas. As T. Rothstien observes, "no truly educated and cultured man will be able to read Chapters XXXV and XXXVI in Lord Cromer's second volume of 'Modern Egypt,' purporting to describe the mind, manners and the religion of the Egyptians, without disgust." And, again, he says:—"It is a very convenient method of accounting for a phenomenon which is discrediting to the power responsible for the government of the country, unfortunately for it, the East and Islam have recently shewn examples of moral progress which have left nothing but the broken remains of that specious doctrine."

The effect of the British control on the political status of the people has been uniformly depressing. Almost all the important administrative posts are held by foreigners and the Egyptian Ministry exists only to register the decrees of its "advisers" and of the British Agent. The Legislative Council has absolutely no initiative in the work of legislation and exercises no control over the acts of the Executive. No effort has been made to give political education to the people or train them for the responsibilities of self-government. The opportunities for such education and training are daily diminishing. If a persistent rumour is to be believed, an early attempt will be made to confer full executive powers on the British officials who are at present associated with the Ministry as Under-Secretaries of State. The Nationalist Press and leaders that deprecate these tendencies have been, of late, summarily dealt with. Rigorous Press Laws have been enforced and the discontent has been driven underground. The "Imperialist" Press treats all manifestations of discontent in Egypt as if it were an outbreak of rank sedition against Great Britain. Efforts have even been made to besmirch the Nationalist movement with the odium of anarchism.

The recent punishment of men charged with plotting against Lord Kitchener and the Khedive has a peculiar significance in view of the fact that only in June the British Agent had expressed his pleasure "to be able to report that political feeling has lately been much calmer and that the consideration of practical reforms for the good of the country has apparently become more interesting to the majority of the people than discussions on abstruse political questions which are unlikely to lead to any useful result." If the plot recently unearthed was at all an expression of "political feeling," then we may be sure the feeling is far from "calm." Anarchical tendencies should be suppressed with a heavy hand and no one would welcome the punishment of would-be assassins more sincerely than a true Egyptian patriot. But, is it not a tendency of despotism, however benevolent, to blame the consequence for the cause? Legitimate grievances, when suppressed, turn into a deadly poison and affect the health of the body-politic as a whole. You may plant an iron heel and call it order; but you must at the same time be prepared to wake up one fine morning to hear the rumblings of an earthquake.

The Nationalist movement in Egypt represents the most natural and legitimate aspirations of the people. Rightly understood, it is the best compliment that the awakening mind of Young Egypt could pay to the most wholesome influences of the British control over Egyptian affairs. It cannot be killed by pure repression, nor can it be controlled effectively by alternate frowns and smiles. The co-operation of those who honestly desire the progress of the country in wealth, culture and self-governing institutions, must be secured rather than avoided. It was the unfortunate Denishawai affair that brought the Nationalist agitation to an acute stage. Such incidents only serve to alienate the sympathies of the people. Their ultimate political effect is an increased bitterness of feeling on either side. The political tension gives birth to a silent struggle which, whatever be its end, leads to a frightful waste of energy and retards indefinitely the progressive development of a country. No one can for a moment contemplate, without horror and dismay, the end of a constitutional struggle in revolutionary chaos and carnage. The contingency, however, would not be at all inconceivable if the aspirations of legitimate "nationalism" were systematically met with a campaign of ruthless repression. The Egyptian problem is happily not so acute as to be beyond the resources of good sense and goodwill on either side. We are afraid, however, the recent campaign started against the Nationalist leaders and the Press is not conducive to good results. Egypt is not a dependency of England. Even if it were, British rule could not continue there indefinitely against the wishes of the people. Would it not, therefore, redound to the truly imperial glory of England if Egypt were literally and generously taught to govern herself? The intrerests of the bondholder and the cotton magnate may be very pressing, but the interests of about 12 millions, hungering for knowledge and comfort and material wellbeing and pulsating with new hopes and new aspirations, are more pressing still. That a country can be governed on the lines of "martial law and no d—d nonsense" may well be questioned. There can, however, be no question that such a governance will reap a harvest of "Denishawais" on a very much extended scale. What a single "Denishawai" has already achieved may best be judged from the following lines that appeared recently in *Al Lewa* on the anniversary of that unfortunate incident:—

"Oh, Denishawai, God's peace be on thy hills!
Thy memory robs us of our village mirth.
Their graves are here to mind us of our ills,
Their ruined hearth, the holiest of our earth.
Sad souls of men—how valiant in their pain!
Hurt souls of women hurling back their curse.
Here stood the scaffold—nay, but not in vain.
Who taught us cruelty shall take, and worse."



Anecdote.

A RATHER fussy and consequential diplomatist called the other day on a bluff admiral belonging to the United States Navy and left his card. The card was inscribed in the corner with the letters "E. P."

"I hope you got my card," said the diplomatist when, not long after, he met the admiral.

"Oh, yes, I got it all right," was the reply. "But, by the way, what was the meaning of the 'E. P.' on it?"

"Why *en personne*, of course," exclaimed the diplomatist. "Perhaps you did not know that I left it in person."

"Oh, I see," responded the admiral, with a suspicious twinkle.

In a very short time the diplomatist received the admiral's card, bearing the puzzling letters "S. B. N.," which successfully baffled every attempt at solution. On the next occasion that the nonplussed diplomatist met the admiral he, in turn, asked for an explanation.

"Sent by nigger," was the illuminating reply.

CORRESPONDENCE



Moslems and Social Reform.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE COMRADE."

SIR,—I am informed that distorted and misleading versions of my speech delivered at the last annual meeting of the National Indian Association have appeared in some Urdu papers. I shall be obliged if you will allow me to correct through the medium of your widely read journal, the misconception which are being disseminated, especially with reference to what I said about (1) the seclusion of woman and (2) polygamy.

If the speech, a full report of which appears in the July Number of the *Indian Magazine*, published by the National Indian Association, is carefully read, it will be found that its underlying purpose was to defend indirectly the fundamental principles and tenets of Islam in their bearing on orderly sociological evolution from the unjustifiable insinuations of its hostile critics. The charges brought against the Muhammadan religion by its enemies fall under the following two main categories:—

(a) That the teachings of Islam are inconsistent with the laws of nature and human progress, and that by stereotyping the crude and changeable conditions which prevailed at the outset of the Moslem era, its tenets have resulted not only in stagnation but in a rapidly increasing intellectual sterility and political decadence of the races which have embraced it.

(b) That in regard to the relation of the sexes it is on a far lower level than Christianity or Zoroastrianism.

It will be apparent to those who read my remarks in their proper context that in alluding to the first charge the words "seclusion of women" and *purdah* are used throughout my speech in an identical sense. It is essential to bear this in mind to obviate any confusion of ideas in regard to the connotation of the terms "seclusion of women" and the partial veiling of the face when going out (as the educated ladies in Constantinople are in the habit of doing) for physical exercise, fresh air, study or any of those other healthful activities which invigorate the body and vitalize the intellect. My address clearly referred to the former and left the latter convention, which can have no deleterious hygienic effect, quite untouched either in regard to its merits or demerits. I firmly maintain that the *seclusion* of women as it is in vogue in some parts of India among the upper classes and naturally induces both physical and mental lethargy is not at all enjoined by the Koran. The late Mr. Justice Badruddin Tyabji went much further than this and declared in emphatic terms that a critical study of the Koran and a close analysis of all the six passages taken together which have any bearing on the subject showed that *purdah*, even in the sense of veiling the face, was not enforced by any Divine Commandment. My observations on the subject were confined to the scientific aspect of the problem in its relation to the laws of health, physical and mental, and of heredity; and I tried to show to a cultured and cosmopolitan audience, which gave the speech a most cordial reception, that the fundamental principles and doctrines embodied in the Koran were not opposed to human progress or sociological evolution. It rests on those who take the contrary view to quote chapter and verse in proof of their assertions. The individual who succeeds in doing this can claim the reward recently advertised by a Mussalman Presidency Magistrate in Madras. It must be remembered that the searchlight of modern scientific and philosophic thought cannot be turned aside by cryptic dogmas opposed to all positive knowledge.

As regards polygamy my observations were obviously intended to remove the misconception that the moral standard and ideals set up by Islam were in any way lower than those of Christianity or any other religion. I pointed out that the monogamous institutions of the West were not the outcome of any divine injunction or of the teachings of Jesus, but of the Law of Justinian, and that in recent years the Parsees elected to be a monogamous people by legisla-

tion, which the voice of the community demanded and obtained. The statement that there was nothing to prevent the two great communities of India to resort to similar restrictive legislation, should the general feeling of these communities demand it at any time, followed as a natural corollary. The baselessness of the inference that the Hindus and Muhammadans were counselled to follow in this respect the tenets of the Zoroastrian *creed* will be manifest when it is remembered that Zoroaster allows polygamy without those stringent restraints which Islam imposes.

Any contention that such option as the Christian and some Jewish races, whose creeds have the same common basis as Islam, have exercised in regulating their domestic concerns is denied for all time to the Moslem races by their religion, must be founded on the unwarranted assumption that Islam condemns monogamy and that no social legislation of any sort or kind is permissible under any conditions—all changes and deviations from the sanctioned practice of the early centuries of the Moslem era being allowable only in regard to criminal legislation. Any such thesis will not stand a moment's examination.

A grave responsibility rests on those publicists, who, like the recessive priesthood of the pre-renaissance times, the fatal obscurantism of which had stimulated the decadence and degeneracy of Christian Europe of that period, sit tight with their backs upon every avenue of light and resist all attempts in the direction of searching out the causes which have brought about the decline of the Mussalman races all over the world, a decline which curiously resembles the depressed position in which Christendom was after as many centuries after Christ as have elapsed since the Hijera. The Christian nations having shaken off the dead weight of obstructive customs are now in the forefront of the world's progress without becoming irreligious. There are no inherent defects and drawbacks in Islam, as supposed by Lord Cromer and others, to prevent the Moslem races from achieving their social, intellectual and political salvation in the same manner by harmonizing their spiritual conceptions with the true spirit of their religion, which is not in conflict with the unchallenged revelations of modern science. For their renaissance it is essential that they should rouse themselves to remove the reproach of an almost complete deficiency of scientific knowledge in the community in an age when physical science, to quote the words of Lord Morley, "has come into reigning power" and cannot be ignored or ridiculed without disastrous results to their material well-being on which their social and political prestige as a great people must depend.

I have no wish to start a newspaper controversy on this subject and trust that this letter will correct the misconceptions which have been disseminated, presumably through incomplete and misleading versions of my speech.

Yours faithfully,

M. ABRAS ALI BAIG.

1, Berkeley Place,
Wimbledon,
London, S. W.
8th August 1912.

Civil Justice in the Presidency Towns.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—It is an old cry that justice is costly as it is delayed in our High Courts.

My present object is not to enter into that question. What I wish to point out, and even presume to submit for public discussion, is a suggestion which directly bears on the question and, I believe, may greatly help to remedy public inconvenience and relieve the High Courts of overwork.

The Bombay Civil Courts, for instance, as they are constituted at present make it compulsory for one, living within their jurisdiction, to seek justice only at one of the High Courts of Judicature if his suit happens to be of a nature which cannot fall within the pale and scope of the Small Causes Court.

A suit, for instance, however trifling it may be, such as a suit for a Declaratory Decree of some sort, for some insignificant Easement, for Letters of Administration, for a certificate of Heirship, for setting aside a will, or for hundreds of such claims, which the Small Causes Court cannot take cognizance of, and which are daily and ably decided by the Civil Subordinate Courts in the Mofussil, the High Court has to entertain to-day under its present jurisdiction.

And here comes in my suggestion which the Government and the Public may consider if it be found practical and useful. How would it serve the purpose, if four First Class Civil Subordinate Courts for each of the Presidency Towns, like the Small Causes Courts, be established, with their jurisdiction defined in such a manner as to relieve the High Court of much of its work, which it need not really have been burdened with, and in a manner which would save the public from the enormous and multifarious costs which it has to incur simply because it has to enter the august precincts of the High Court for justice in such suits?

One of these four Judges may be of the rank of a District Judge having appellate powers in the first instance, if the High Court did not approve of the first appeal from the Subordinate Courts lying with them.

On the question of the cost of this new institution I may only hurriedly suggest, for the present, that on the establishment of these Courts so many High Court Judges may not be required. But this is a question which may await discussion after the consideration of my suggestion itself.

If what I propose be adopted of some scheme of the kind I have indicated be worked out I feel inclined to think that justice will neither be delayed nor will it be so costly as it is to-day. It may besides create practice for many a practitioner who has been wasting his life briefless for perhaps no fault of his. The many barriers which come in his way in the High Court may not impede his path in these Subordinate Courts.

A. M. K. D.



The McCormick Case.

(Continued from our issue of 17th August.)

The Court:—The witness cannot tell you about the ticks. May I see the copies?

Mr. Hamlyn: Those passages that I have read are very serious evidence against McCormick?

Mr. Rutledge: Your Honour, that question has been asked three times.

Mr. Hamlyn: Your Honour, have you put that question down three times?

Mr. Hamlyn to witness: The two passages I read are very serious accusations against McCormick?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And you are supposed to explain to an accused person anything in the evidence against him.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: The first question asked McCormick, I notice, is whether he holds the rank of Captain and the Order of the D. S. O.?

Witness: I presume I did.

Mr. Hamlyn: There was nothing in the evidence to throw doubts on that point? Are you satisfied that he is entitled to the decoration?

Witness: I have no reason to believe anything to the contrary.

Mr. Hamlyn: Very well, I will take your answer. Did you not think it necessary to ask him what he had to say with regard to those two passages I have read out?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Moosajee is still at Victoria Point.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And in Government employ, not in McCormick's now?

Witness: He is an Opium Licensee at Maliwan.

Mr. Hamlyn: When was it given to him?

Witness: Last April.

Mr. Hamlyn: Two months ago.

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And by you?

Witness: By me.

Mr. Hamlyn: How many applicants were there for it?

Witness: Two or three, I think.

Mr. Hamlyn: And I suppose he got that favour for what he did in this case?

Mr. Rutledge: Your Honour, I must object to these absolute insults, without the least foundation, to the witness.

Mr. Hamlyn: If your Honour says it is so, I shall defer to your Honour's opinion.

Witness: Moosajee was given the shop on the recommendation of the Sub-divisional Officer.

Mr. Hamlyn: Which Sub-divisional Officer?

Witness: Mr. Stevenson.

Mr. Rutledge: I should like Your Honour to record the question that was put to the accused.

Mr. Hamlyn: I shall be very glad.

Mr. Hamlyn to the witness: Moosajee had been discharged from the Customs?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: You know that he was not?

Witness: To the best of my knowledge he was transferred to Rangoon and was not discharged from the Customs, but resigned on his own.

Mr. Hamlyn: You do not know that he was discharged for embezzlement?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: And Shwe Yun, the advocate, has been decorated?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: On your recommendation?

Witness: May I explain. I think it was the Durbar. I sent up about 30 names and the Commissioner made his choice and Moungh Shwe Yun was amongst them.

Mr. Hamlyn: May I have the letter, Your Honour, that has been put in evidence by the prosecution, the letter of the 3rd July. Turning to the witness he said, "I have come to the letter of the 3rd July, Mr. Andrew, from Mr. Buchanan to yourself. You call this a demi-official letter in official language?"

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: I just want to read it to you. (He reads) "My dear Andrew, Information has reached me from various sources that Captain McCormick (1) abducted and raped a girl named Molassa meaning Aniah, I suppose) aged 11, while I was away on leave. (He was away on leave in the month of April)....."

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, whilst I am on this point, you have already told us in your answers that you stayed at McCormick's house in the month of April?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And I ask you whether you knew that the friends of the little girl had clamoured to see you?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Now, Fatima No. 2, not the mother, the mother's sister-in-law, alleged that she went with a friend to McCormick's house to try and see you and you gave instructions to put what she wanted in a petition. Is that true?

Witness: I don't think that is stated anywhere.

Mr. Hamlyn: Will you say it did not happen?

Witness: Not Fatima the second. The mother wanted to see me, but I did not see her. I sent no messages and gave no instructions.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you send a message that she had to put in a petition?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: You heard it alleged that Fatima, the mother, went to McCormick and demanded the child and he turned them away?

Witness: I know it is alleged so.

Mr. Hamlyn: You know that McCormick was at the time painting his house?

Witness: That was alleged.

Mr. Hamlyn: And that he smeared paint on the woman's clothes?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: And the jacket that was smeared with paint was handed over to the Police?

Witness: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: That jacket was not before you when you were enquiring into the case?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Have you endeavoured to ascertain what has become of that jacket?

Witness: No.

Mr. Hamlyn: Did you ask Lieutenant Finnie to explain why it was missing?

Witness to the Court: Mr. Finnie told me that she handed over the jacket.

Mr. Hamlyn to the witness: Did you report the matter to the Inspector-General of Police?

Witness: About what?

Mr. Hamlyn: About this jacket not forthcoming. This is a serious matter in the administration of justice that evidence of such an important nature should be lost.

Witness : I don't consider the jacket of the slightest importance.

Mr. Hamlyn : Very well, we will proceed with the letter.
Mr. Andrew. (He reads the letter). McCormick's cook's accurate name was John Island. He was living quite close to McCormick's house ?

Witness : About two or three hundred yards away, not in his compound.

Mr. Hamlyn : Malassa was the father of the girl and he died before the enquiry before you was held ?

Witness : He is supposed to have died while the child was with Ma Pe Yin.

Mr. Hamlyn : I take it when you received this letter you regarded the matter as extremely serious ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Before you got this letter you knew that McCormick was very anxious to get Mr. Buchanan out of the place ?

Witness : No, he was not anxious at all.

Mr. Hamlyn : Well, you said he suggested ?

Witness : I don't think I have.

Mr. Hamlyn : He suggested to you that Buchanan should be got rid of. He suggested that you should have an A. C. there ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did you not think it was an impertinence on his part to suggest to you what your duties were ?

Witness : I don't remember what I said. I don't think it was an impertinence. I might have thought so if he had written it but not mentioning it casually in conversation.

Mr. Hamlyn : You know that people down there say that McCormick not only commanded the sub-division but the whole district ?

Witness : Emphatically no !

Mr. Rutledge : Your Honour, I object to that, I should like it recorded.

Mr. Hamlyn : Now this letter of the 3rd July, you have already acknowledged, raised serious questions. Did you reply to it ?

Witness : I sent Finnie down.

Mr. Hamlyn : You did not write or telegraph ?

Witness : No, I did not write, I simply sent Finnie down as soon as could be arranged.

Mr. Hamlyn : Mr. Finnie's headquarters are at Mergui, close to your house ?

Witness : His office is in the same building.

Mr. Hamlyn : Did you intimate this letter at once to Mr. Finnie ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : Do you know when Mr. Finnie arrived at Victoria Point ?

Witness : I think it was on the evening of the 18th, I am not absolutely sure.

Mr. Hamlyn : I will agree with you that it was the 18th. You call that going immediately ?

Witness : I am not sure when I got the letter, he went the same week that I got the letter.

Mr. Hamlyn : The letter was delivered to you by messenger ?

Witness : By post, I think. I don't remember. You will see some reference to the letter attached to the petition that was sent up.

Mr. Hamlyn, after looking at the petition, said : The petition apparently does not help one as to the date.

Witness : I cannot tell you the date. To the best of my knowledge I received the letter on a Tuesday and Finnie went on the Sunday after by the Government launch *Mercury*. There is one mail a fortnight to Victoria Point.

Mr. Hamlyn : How long does it take the Government launch to go from Mergui to Victoria Point ?

Witness : The quickest I have ever done it in was 20 hours, the slowest was three days.

Mr. Hamlyn : Can you explain why there was such delay in sending Mr. Finnie down ?

Witness : I don't consider there was any delay.

Mr. Hamlyn : The letter was dated the 3rd July and I think it was agreed that Mr. Finnie arrived at Victoria Point on the 18th ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : The offences alleged against McCormick are practically the most serious in the Penal Code next to murder and treason ?

Witness : Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn : And you say that a delay of 15 days was reasonable ?

Witness : I say, no delay occurred in sending Mr. Finnie down.

Mr. Hamlyn : This was a matter which necessitated Mr. Finnie putting off everything else and going post haste ?

Witness : He did, in the *Mercury* ; otherwise he could not have gone, as it is not safe in the monsoon.

Mr. Hamlyn to the Court : Your Worship, I am coming to that part of the case that concerns Mr. Finnie, and it is certainly desirable in the interests of my client that he should be present in the Court, and accordingly I do not propose to go on with this part of the case in his absence. I don't know on what date Mr. Finnie is expected to arrive here ?

Mr. Rutledge : I have told Mr. Hamlyn, your Honour, that it has been reported in the newspaper. I have given him all the information I can.

The Court : Mr. Finnie is expected here on the 13th July ?

Mr. Rutledge : That is the information I have got, as I stated to your Honour when last before you.

Mr. Hamlyn : It will be extremely prejudicial to the accused, Mr. Arnold, if Mr. Finnie is not present when the present witness is being cross-examined as to points which seriously affect Mr. Finnie. My suggestion is that so far as this portion of the cross-examination is concerned the case will apparently have to be adjourned until Mr. Finnie arrives in the jurisdiction of this Court.

The Court : Then you want me to adjourn the case ?

Mr. Hamlyn : Yes, Your Honour.

Mr. Rutledge : Your Honour, Mr. Andrew has to run his district while he is here. It is not the case of a public official who can be brought here in a day. Of course if there are matters upon which Mr. Hamlyn wants to re-cross-examine the witness when he sees Mr. Finnie, he can take his own course and ask you what he wishes to be done. I want the usual course to be taken in this case. I want Mr. Hamlyn to finish.

Mr. Hamlyn : The more expeditious course would be, and I am asking it in the interests of the case, to have Mr. Finnie present when I touch on matters which seriously affect his character.

Mr. Rutledge : That is a very unkind remark. All I want the defence to do is to cross-examine this witness and then if there are matters which arise in connection with Mr. Finnie, when Mr. Finnie comes into this Court, I can have my client brought up again.

Mr. Hamlyn : Your Honour, I think in the interests of my client the case should be postponed. In any case it will be necessary to postpone the case. The cross-examination cannot be continued until Mr. Finnie arrives.

Mr. Rutledge : Mr. Finnie will be here on the 13th July.

Mr. Hamlyn : Continuing, said it would be very prejudicial to his client if he had to examine the witness on points which touched on, and touched seriously, the character of Mr. Finnie, during the latter's absence.

His Worship : You want to adjourn the case ?

Mr. Hamlyn : I leave it to your Worship.

Mr. Rutledge said : He intended to re-examine at length and so wanted Mr. Hamlyn to finish. He did not want another roving commission.

His Worship said : He would postpone it.

Mr. Hamlyn, turning to the witness, said : I wish to ask a few more questions. "Now Mr. Andrew, you told us that you conducted this case in accordance with law ?"

Witness : To the best of my knowledge.

Mr. Hamlyn : You will turn to Chap. XVIII.....

Mr. Rutledge : Your Honour, we have spent an hour on this this morning.

Mr. Hamlyn : I don't think your Honour these comments are necessary. I think Mr. Rutledge is getting very touchy about this cross-examination. Very touchy.

Mr. Rutledge : I am very pleased at it. Mr. Hamlyn, if I may say so.

The Court : I think the Procedure Codes speak for themselves.

His Honour postponed the case provisionally to the 16th of July.

Mr. Hamlyn to the Court : I take it, your Honour, in the meantime, my client Mr. Arnold is still admitted to bail.

The Court : Yes.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Hamiduzzaman Khan, Esq., Shahjahanpur	...	4	0 0
M. Obaidulla, Esq., Patiala	...	3	4 0
An Aligarh Student, Gonda	...	5	0 0
A Sympathiser, Pinahat	...	5	0 0
Reza Ali, Esq., Wahshat, Calcutta	...	3	0 0
Gholam Qayyum, Esq., Burdwan	...	5	0 0
M. Zikrur Rahman, Esq., Delhi	...	60	0 0
Syed Abdul Hai, Esq., Bangalore	...	20	0 0
M. Zahiruddin, Macchi, Esq., Hossen,	...	5	0 0
M. Sami Buksh, Esq., Badoan,	...	5	0 0

Amount received during the week

115 4 0

Amount previously acknowledged

21,139 15 6

Total 21,255 3 6

The Moslem University.

The New Universities in Parliament.

REFERRING to the question of the Indian Universities in his Indian Budget speech Mr. Montagu said:—

"The Right Hon. gentleman, the senior member for the City of London, posed the difficulty of the Indian University system with, if I may say so, admirable lucidity to the Congress of Universities. The words he used were these:—'How are you going to diminish the shock which the sudden invasion of a wholly alien learning must have on the cultured society of the East? A catastrophic change in the environment of an organism is sure to inflict great injury upon the organism, perhaps destroy it altogether. In the East we are compelled to be catastrophic. It is impossible to graft by a gradual process in the East what we have got by a gradual process in the West.' And so we have the complaint that our Indian University teaching has undermined religions, has weakened the restraint of ancient customs, and has destroyed that reverence for authority which was one of the attributes of Indian character. How can we combat these things? We believe that the dangers of catastrophic change can be mitigated by adopting in India that part of the English system of education which has, so far as the Universities are concerned, proved most successful in moulding character. There is evidence to show that in residential colleges in India traditions comparable to those in our own public schools spring into existence and stamp their indelible impression upon the young men who go there. The formative influence of the residential college can be stimulated by the presence of English masters and professors who have been trained in the same system in their own country, and who know how much can be done by example and how little by homily. It is this side of University education which we propose to develop in India. We have allotted large grants for building hostels and boarding houses attached to colleges. We are finding money for libraries in connexion with the colleges, we desire to develop existing Universities by the creation of chairs in different branches of post-graduate research, and we propose to increase the aid to private colleges. The Universities of India have hitherto been of a federal or affiliating type. At their first inception they were little more than boards constituted for the purpose of holding examinations, and for these examinations students were prepared at a great number of institutions scattered over a wide area. As the Universities were only examining boards they could only recognize merit shown in the examinations. The training of character and other valuable by-products of collegiate life could not be recognized or encouraged. Universities of this type came into existence in England in the last century; but, after a short experience, the type has been generally condemned, and the recent tendency has been for the federal University to be dissolved and for the constituent colleges to become independent Universities. It is upon such lines that the Government of India is directing the construction of the Indian Universities. The first step was taken in 1904, when the area within which each University could exercise the power of affiliation was demarcated. The next step will be to reduce the area over which each University exercises jurisdiction; but where a college is adequately staffed and equipped, and where it has shown a capacity to attract to itself students from a distance, that college will be elevated to the dignity of a University and will be given the power of conferring degrees upon the students who have been trained within its walls. Such Universities will be local and residential in the fullest sense of the term. They will, it is hoped, develop traditions of their own and become centres of learning. The Government of India have expressed a wish to create a University of this type in Dacca, and correspondence is passing between the Government of India and the Secretary of State upon giving a similar status to the college at Aligarh. It is probable that Universities of a similar type will shortly follow at Benares and Rangoon (Hear, hear). Then, of course, there must be, side by side with this extension of liberal University education, an increase of technical education."

Moslem Feeling.

A MEETING of the Central Standing Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference was held at No. 8, Marsden Street, on the afternoon of the 25th August, to consider the letter of Sir H. Butler and the decision of the Secretary of State regarding the proposed Moslem University. Maulvie Najmuddin Ahmed presided and there was a fair attendance.

Before the proceedings commenced Maulvie Wahid Hossain explained the objects of the meeting.

Nawab Siraj-ul-Islam then moved the following resolution:— "That this meeting of the Central Standing Committee of the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference, Bengal, deeply regrets the decision of the Government of India and the Secretary

of State that schools and colleges, outside Aligarh will not be allowed to be affiliated to the proposed Moslem University, and is unable to accept the decision as final. This meeting urges upon the Government the extreme necessity of reconsidering the decision."

Mr. M. A. Latiff seconded the resolution which was carried.

Mr. Z. Zahid moved and Maulvie Mahomed Akram Khan seconded the following resolution which was carried:—"That this meeting feels greatly disappointed at the decision of the Secretary of State that the Viceroy will not be the Chancellor of the University and that the powers proposed to be vested in the Chancellor will be exercised by the Governor-General in Council."

Maulvie Shaikh Abdur Rahim moved and Maulvie Azzizul Huq seconded the following resolution which was carried:—"That this meeting has learnt with deep regret, disappointment and pain the decision of the Secretary of State that the proposed Moslem University should in future be styled the University of Aligarh, and, in view of the fact that the Mussalmans have all along aimed at the establishment of a Moslem University, this meeting trusts that Government would not desire to wound their feelings but would reconsider its decision."

Mr. Wahid Hossain moved and Maulvie Mujibur Rahman seconded the following resolution which was carried:—"That this meeting considers it absolutely essential that in order to prevent future misunderstanding and avoidable delay, Government should be requested to communicate on behalf of the Secretary of State and the Government of India, all objections to the draft constitution which they have yet to raise and any further suggestions that they may have to make so that they may be considered by the community before giving a final reply to the Government."

Maulvie Wahid Hossain moved and Mr. S. M. Shariff seconded the following resolution which was carried:—"That this meeting resolves that copies of the resolutions passed to-day be submitted to Government for favour of consideration. That it also resolves that copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Moslem University the Foundation Committee with the request that a University on the lines suggested by Government should under no circumstances be accepted, and that representations should be made both in India and in England for the reconsideration of the Secretary of State's decision."

With a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting separated.

Moradabad, August 27.

A meeting of Moslems here to-day, Mr. Shaukat Ali presiding, passed resolutions protesting against the Secretary of State's decision in the matter of the Moslem University at Aligarh and appealing to Government to have the matter re-opened.

Press Opinions.

The "Times."

THE *Times* in an article on the communal Universities of India dwells on the disappointment in some quarters owing to the reported decision of the Government on the question of affiliation. The journal thinks that the linking of inferior institutions might soon debase the hall mark of Aligarh, which has stood for so much in Indian Moslem culture. The question of affiliation is for the somewhat distant future rather than for to-day.

The "Englishman."

THERE is a good deal of dissatisfaction in the Muhammadan community with the Government of India's decision regarding the constitution of the Aligarh and the Benares Universities, the two projected institutions which have excited a good deal of enthusiasm amongst Moslems and Hindus respectively. A recent *Communique* indicated that the Secretary of State, "whose decision is final and must be accepted as such," had decided that the proposed Universities should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which they may be established. Considerable modifications in other directions have been indicated also. "The Secretary of State has decided that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor, that the University should elect its own Chancellor, and that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council, with one exception, namely, that the professors should be appointed without the previous approval of the Governor-General in Council." The Secretary of State also reserves his discretion in regard to other details not specified. Hence the demand, with which we quite sympathise, that they should be specified without further delay. Now it is obvious that, apart from their merits, the modifications in the Constitution of the Moslem University here indicated involve changes which will make the institution, if it is ever established now, a vastly different thing from the University the promoters had in view. For several months

past the question has been prominently before the public. The proposed Constitution has been known to everybody. The Government of India insisted on the principle of previous approval of the appointment of professors, and from the emphasis with which this principle was pressed, it might have been imagined—and indeed, the promoters supposed—that this was the greatest, if not the only, objection that Government had to the Constitution. The promoters went on raising money with the projected Constitution as the basis of their promises. The money poured in freely. During all this time nothing was said about the principle of affiliation, and now the Secretary of State comes down upon the scheme with sudden severity and says there shall be no affiliation. As an exhibition of how not to do things this will take a lot of beating. It is not surprising that the Muhammadans resent it and that they are, apparently, in a frame of mind scarcely conducive to a calm discussion of the merits of the question. Where, it may be asked, was the Education Department of the Government of India all this time, that it allowed the impression to prevail that affiliation would be allowed? The great safeguard on which that department insisted was the approval of the appointment of professors: a safeguard which the Secretary of State brushes aside as of no account. It must have been known to the Government of India that the promise of affiliation was being held out by those who were collecting the funds, and our faith in the efficiency and educational knowledge of the Indian Department of Education is not increased by what can only be called an unfortunate bungle. The objections to affiliation should have been raised at the outset by the Government of India which maintains a costly Department of Education for the purpose of advising it in such matters. It has been left to the Secretary of State to point them out in a manner which reduces respect for the Government of India and its Education Department and, at the same time, gives unnecessary offence to the Muhammadan Community.

This is the more unfortunate because the objections to affiliation are sufficiently strong, on educational grounds, to warrant a reconsideration of the whole position by the promoters of the Aligarh University. Already resolutions are being passed to the effect that "a university on the lines suggested by Government should under no circumstances be accepted." Protests have also been made against the change in the relation of the Viceroy to the University and the fiat that the University must be styled Aligarh, and not Moslem. These, however, are matters of comparative little concern alongside the question of affiliation. Whilst we think the manner in which it has been done is inexcusably clumsy, it was necessary that the matter should be raised. For it vitally affects the efficiency of university education in India. The measure of resentment amongst Hindus at the decision of the Government is not nearly so strong as amongst Muhammadans. In fact, the wiser heads amongst the former are disposed to abandon the idea of affiliation without any qualms. Are not the Muhammadans in danger of making too much of it? For one thing it is premature to talk of affiliation since there are no colleges that could be affiliated with advantage to Aligarh, nor are there likely to be any for many years to come. As we have pointed out before, under existing conditions it would be for the good of the University itself to concentrate its educational activities, at least for some time to come in Aligarh. Build up a teaching and residential university at Aligarh first. Do not dissipate the energies and resources that this task will need in attempting to create and control colleges scattered all over India. The mere act of affiliation will not reproduce an Aligarh in every province, but it may conceivably result in admitting into a circle which should be kept high, select and efficient, educational institutions unworthy of Aligarh and its traditions. That, of course, would be fatal to the whole scheme. Moreover, the Government, as the authority finally responsible for the spread of education in a country where it has been hitherto so neglected, must keep in its own hands the power of control over universities—affiliated colleges. This would scarcely be possible under a constitution allowing very large powers of affiliation. The Government of India, in short, has a responsibility for education which it cannot resign to anybody, however loyal and distinguished. We do not think the suggestion that a political motive is behind the objection to affiliation is at all worthy of those who make it. The subject is important enough to be discussed on its educational merits, and controversialists had better refrain from introducing political passion or fanaticism. There is talk of agitation, of carrying this matter even to the constituencies in England. Those who indulge in such talk do not know how utterly bored the English constituencies are over education. We hope temperate discussion will take the place of agitation, and the Government of India should itself descend from the clouds and discuss matters amicably. For our own part we cannot accept any decision of the present Government as "final," and we are not surprised that the Muhammadans take the same view. But a little friendly talk, before the hot heads prevail, may convince responsible leaders of Muhammadanism that affiliation is not at present essential, that, on the contrary, it is perilous, and that if the course of events justifies it, it may easily be conferred in the future. It would be a great wrong to the whole Muhammadan Community to wreck the University scheme on a question which cannot have any practical bearing for some years to come.

Persia:

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Teheran on 24th August.—The Persian Government has explained its answer to the Russian demand for a concession to construct a railway between Julfa and Tabriz with an extension to Urumiah in a manner which is expected to satisfy Russia. The Russian success is regarded as removing all obstacles in the way of a British concession to construct a line from the Gulf to Khoramabad, to which Britain, in virtue of the rescript of Nasir-ed-Din Shah, appears now to be undoubtedly entitled.

Reuter wires from Teheran on 25th August—Mukhbir-es-Sultaneh, the new Governor of Fars, has proceeded to Fars with a strong force. It is reported that 300 Fidais have joined Salar-ed-Dowleh, who has promised to re-establish the constitution.

Reuter wires from Bushire on 25th August.—Baharoo tribesmen yesterday attacked Bundar Abbas. British subjects were robbed. The raiders have apparently left again.

News received from Bandar Abbas shows that the attack mentioned in Reuter's message was one by common robbers and had no political significance. It will not be necessary to send any man-of-war to the port.

Anarchy in Persia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" TEHERAN CORRESPONDENT.)

THE situation here grows steadily worse and contains so many elements of disruption as to make analysis difficult. There is little but the shell of the Persian organism left, and the belief seems to be general that the shell can hardly last much longer. The departure of the Regent and his virtual abdication of his functions have aggravated the process of decay and let loose a fresh series of intrigues and rivalries.

So troubled are the waters that it would be strange indeed if the ex-Shah—who appears to have no lack of correspondents—and all the exiles whose eyes still turn to Teheran were not seeking once more to fish in them. It is true that Salar-ed-Dowleh has been defeated and has lost his following, but he is still in Luristan, though reported to be moving towards the Turkish frontier. The political situation at Teheran presents no single element of stability, so that Mohammed Ali may be excused for thinking that he may yet have a chance of recovering his Throne. It is certain that he is displaying activity. Paris appears to be the present meeting place of his agents, and his brother Shua-es-Sultaneh, who after his recent journey to St. Petersburg went to Brussels, has recently paid a visit both to Paris and Switzerland, for the purpose of meeting certain exiles. Mohammed Ali is again in correspondence with the Turcoman tribes, and is even said to be contemplating a visit to Europe similar to that which preceded his return to Persia last year. It is worthy of note that the Russian Government appears no longer to admit or assume responsibility for the ex-Shah's movements. This responsibility, before his incursion into Persia last year, was defined by the protocol of 1909; but when the recent arrangements for his pension and departure were made it was found impossible to arrive at any written understanding on this subject, and the Persian Government received only a verbal assurance that Mohammed Ali was not likely to renew his attempt.

The Zill es-Sultan, brother of Muzaffer-ed-Din Shah, still appears to nourish a hope that one day he may return to Persia, either as Governor General of Fars or as Regent. His son, Osmuz Mirza, lately joined the Cossack Brigade as a private soldier; he has now become a sergeant, and is rapidly working his way to a commission. This step was taken with the knowledge of his father and is said to be due to a desire to commend his family to the Russian Government.

Meantime in Teheran itself both the Sipahdar and the Bakhtiari are accused of aiming at the Regency. The Sipahdar was some months ago appointed Governor of Azarbaijan, but did not proceed to his post. It was believed that in a Cabinet reconstruction his services might be required here as Prime Minister and it was known that this commended itself to Russia. Tabriz and the province of Azarbaijan have meantime been governed by his deputy, Shuja-ed-Dowleh, formerly known as Samad Khan, who last year attacked Tabriz in Mohammed Ali's interest and is still an avowed partisan of the ex-Shah. The controlling force in Tabriz is, however, the Russian garrison, and the province appears to be tranquil. It is announced that the Sipahdar will immediately leave Teheran for his post at Tabriz, as the rumour that he aimed at the Regency and even harboured designs for assembling a packed Mejliss to support his candidature has led the Russian and English Legations to think his presence more useful in the provinces than in the capital. It is, however, improbable that he will actually take over the Governorship, as the Russian authorities in Tabriz are believed to be unfavourable to his appointment.

Several members of the Cabinet strongly favour the revival of the Mejliss, though on a different electoral basis. Sardar Assad also lately made a move in this direction and called a meeting at his house to discuss the proposal. As a Mejliss seems the only obvious instrument for effecting a change in the Regency, this has, of course, given new life to the belief that the Bakhtiari aim at the Throne. In so far as any internal force can be said to have control of a desperate situation, this control at present lies with the Bakhtiari, one of whom is Prime Minister and another Minister for War. They also hold numerous provincial Governorships and they possess a comparatively mobile striking force. It cannot be said that they offer much hope of the restoration of order, for, although possessed of the machinery of the Central Government, they take a purely tribal, and not a national, view of the responsibilities of office. Their supremacy at Teheran is also a constant grief to their ancient rivals, the formidable Kashghai tribe, in the South. Of all possible claimants for the Regency or the Throne perhaps the Zill-es-Sultan, whose famous Governorship at Ispahan and Fars has left a name at which the world still grows pale, offers the best hope for the restoration of order. But it is doubtful whether his candidature would receive the support of Russia, and it is certain that it would be bitterly opposed by the Bakhtiari, with whom he has a blood feud. In fact, so long as the Bakhtiari maintain their present position the return either of Mohammed Ali or the Zill-es-Sultan is impossible. Moreover, the Zill is no longer young, and though his prestige is undiminished, age may have dimmed his force.

In the present Cabinet Samsam-es Sultaneh is Prime Minister, Sardar Moktashem Minister for War, Prince Ala-es-Sultaneh Minister for Foreign Affairs, Moavin-ed-Dowleh Minister of Finance, Mohtashem-es-Sultaneh Minister of the Interior, Mustashar-ed-Dowleh Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and Mumtaz-ed-Dowleh Minister of Justice. Since Yeprem's death the Bakhtiari Minister of War has become also Chief of Police, but it has been decided to get the assistance of two Dutch officers for police reorganization. The Cabinet can hardly last very long and already there is a dangerous deadlock. Its members seem utterly overcome by their anomalous position, and it seems certain that they can never be got to take responsibility for any act of government which will involve the country in any important consequences. According to the Constitution, the approval of the Mejliss is necessary for any railway or loan project, and though last month there were signs that the Cabinet was prepared to proceed some way in these matters on its own authority, it is now evident that it will do nothing of the kind. The Persian Government now refuses to move without a Mejliss, and the Russian Government very naturally, after its experience of the hostility of two previous Parliaments, does not desire the summoning of a third. So grave indeed have the issues become and so near does disintegration appear, that the loan project seems to be moribund, and the Trans-Persian Railway scheme can not for the present be taken very seriously here. With the possible collapse of the whole fabric of Government before our eyes and with no clear conception of what is to take its place, schemes for sinking many millions of capital in Persia wear an air of fantasy at Teheran, and there is no doubt that hard realities will presently force themselves on the notice of those who cherish them.

The savings of last year are gone, and the Treasury is empty. The *maliat*, or land tax, has fallen off. The cheques issued by the unfortunate Treasurer-General have frequently been returned unpaid by the banks and payment is sometimes made in bills which have to be negotiated in the bazaar. The second advance sought for from England and Russia has not been made, as it is Russia's wish to wait till the *Société d'Etudes* is ready to take part in it. The *Société d'Etudes* was also to make the larger loan asked for by the Persian Government, but the list of securities available has not so far proved adequate for the large amount talked of and for two months no progress has been made.

No sooner is disorder abated in one southern town than we hear of it in another. For five months Mukhbir-es-Sultaneh has been appointed Governor-General of Fars, but he still remains in Teheran, owing chiefly to his inability to come to an understanding with M. Mornard as to the amount of money he requires. Even if he eventually goes to Shiraz, it is too late to hope that he can achieve much. The road is shut, the Persian Government has failed to arrest the assailants of Consul Sinart, and Mohammed Ali Kashguli is now breathing forth threats of war against the new *Ilkhani* of the Kashgais. The Swedish officers have no adequate resources for coping with the situation. The acting Governor, the Kavamel-Mulk, thwarts them as much as possible; recruiting makes no progress; and the Treasurer-General has no cash to spare for them. To withdraw the British Consular escort would be to expose it to the risk of an incident similar to that which marked its arrival. It was, in fact, either too small or too large for its purpose; too large not to suggest a military demonstration, too small to be immune from considerable risk.

It will be conceded that the British Government has shown great patience in dealing with the situation at Shiraz. In October next it will be two years since the British Note which gave the Persian Government three months to put its house in order. The

British Government is still waiting patiently for that result. There may be a hope of its attainment, but it is a dwindling one. It should be realized that the sands are running out.

Persian Government's Want of Money.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

REUTER'S AGENCY learns that according to official telegrams received in London from Teheran the chief difficulty confronting the Persian Government at the present moment is financial. Some three months ago an advance of £200,000 was made by Great Britain and Russia and since then no money has been forthcoming. Of this £200,000 one quarter was retained by the Russian Bank in settlement of outstanding claims, while a similar amount was expended on the pension of the ex-Shah and payments to his followers. This left only £150,000 for the administration of the country, the Government being absolutely without funds. Of this sum a considerable amount had to be expended on the expedition against Salar-ed-Dowleh, who has now been thoroughly defeated by the Government troops. Notwithstanding the best intentions of the Government there was little left on which to maintain tranquillity in the country. The question of a further small advance has been under consideration for some considerable time and every moment's delay in facilitating this advance weakens the hands of the administration. The Persian Government during the past few months has exhibited the friendliest feelings towards Great Britain and Russia and confidently hopes that the two Governments will give both moral and material support in maintaining authority in the country, and that a further advance will be speedily made without the imposition of conditions which a constitutional Government cannot accept without the approval of the Mejliss. The latest telegrams from Teheran state that even with the small means at its disposal the Persian Government is doing its best to maintain order. It is admitted that the situation is not entirely satisfactory, but there is nothing to cause anxiety and there is every likelihood of an improvement.

The Regent, who left Teheran recently, has been for some time in Vienna. He intends undergoing a cure and declares that he will return to Teheran at the expiration of the period of three months for which he left Persia. Meanwhile he is in constant telegraphic communication with the Ministers, all important matters being referred to him, and he says that he has in no way abdicated his functions.

Russian Policy in Asia.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE leading article page of the *Novoe Vremya* of July 28, now to hand, presents a spectacle of profound interest to the student of modern Russia. It consists of a leading article entitled "In Urumia;" of a "leaderette" dealing with the recent burning of Russian subjects at Khotan (who, it will be remembered, had made an unwarrantable attack on the Chinese and then locked themselves up in a house and offered armed resistance to the authorities); of a "middle" article entitled "Persian Affairs;" of a report on the mutiny of Russian soldiers in Turkestan; and of a long letter from Teheran on the situation in the North-west of Persia. With one exception, therefore, the page is devoted to affairs affecting Russia's relations with China, Persia, and Turkey. The tone, however, in all the articles is the same; it is one savage attack on the Government for neglecting to proceed *manu militari* in vindication of Russian "rights" and "interests." In Urumia a local tribe, the Shekaks (perhaps incited by the Russians), have protested to the Teheran Government against the presence of Turkish troops, and, not receiving any reply, turned for protection to the Russian authorities. It is the neglect of Russian diplomacy to listen to these "entreaties" and to drive out the Turks from the disputed territory which fills the *Novoe Vremya* with indignation. "The Shekak tribesmen are not Turkish subjects. Their application to the Russian authorities is not a crime. They are now subjected to maltreatment and ruin because they have appealed to Russia's generosity. Is it for this that they ought to be delivered to disgrace and destruction?"

The organ of the Russian Nationalists is angry over the lack of energy shown by the Government in the campaign against the Shahsevens in North-western Persia. "Our prestige," it declares, "is being injured, and grave complications may be expected in the near future. We shall have to do what we advised three years ago—move into Azerbaijan adequate forces under a capable and energetic chief and crush the Shahseven nomads. Our diplomacy ought not to feel embarrassed by interpellations in the London Parliament (*sic*), where some members raise a din over every additional Russian soldier in Persia. Let the English introduce order in Southern Persia and not hinder us in exercising our authority in the northern part. There surely is an object for which the Entente and the Convention have been drawn up!"

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

The Montenegrins have withdrawn from Berana.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 23rd August:—The departure of King Ferdinand and M. Gueshoff, the Premier, for Europe and of the Austrian Ambassador for a holiday is regarded as reassuring.

Four hundred Malissori led by priests attacked Durazzo. They were eventually routed by reinforcements. The Malissori lost 30 killed and 70 wounded. There were a few Turkish casualties.

Ferid Pasha has declined the Portfolio of the Interior.

The Belgian, Quetalet, who was arrested recently on a charge of espionage, has been discharged owing to lack of evidence against him.

Reuter wires from Salonika on 25th August:—Djavid Pasha has entered Berana unopposed. The Montenegrins have dispersed.

Count von Berchtold has arrived at Bukharest where he remains for a short time as guest of the King.

Reuter wires from Belgrade:—In consequence of the attack on Sjenitz a crowd of five thousand paraded the streets on 25th August clamouring for war.

Reuter wires from Sofia:—Representatives of all parties from all towns in Bulgaria held a meeting at Sofia on 25th August at which bellicose speeches were made and a resolution passed, demanding the mobilisation of the army, that urgent representations be made to the Powers regarding the autonomy of Macedonia and that war be declared on Turkey if no response be received.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—In view of the continued effervescence in Bulgaria from the Kotchana incident, King Ferdinand and M. Gueshoff, premier, will remain at Sofia.

Turkish officers have determined to resist any suggestions in the direction of decentralisation arising out of Count von Berchtold's proposal.

Reuter wires from Belgrade:—The Turks attacked the Servians at Sjenitz in the vilayet of Rossovo, massacring many of the inhabitants. The Servian Cabinet has met to discuss the situation.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The preliminary report of the Turkish Commission of Enquiry into the Kotchana incident shows that the civil and military authorities failed in their duties and that troops participated in the massacre. The Porte, therefore, has ordered the guilty to be court-martialled and £1,000 to be distributed among the sufferers.

King Nicholas of Montenegro has assured the Powers that no Montenegrin will be permitted to cross the frontier in future.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 27th August:—It is announced that the Government has instructed the Valis of all European Provinces to apply the concessions made to the Albanians throughout their districts. The same measures will, it is understood, be introduced in the Anatolian Vilayets.

The report of the attack on Sjenitz is doubted here. The exodus of Servians is believed to be due to Albanians, in returning from Uskab, having sacked the Government magazines of rifles on their way, manifesting their satisfaction in Albanian fashion by discharging their rifles, thus frightening the Christians.

Reuter wires from Cetinje:—The Powers have made vigorous representations to Montenegro, who assures them that she will not act contrary to their wishes. She disclaims any idea of aggression, but declares that she cannot tolerate Turkish frontier fortresses in Montenegrin territory. She appeals to the Powers to settle the dispute.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—Before returning to their homes, the Albanians looted a number of depôts, seizing 17,000 rifles and quantities of ammunition. A number of bands are still threatening the other depôts.

The cruiser *Diana* has hastily left Malta for Crete where some anxiety is felt as to the situation owing to the discovery of a Cretan plot to seize Samos and hoist the Greek flag. A French warship is also proceeding there.

Reuter wires from Jaffa on August 28th. Six Italian warships arrived here this morning. Three proceeded northward and three anchored here. They searched a cargo boat for contraband.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on August 28th.—It is stated in Turkish official circles that peace will not be disturbed, because there is an army of 300,000 in European Turkey, which could be doubled in three months. The view is also held that the agitation in Bulgaria is certain to subside when justice has been meted out in the Kotchana affair and the Bulgarians are convinced that the Porte will decline to entertain any proposals by the powers on the lines of Count von Berchtold's proposal.

Turkey has instructed her representatives abroad to inform the Powers, when asked regarding Count von Berchtold's proposals, that Turkey cannot listen to proposals affecting her internal policy.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, August 5.

The following telegram from Constantinople has been received here:—"The Deputies have decided to issue a proclamation to the nation giving their view of the situation. A telegram from Uskub states that a bomb has exploded on the railway near Zelenikovo."

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 6.

According to a telegram from Smyrna of yesterday's date to a local newspaper, the disbandment of the Aidin Redif battalions has begun. Perfect tranquillity prevails, though a strong feud exists between the various Smyrna newspapers.

Constantinople, August 7.

A *communiqué* from the court-martial is published in the press containing a series of restrictions, including prohibition of the frequentation of political clubs, the carrying on of a political propaganda, or the publication of newspaper supplements without permission of the Government. Beer shops and wine shops must close at eleven, while restaurants, coffee houses and reading-rooms must close at midnight, after which hour no one is allowed in the streets without satisfying the police as to his identity.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, August 9.

According to a telegram from Smyrna the inhabitants of the island of Nikaria have deposed the Turkish authorities and have declared their independence. This island is not one of those occupied by the Italians, and it is believed that the inhabitants have taken this step in order to place themselves on the same footing as the people of those islands over which the Italians have established their authority, and to establish a right to similar treatment. Nikaria lies about twelve miles west of Samos and is inhabited by about 10,000 Greeks, mostly charcoal burners.

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 9.

The censorship on telegrams to the foreign press has now been removed, with an exception in the case of messages dealing with military matters. It is understood that the Government has resolved to expel correspondents in the event of their persistently sending false news.

The measure has produced an excellent impression, and the Government is commended for its action in abolishing a system which, besides being prejudicial to the receipts of the telegraph administration, has not prevented correspondents from forwarding by an indirect route news distasteful to the authorities.

Dissolution of the Chamber.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 5.

At the moment of telegraphing the situation is almost ludicrously involved, and were it not for the ever-present possibility of a collision between the opposing parties, all neutral Constantinople would be laughing at the results of this morning's comedy. To sum up the events of the day—first, the Chamber has been dissolved by an Imperial Iradeh promulgated at midnight, of which the Chamber has taken no official cognisance; secondly, the Government has, according to the Committee Deputies, fallen in consequence of an adverse vote of the Chamber given at this morning's sitting after the promulgation of the Iradeh which the sitting refused to recognise; thirdly, the Chamber has voted an adjournment pending its convocation by the President.

To revert to yesterday's proceedings in the Senate, it appears that Ghazi Muktar Pasha gave the Upper House full details concerning the ultimatum received from the formidable Gheg army massed at Kossovopolye, the mustering of a large Tosk force at Berat, and the growth of a most dangerous excitement among the members of the Military League here and in Abdullah Pasha's army in Smyrna. These considerations weighed more with the Senate than the legal arguments by which it upheld the Government's view that a Chamber elected in the place of a preceding Chamber which had been dissolved before its term of four years had expired, could only sit for such time as its predecessor would have remained in office but for dissolution. Five Senators opposed the Government, and Mahmud Shevket abstained from voting.

The Grand Vizier communicated the Iradeh of dissolution to the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber at 9 o'clock this morning. Ferid Pasha received and took act of the communication; Halil Bey either did not receive or did not take cognisance of it, and the theoretically dissolved Chamber opened its proceedings at

10 o'clock. Halil told the House what had happened without stating whether he had received notification of the dissolution. Djavid Bey then mounted the tribune and delivered a long theatrical speech in defence of the Committee of Union and Progress.

He referred in eloquent terms to the services rendered by the Committee to the cause of freedom, and described the condition in which they had left the Empire as almost ideal. He declared that the "great Cabinet" had been terrified into illegality by the threats of ten mutinous officers and the Albanian rebels. He summoned the patriotic element in the Army to come to the rescue of the Constitution. The House, which had taken no official cognisance of the action of the Government, proceeded to pass a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry on account of its illegal action in ordering the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of fresh elections. It next voted its own adjournment pending convocation by the President. At this point the Committee leaders stated that the message from the Grand Vizier announcing his intention of reading the Imperial Iradeh in both Houses in the afternoon had just been received. Halil Bey telephoned to the Grand Vizier that the House did not recognize the Ministry, against which it had just passed an adverse vote. The proceedings then terminated, and the Committee Deputies trooped away, leaving about a dozen members of the Opposition in the Chamber.

At 1 o'clock the Grand Vizier appeared, and, after reading the Iradeh to the Senate, entered the Chamber, where he expressed surprise at the action of the majority and stated that the Government did not admit the official character of the morning's proceedings. The Iradeh was read to a few Albanian, Arab, and Anatolian Deputies and the official Session ended.

Meanwhile Halil Bey repaired to the Palace and asked for an audience of the Sultan, which was refused. Then he returned to the Chamber and was soon afterwards heard to call for the police, whom he requested on their appearance to remove Essad Pasha Toptan, the Albanian Deputy, from Durazzo, who, he said, had threatened to do him an injury. Shortly afterwards Ferid Pasha arrived, locked up the Chamber, and handed the keys to the officer on guard.

Thus ended what the Opposition called Talaat Bey's Parliament. Whether its fate would have been the same had the Committee leaders shown greater moderation in their conduct of the elections is an interesting but unprofitable speculation. It now remains to be seen whether Constantinople will become not merely the official but the real Capital of the Empire in place of the Jewish Salonika and, these latter days, of the Albanian towns of Djakova and Prishtina.

A Hatt-i-Humayun has been issued expressing the Imperial regret at the conduct of the President and members of the dissolved Parliament after the issue of the Iradeh, and declaring that the Sovereign and the nation are full of confidence in the present Cabinet, which is composed of tried and respected statesmen to whom "Allah grant success!"

Remarkable confidence was shown to-day in the Chamber by the Committee leaders. The threats of Deputies like the Jew Masliah to bring their political adversaries to the gallows caused much uneasiness both among neutrals and among supporters of the present Government. It is argued that the Committee, which seems to be entirely under extremist guidance, must have some military force on which it can depend, and the publication of the names of the officers who took part in Friday's demonstration gives colour to the theory, as does the fact that over 100 officers attended a similar meeting yesterday. Among the former, besides members of the late Court-martial, against some of whom charges of torture have been brought by an ex-official, are Ismail Fazil Pasha, late commander of the Uskub Army Corps, Raghib Bey, ex commandant at Tashkishla, Muhied-Din Bey, the capable and popular ex-Governor of Pera, and other officers of note. In these circumstances the public anxiety and the remarkable precautions taken by the Government are equally comprehensible.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION FOREIGN SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, August 5.

To-day's sitting of the Turkish Chamber will be memorable in the annals of the Ottoman Parliament. The deputies met at an earlier hour than usual in order to discuss yesterday's decision of the Senate regarding the interpretation to be placed on certain articles of the Constitution without waiting for any official communication on the subject, but chiefly in order to forestall the reading of the decree of dissolution. The contention in Committee quarters was that as the Government had committed an illegal act the Chamber was compelled to act in self-defence.

Djavid Bey was the only orator, and his impassioned speech which was evidently intended for a wider circle of auditors than the deputies, constituted a vehement denunciation of the Government and all its works, and a glowing eulogy of the Union and Progress party. Djavid Bey declared that the Government was subject to the influence of the Minister of War, who acted under the orders of the Military League. The Government, he continued, not content with

dismissing various civil and military officials because they belonged to the Committee party, had induced the Sultan to dismiss two high officials in the Imperial Palace.

Continuing, Djavid Bey said:—"This Government, which includes members who signed the suppression of Midhat's Constitution, will not shrink from a fresh *coup d'état*. Therefore the Chamber deems it unworthy of its confidence, and expresses the opinion that every Ottoman should refuse to obey its mandates. The real rebels are not in the mountains of Albania, but are assembled at the Sublime Porte. The party of Union and Progress is not afraid of taking responsibility, and is prepared to do its duty come what may, and if necessary it will present its breast to the bullets of the enemy."

The speech, which was frequently interrupted by applause, aroused considerable enthusiasm among the deputies, and the general opinion is that had the Cabinet presented itself in the Chamber at that moment with the decree of dissolution regrettable incidents might have occurred.

Order now prevails throughout the city, which is being continuously patrolled. Troops also are being held in readiness at important points. Just after midday the torpedo destroyer *Pelenk-i-Derya* anchored off the quay near the Parliament buildings.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The *Daily Chronicle's* Constantinople correspondent has interviewed Djavid Bey, the Young Turk leader whose appeal in Parliament to the army has made a deep impression. He stated that the Government is plunging into ruin, that it disregards the law, and that it forgets the enormous service rendered to the Ottoman Empire by the Committee of Union and Progress. "The nation," he said, "will demand an account of the action of the Government." The dissolution of the Chamber, in Djavid Bey's opinion, will not pacify the Albanians who are struggling for autonomy. As for the Union, it will resist any attempt to exert pressure, and should brute force be employed it will seek to hold a Parliament elsewhere, probably at Konia.

"Nothing," said Djavid Bey, "can hinder the voice of the nation. The officers of the Union are acting with conspicuous openness in the matter of their demands, but the threats of the Government are anonymous. The refusal of the Sultan to receive the President of the Chamber and the denial of speech to a former Minister for War are a violation of decency. The influence of the Union, however, is great. Its proclamations are seen everywhere. It is regrettable that the nation is split into two hostile camps, but I believe the Union will prevail in the end."

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 6.

The language of the Turkish press on the present crisis is on the whole moderate. The newspapers advise the public to observe calm.

The *Tanin* confines itself to a report of yesterday's proceedings in the Chamber.

The *Iktiham* says that the dissolution took place legally, and severely criticises the language of Djavid Bey which might be excusable in the case of an ordinary deputy, but was inadmissible in the mouth of an ex-Minister. The President of the Chamber is also severely criticised for holding a meeting of the Chamber when aware of the existence of the decree of dissolution.

The *Yeni Gazeta* says that the Chamber showed a want of patriotism, of respect for the Sultan, and of respect for the Constitution.

The *Sabah* says:—"The Cabinet of Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha is bringing to an end the period of revolution and replacing it by one of tranquility."

The Albanian Situation.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, July 31.

THE Albanian leader Boletinatz has occupied Novi Bazar and set himself up as virtual Dictator of the Sandjak.

August 1.

An officer and 50 gendarmes have deserted from the Gradischa station and have joined the insurgents. Further desertions are reported from Kumanova and other centres. The Ghilan and Senitsa prisons were broken open and the prisoners set at liberty. Idris Safer, with 1,200 men, has arrived at Ghilan, en route for Prishtina.

An unsuccessful attempt has been made to dynamite the Government buildings at Okrida.

August 2.

It is becoming increasingly evident that, even should the Government give way on the question of the dissolution of the Chamber and grant the most important Albanian demands, the troubles in the Northern province will be far from ended. There can be no doubt as to the strength of the insurrectionary movement or that a state of absolute anarchy prevails in Albania. As I suggested when the armistice was announced, the delay has enabled

the highland chiefs to perfect their organization, and the number of their followers is increasing daily. Moreover, it is more than probable that the benevolent attitude of the Cabinet and the definite orders to the Army to avoid bloodshed at all costs are being interpreted as an exhibition of weakness.

The Christian tribes are continuing their independent action. At Selice 1,500 Malissori, assisted by many Montenegrins, attacked the blockhouses and summoned the commandant to surrender the arms. On his refusal the rebels opened fire and fighting continued until, owing to lack of ammunition, the troops were compelled to surrender. They were disarmed and liberated. The Malissori now threaten Gusinje. Boletinatz at Vuchitza has notified the inhabitants that taxes are henceforth payable to the Albanian chiefs. Seventy-four officers at Prizrend have telegraphed to the Grand Vizier supporting the Albanian demands and insisting on the necessity of driving the Committee Deputies from Parliament.

While *pouparlers* are proceeding at Prishtina there are outside the town 50,000 semibarbarous Albanian warriors on the verge of starvation—hungry, desperate men who have been promised one knows not what by their chiefs as the price of their support. The slender crops on which they depend for existence lie this year rotting in the fields, and in many cases their homes have been destroyed and pillaged by passing troops. One cannot avoid wondering what is to become of these people during the long winter months, and it is to be feared that the aftermath of the Albanian revolt of 1912 will present more serious difficulties to the Government than the actual settlement of the outstanding questions at the conference. *Later.*

Dr. Nazim arrived here yesterday, and was to-day joined by Djavid, Talaat, and Midhat Beys. Their object is to decide upon and to organize the resistance which the Committee shall offer to the Cabinet, but beyond asserting that the strongest possible opposition will be offered by the Young Turk Party nothing can yet be stated as to their intentions. Dr. Nazim met the local leaders in secret conclave last night. Niazi Bey has already left Resna for the mountains with his followers.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

One of the correspondents of the *Temps* in Constantinople announces that certain friction has arisen between the Military League and the Albanians on account of the claims for complete autonomy which the latter, emboldened by their success, are now raising. "In principle," says the correspondent, "the Military League is well disposed towards the Albanians. Albania ought to organise her schools as she likes. In respect of finance she ought to have the complete disposal of the major portion of her revenues. In a word, the Military League has no objection to the grant to Albania of administrative autonomy as large as possible. But on the other hand it will strenuously oppose all demands for a political autonomy. For example, the League will not agree, as certain Albanian chiefs demand, to placing entire Albania under one governor appointed by the Sultan with the consent of the Powers. Such terms will certainly be made use of by the Committee, which will not fail to point out that the League is going to sacrifice the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."

The *Vossische Zeitung* prints a message from its Uskub correspondent saying that the negotiations at Prishtina have ended in the complete victory of the Albanians. On Saturday the Government Commission agreed to the following items of the Albanian programme:—(1) The restitution of arms; (2) the right to bear arms; (3) an indemnity for damage caused by the military expedition; (4) a general amnesty; (5) introduction of the Albanian language in the schools and Government offices; (6) appointment of Albanian officials; and (7) the impeachment of the Hakkî and Said Cabinets. The correspondent, however, adds:—"After this great success the Albanians will probably put forward other and unacceptable demands."

Reuter's Agency is informed that the Ottoman Embassy in London has received the following telegram from Constantinople: "Ibrahim Pasha, the president of the Turkish Commission in Albania, states that having informed the chiefs of the Albanian movement of the Imperial decree dissolving the Chamber and ordering fresh elections, and having advised them at the same time to return to order and legality, the chiefs received this communication with pleasure and submission, and departed promising they would notify it to their followers and giving satisfactory assurances. Ibrahim Pasha hopes earnestly that the region will shortly resume its normal aspect."

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 8.

Martial law has been proclaimed at Salonika and will be proclaimed in case of necessity in other provincial capitals.

The following *communiqué* has been published by the War Office:—

A telegram from Kara Said Pasha, Commander of the Fifth Army Corps, to the Minister of War states that a delegation of officers handed to him a declaration signed by Naki, commanding

the *Gendarmerie*, and by Major Hassan and other officers representing 114 of their comrades. The declaration contained two clauses, the first apparently affirming the military sentiments of these officers, the second of a nature tending to set the military regulations at defiance.

Kara Said Pasha reports that he summoned all the officers of the garrison, 15 of whom, all belonging to the *Gendarmerie*, said they approved the declaration, 53 said they would follow the lead of their senior officers, 46 approved the first clause, and 111 disapproved of both.

Further telegrams received from Torgut Shevket Pasha, Commander of the Second Army Corps, and from the Commandant of the Yanina Division, announce that all the officers of their commands have given an assurance of loyalty to the Sultan and of their intention to maintain military discipline.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, August 8.

The proclamation of martial law has produced a painful impression in the town and has annulled the satisfaction hitherto expressed with the Government.

August

The news of the dissolution of the Chamber has produced a disastrous impression in Committee circles here, where the event is referred to as a *coup d'état*. I learn that the Central Bureau has decided to make a determined last stand to regain the lost influence of the Committee, and Niazi Bey at Besna, and Eyub Bey at Okrida, two heroes of the revolution, are to collect their forces, take to the mountains, call to arms the population remaining loyal to the Young Turks, and thus commence the fight against the present Ministry. In point of fact a *Gendarmerie* lieutenant with 15 gendarmes, not 1,000 as says the Committee Press, has already deserted Okrida, leaving behind a document which expresses his determination to shed his blood to save the Constitution and country, and to drive out the interlopers who have succeeded in taking possession of the Government and unconstitutionally dissolved Parliament. As these Committee stalwarts will find the mountains at Okrida and Resna full of Bulgarian and Albanian bands and mutinied soldiers, there is apparently little prospect of their meeting with success in these districts. The strength of the Committee locally is to-day almost negligible and a mass meeting held yesterday was attended by only 23 adherents of the party.

The New Revolution.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, July 28.

WITNESSES of the Young Turk revolution of 1908 have been profoundly impressed by the extraordinary similarity between its earlier stages and the recent politico-military movement which has culminated in the fall of the Committee Government of the victory of the "Elder Statesmen."

As in 1908, the revolt of 1912 began on the Albanian marches in the province of Monastir and coincided with the growth of insurrection among the Gheg tribesmen of Kossovo. Its course was marked by the same phenomena; first came the flight to the mountains of the Ohrida, Resna, and Koritza districts of a few determined officers who had "taken the bit between their teeth" and refused to await the orders of the leaders of their organization and of a few hundred soldiers; next the reluctance or incapacity of the local military authorities to deal with the movement, and the appearance in other garrisons of a spirit perilously akin to mutiny. As in 1908, the Central Government was optimistic at the outset. The movement was a mere "bluff," the work of a few malcontent Albanian officers who had led astray the most credulous and ignorant of the soldiery, and would be suppressed by a few proclamations recalling the Army to its duties and by the exemplary punishment of the ringleaders, if and when they had been apprehended by the constituted authorities. As in 1908 Abdul Hamid sent Shemsi and Tatar Osman Pashas, followed by a legion of secret agents, to Monastir to stiffen the waverers among the garrison, so in 1912 Mahmud Shevket Pasha despatched General Teki Pasha and Colonel Shehab-ed-Din Bey, followed by Djavid Pasha, to "restore discipline" while the Committee hurried its three most reckless and determined leaders, Dr. Nazim, Omar Nadji, and Eyub Sabri Bey to the scene of danger.

And all the time in each movement, against the falsetto declarations of the powers that were—Government and Palace in 1908, Government and Committee in 1912—that all was well, and that a combination of paternal clemency and severe disciplinary measures would soon put an end to a mere "local disturbance," one could hear the swelling groundbass of military disaffection and Albanian discontent.

Yet it was not till 9th July when Mahmud Shevket Pasha resigned in obedience to military pressure or was jettisoned by the Young Turks, that the strength of the anti-Governmental

movement was generally realised. If the Committee of Union and Progress hoped to save its representatives in Said Pasha's Cabinet by sacrificing the general who had done it such signal service in 1909, it was woefully disappointed. The expectation of its leaders that it would be possible to detach Nazim Pasha from the Opposition or to find another general who would consent, in return for the portfolio of War, to run counter to military feeling, was not realized. Nazim, indeed, entered into negotiations with the Cabinet, but it presently became clear that the old "Liberal Union" general was playing with his would-be employers of the Committee. His terms proved unacceptable—as he intended them to be—and the Government, fearing Ibrahim and Abdullah Pashas, aware of Tatar Osman's unfortunate record, turned to Mahmud Mukhtar, who had the reputation of being a strong and ambitious soldier. For the best part of two days Mukhtar negotiated with the Ministry. He insisted on the abolition of martial law at the capital and the proclamation of a general amnesty. The Cabinet accepted his term, and on Monday (15th July) the news of his nomination was believed to be a question of hours.

Tuesday (16th July) came, but brought with it no Imperial Irade naming a new War Minister. Mukhtar's friends said that he preferred to enter upon his functions on a luckier day than Tuesday, but it was also believed and rightly that the Cabinet, and especially the Minister of War, were sounding the provincial Army Corps with regard to their views as to his appointment.

A new figure now dominates the situation at Constantinople—Hurshid Pasha, ex-A.D.C.-in-Chief to the Sultan, Minister of Marine under Said Pasha, and Acting Minister of War since Mahmud Shevet's resignation, a hard-headed Circassian, who was not afraid of facing facts. On Tuesday afternoon the news from Albania which had been bad during the past week, grew suddenly worse. The insurgent bands were suddenly growing into armies. Prishtina and Prisrend were about to close the markets (the sure sign of war in Albania), and, what was even graver news, the First (Yildiz) Division [at Djakova] had deposed its commander, Hassan Izzet Pasha, and was demanding the resignation of the Cabinet and the dissolution of the Chamber; two of the three divisions of the Uskub Army Corps were equally disaffected; reinforcements urgently required, but since the Ishtip Redif division had disbanded itself at Mitroviza and gone home and the Monastir Corps intimated the Government did not know whom to send to the front. Moreover, Abdullah Pasha's six divisions at Smyrna were solid, save for one battalion, which they had disarmed, against the Government, and expressed no enthusiasm at the proposal to appoint Mukhtar in Shevet's place. Other commanders in the provinces reported in the same terms as Abdullah, and Hurshid, after expressing his opinions before the Council of Ministers, resigned.

In vain did the Grand Vizier urge him to reconsider his decision. Hurshid was inflexible—gave his resignation and departed to the Palace, where he is believed to have told the Sultan the truth about the situation. Talaat and Djavid now sought to encourage their depressed colleagues and counselled resistance but Said Pasha had had enough difficulties to cope with. Late that night he proceeded to the Palace and laid his resignation before the Sultan.

The Sultan summoned the Presidents of the Senate and Chamber, Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, G.C.V.O., and Halil Bey and the members of Said Pasha's Cabinet. The question of the choice of a Grand Vizier was discussed. The Committee Ministers counselled the appointment of Tewfik, whom they considered a suitable Grand Vizier for a neutral *interregnum* between two periods of extremist dominance. Other Ministers spoke of Albanian and army discontent and the growing clamour for the return of Kiamil. Halil expressed his astonishment that the name of Kiamil, "the deadly foe of the Committee," should be mentioned before a Sultan who was the Committee's patron. As for the Albanians, they were rebels and reactionaries, who designed his Majesty's dethronement in favour of Abdul Hamid. The Sultan turned to Ghazi Mukhtar. "My information is different," the old Marshal is said to have replied; "the Albanians are loyal to the Throne." At length the Sultan decided to summon Tewfik from London. An Imperial telegram was despatched, and the Committee leaders supplemented it with appeals to the Ambassador to hurry to Constantinople.

On Wednesday afternoon (17th July) the fall of the Cabinet became known. The Committee Press for the first time was downcast. "We had armed and armoured our champion, Said Pasha," wrote the *Tanin*, "only to find that he would not stand to meet our foes."

On Wednesday evening further telegrams reporting military disaffection came in from Uskub. The organs of the extremists reported that Tewfik had accepted the Grand Viziership, but this was not so. Tewfik replied to the Sultan refusing the Premiership unless he received a promise that the Chamber would be dissolved. To Talaat and other Committee leaders, who telegraphed repeatedly to him, he replied on every occasion with a message simply announcing the receipt of their telegram and the time at which it had reached him. When conditions at last became known the Committee refused to discuss them.

Meanwhile the attitude of the army at the capital and of many of the provincial troops became more threatening. The Military League circulated a proclamation reproaching the alliance between the Committee and part of the officers' corps, condemning the reactionary tendencies of the extremists, and pointing out that the majority of officers were compelled for the moment to take part in politics with the object of making an end of politics in the army. On the evening of the 18th, 77 officers, belonging mostly to the Constantinople garrison, met at the War Office. Telegrams were read from Smyrna and the Albanian garrisons demanding the appointment of Kiamil as Grand Vizier and Nazim as Minister of War and the dissolution of the Chamber and announcing their intention of directing affairs pending new elections. The meeting appears to have adopted these resolutions, which they laid before Hurshid Pasha. Late that night Hurshid, Hadi and Nazim Pashas visited the Palace and described the situation to the Sultan, who showed a natural concern. Great tension marked the whole of Friday, 19th July, and even the most sceptical were convinced that the spirit of disaffection to the Committee régime had reached a high pitch in the Constantinople garrison by the Imperial proclamation exhorting the Army to maintain discipline, which was read to the troops after Salamilik. Rumours of intrigues in favour of the Heir-Apparent were rife and caused great anxiety at the Palace.

After nightfall the Sultan summoned Ghazi Mukhtar and Halil Beys. He is said to have informed them that the situation was worse than ever, and that, though he had contemplated naming Kiamil as Grand Vizier, he could not, as a Constitutional Monarch, take into consideration the unconstitutional demands of mutinous officers. Ghazi Mukhtar must endeavour to form a cabinet, including Kiamil and Hilmi Pashas and other elder statesmen. The Ghazi consented, and immediately entered into communication with Kiamil and other ex-Ministers, who all agreed to serve under him. On Saturday it was reported that Kiamil had accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. It was known that the Sultan had summoned him with Nazim and Hilmi Pashas to the Palace and the news of the formation of the new Cabinet was expected to arrive at any moment. The members of the Committee Parliamentary Party, who had received no adequate explanation of Said Pasha's resignation, met meanwhile first in committee room, where they indulged in some criticisms of their leaders, then in debate in the chamber, where they voted a resolution calling on Said Pasha and his Cabinet to come immediately and explain the situation. Said put them off. Some of their leaders now seem to have conferred with the Dashnakist Armenians and to have discussed the possibility of resistance, but moderate counsels fortunately prevailed, and the day passed quietly. But the Cabinet was not yet formed.

On Saturday morning the Albanians captured Prishtina and telegraphed to the Sultan, energetically demanding the appointment of Kiamil Pasha to Grand Viziership. Many of the provincial garrisons seem to have done likewise. These telegrams from insurgents and mutineers placed Kiamil in an extremely difficult position, and he now expressed his desire to withdraw from the proposed Ministerial combination. Meetings were held at the Palace on Saturday night and on the morning of the 21st, at which Nazim, Hilmi, and it is believed others refused to enter the Cabinet unless he came in. Finally, it is believed that some sort of "deal" was effected by which Kiamil was to enter the Cabinet in the capacity of president of the Council of State, with the reversion of the Grand Viziership should Ghazi Mukhtar retire from office in the near future. On Sunday night the Ghazi formed his Ministry. The first act of the revolution of 1912 was over.

Letter from a Monastir Officer.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, August 5.

CHERIF PASHA, who was proscribed by the Committee of Union and Progress and has just been amnestied, communicates to the *Temps* a signed letter under the date 23rd June which has been addressed to him from "the Forest of Tracher" by one of the officers who after the military demonstration at Monastir fled to the mountains with Tayar Bey. The officer states that he and his comrades had left their regiments in order to serve the national cause, and by no means for the purpose of helping the Albanians to obtain autonomy, still less for the promotion of their own personal ends. They repudiate with indignation the charge of treason. Their view is that the army, which imposed the Constitution and earned the enthusiastic gratitude of the people, has, in consequence of the action of some of its officers, become "a dangerous instrument in the hands of a few wretched politicians." The army has been stained by the ignoble part which it has been made to play, particularly at the last elections, when certain officers threatened the electors with whips and even with bayonets in order to obtain votes for their candidates. The writer asserts that the military supporters of the Committee form a

small minority and that enlightened opinion throughout the whole corps of officers is in sympathy with his views. After drawing a dismal picture of the state of Turkey, he continues:—

"We officers have sworn to be faithful to our Sovereign and to our country, but certainly not to Mahmud Shevket, who is devoid of all sense of honour and of dignity, or to Talaat, the ex-postman, or to Djavid, the ex-elementary schoolmaster. The destiny of the country cannot be dependent upon that handful of wretched creatures. What merit can the few partisans of the Red Committee discover in this (the late) Government? What has it done for the Tripolitaine or for Albania or for Arabia? Do not all its patriotic efforts amount merely to bloodshed?"

The writer describes the discipline of the army as being entirely destroyed and the officers of the highest rank as taking orders from subalterns. He and his fugitive comrades are everywhere welcomed by the population with open arms and are promised enthusiastic support.

Peace Negotiations.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE Continental press is full of rumours and denials of rumours that unofficial negotiations are being carried on between private but authorised persons with a view to discovering a compromise for the conclusion of peace between Turkey and Italy. The well-known *Tribune de Genève* professes to know the exact details of what is going on. The place where the negotiations are carried on is Evian-les-Bains, the watering place on the Lake of Geneva. The negotiator on the Turkish side is Prince Said Halim Pasha, the Khedive's cousin and a member of the Ottoman Council of State. The negotiator on the Italian side is Count Fusinato, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs. The initiative in the matter, says the journal, was taken by Said Pasha, the late Grand Vizier, and the Turkish terms are:—Recognition of the occupation and of the administration of the two provinces by Italy, but with maintenance of autonomy under the sovereignty of the Sultan, as represented by a Viceroy, a Moslem. The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna confirms this report, but puts in the place of Count Fusinato another negotiator—the one who was mentioned in the first reports, *viz.*, Signor Volpi, director of a bank in Venice, who has financial interests in Montenegro and elsewhere in the Balkans.

In its turn the Vienna correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* claims to know that the two negotiators at Evian are really acting in consultation with others who are staying on the opposite shore—Prince Said with Ferid Pasha, the ex-Grand Vizier who was recently offered the Ministry of the Interior, who is at Ouchy, and Count Fusinato with Signor Melegari, the Italian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who is staying at Lausanne. According to the *Neue Freie Presse*, the negotiations have so far been successful that the late Ottoman Government deemed it advisable to appoint a committee of nine to tackle the problem seriously, and these men went to Lausanne. The *Secolo*, of Milan, however, hears that the negotiations have had no success, but Prince Said has been confirmed by the new Government in his rôle of negotiator.

All this crop of rumours leads the semi-official *Popolo Romano* to observe that Italy has never demanded the express renunciation of Tripoli by Turkey, but that Italy would be prepared to make peace and renew diplomatic relations if the Italian sovereignty over Libya were recognised by the Powers, and Turkey recalled her troops.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Cologne, August 7.

The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* telegraphs that the report is confirmed at the Russian Foreign Office that negotiations are proceeding at Zurich between Turkish and Italian diplomats with a view to bringing the Turco-Italian conflict to an end. These negotiations were, as a matter of fact, broken off for a short while, but they have since been resumed with, it is believed, the Italian Ambassador in St. Petersburg as the principal representative on the Italian side. The impressions prevail that this resumption was proposed by Turkey, which is now displaying a more yielding disposition.

Austria and Italy.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

A VERY remarkable statement is made by the *Temps* in the course of a leading article on Albania. According to this generally well-informed journal, "a rather serious tension exists at the present moment between Rome and Vienna on the question of the division of their respective spheres of influence in this country. It appears that Southern Albania had been reserved for Italy and Northern for Austria, but since the war in Tripoli public opinion in Italy has been loudly demanding Valona, the Albanian port, in order to convert it into a naval station. In these circumstances Austria would be condemned to see her ports of Pola, Trieste and Fiume

losing all their strategical importance, and it is intelligible that these Italian schemes should be violently combated in Vienna. On the other hand, it is pointed out in Rome how considerably Austrian influence has extended in the Southern zone, where Italy is supposed to have rights." After giving a detailed account of the propaganda work done in Albania on behalf of Austria by the Catholic clergy, the journal observes:—"It is natural that there should be some uneasiness in Rome over these results of Austrian propaganda, and, without going so far as to believe with certain political quarters in Vienna that the Albanian revolt is largely due to Italian intrigues, it is certain that the Albanian question has assumed a prominent place among the problems with which the Roman Cabinet has had to occupy itself since the war." It had been known that Austria and Italy are bound by an agreement concluded some fifteen years ago to desist from any territorial design in Albania. Though similar agreements in other cases generally aim at an eventual partition of the country whose independence is thus "guaranteed," no such secret provision was suspected in relation to Albania—the more as it is difficult to see what Italy would gain by obtaining the southern part of Albania, which is entirely devoid of ports. On the other hand, a perusal of the Italian and Austrian press reveals no trace of a discussion of the question such as could confirm the allegation of the *Temps*. Developments will show whether the statement of the *Temps* is not one of those little manoeuvres inspired by certain diplomatists which are intended to increase the distrust between the two none too friendly members of the Triple Alliance.

Turkey's Strong Man.

(FROM THE BIRMINGHAM "DAILY POST" LATE CORRESPONDENT IN THE NEAR EAST.)

FIVE AND THIRTY years have passed since I first met the distinguished soldier who now holds the destinies of Turkey in his hands. At that time he was practically unknown outside his own country, yet he had successfully stamped out a rebellion in Yemen, had put down one of the ever-recurring insurrections in Crete, and with very inferior forces had held in check a rising in Montenegro. He had studiously held aloof from politics, and so had not come under the personal ken of those special correspondents whose vision is bounded by the Sublime Porte on the one side and the Embassies of the Great Powers on the other. He was a soldier of the highest scientific attainments, an astronomer of European reputation, and had a wide practical experience of war. Sprung from a wealthy family in Stamboul, Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha enjoyed all the educational advantages that money can procure. He was a fluent French and German scholar, spoke Arabic and Persian, in addition to his native Turkish, and had more than a bowing acquaintance with modern Greek. After passing through the Military College at Pancaldi, Ahmed Moukhtar Bey went into the senior department and qualified for the Staff, and shortly after was selected by the Sultan Abdul Majid as Military Governor for his nephew, the Prince Youssuf Izzet-din, at the present moment heir to the Throne. On the accession of Abdul Aziz, Colonel Ahmed Moukhtar Bey was nominated one of his Chamberlains, and in this capacity accompanied the Sultan in his visit to Western Europe in the summer of 1867. He was then promoted major-general, and resumed an active military career, the succeeding ten years being spent almost entirely in the field, and in the early part of the year 1877, when war with Russia appeared inevitable, he was made Governor-General of the Province of Erzeroum, with the command of the Fourth Army Corps on the Asiatic frontier, in what we know as Armenia. It was on the heights overlooking the Zewin River in the month of May 1877, that I made the acquaintance of the field-marshal. Simplicity is the key-note of his character, simplicity was the key-note of his surroundings. Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha is close upon eighty, and though he bears his years lightly he cannot hope to hold office for any length of time. Office has sought him, not he the office; and though Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha enters politics at an advanced age, it is generally felt that he is one of the few men in Turkey able to keep the Ottoman Empire afloat. The very fact that he is not a politician is in his favour. Turkey has had more than enough of men scrambling for place and power. The honest, God-fearing upright Turk is weary of the disciples of Abdul-Hamid, who have as a last resource adopted Constitutionalism. It is inconceivable to think that Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar is taking office as a stop-gap for a Kiamil or a Said Pacha. He is younger in years and far, far younger in bodily and mental activity than either of these professional politicians, who have alternately held the post of Grand Vizier for the past thirty years, men who were living incarnations of Hamidian policy, and now pose as the apostles of freedom. Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha is well known to have been a stalwart opponent of Hamidianism, the advice he felt called upon to tender to the Sultan led to his being practically banished to Egypt, and his son who sits in the Cabinet as Minister of Marine is known to have been a staunch supporter of the Revolutionary party, even when to be known to harbour views on

Constitutionalism was fraught with grave danger. Honest as the day, the new Grand Vizier is not likely to truckle to party—he is above both. If he is satisfied that common rumour is not a lying jade and that the recent elections were conducted in an unconstitutional manner, we may rest assured that the Chamber will be dissolved and that no Stambouloffian methods will mar the honesty of the coming elections. If promises have been made to the Albanians, those promises will be kept. He is strong enough to maintain order without recourse to ultra-constitutional devices. Martial law and the press censorship have already been done away with, and many victims of the recent courts-martial have benefited by the Royal clemency. The difficulties before the new Cabinet are immense, they are not insurmountable. Peace with Italy, peace with honour (to borrow the Disraelian phrase), concessions to the Albanians, a thorough reorganisation of the finances of the Empire and of its navy, ensuring the command of the Aegean, if not of the Black Sea, and lastly so shaping the domestic policy of the Empire as to harmonise the conflicting ideas yet identical interests of the various races subject to the Sultan. As regards the Italian question, it is quite open to debate whether, viewing the impossibility of Turkey being able to reinforce her troops in Tripoli, it would not be advisable to withdraw from her present untenable position and leave the Italians to deal with the Arabs at their own good pleasure. Financially speaking, Tripoli has always been a white elephant to the Porte, and it is very doubtful whether Italy will not find it a grievous financial burden. In the matter of financial organisation too the new Grand Vizier has selected the man best fitted to deal with the situation. Abdur Rahman Bey was for many years Chief Secretary to successive Ministers of Finance. For the past fifteen years his name has always been brought up as the best man whenever a vacancy occurred in the Ministry, but his inflexible honesty stood in the way—there was no room for an honest Minister of Finance in the Hamidian Administration. In his own son Mahmoud Moukhtar Pacha the Grand Vizier has an exceptional man. Although a soldier Mahmoud Moukhtar Pacha has for many years devoted himself to a study of the navies of the world. He held this office prior to the Italian war, and he it was in the face of much opposition, who carried through the orders for the two super-Dreadnoughts which were placed with the Armstrong-Clydebank-Vickers group a couple of years ago. The health of Ferid Pacha, an ex-Grand Vizier, prevented his acceptance of the Ministry of the Interior. Ferid Pacha is an exceptionally able man. He belongs to one of the oldest Albanian families, and is closely related to Ismail Kemal Pacha, the leader of the Albanian revolt. There is a talk of his Highness (for as an ex-Grand Vizier Ferid Pacha is entitled to the prefix of Highness) becoming President of the Senate. Here his firmness of character, his wide experience, and his charming personality would have full sway, and he might be of more real use to the Empire as President than in charge of a portfolio. Although Nazim Pacha is nominally Minister of War, we may rest assured that Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha will keep his watchful eye on this department. At the close of the Russian war he was made President of the Commission which carried through the reorganisation of the army on purely territorial lines, Von der Goltz Pacha being a technical adviser on certain matters. The difficult question of enrolling Christians, of giving them important commands, and of compelling Moslems to be subordinate to them, has never yet been settled. We, at any rate, cannot throw stones at the Turks in this respect, for we do not allow subject races to command Englishmen in India. To put forward the case of Armenians or Moslems holding commands in the Russian Army is not analogous. In certain parts of the Ottoman Empire the Moslems are in a minority. For instance territorial regiments in the Epirus would be chiefly composed of Greeks, in Northern Macedonia and in parts of Thrace they would be mainly Bulgarian, in the vilayet of Kosovo largely Serbian. Presuming a war to break out with Bulgaria, Greece, and Servia allied against the Porte, what reliance could be placed on the regiments drawn from the inhabitants of the provinces bordering on those kingdoms?

There is one point in connection with the present Cabinet which must not be overlooked. The reigning Sultan, Mahmoud Raschid the Fifth, does not enjoy the best of health. The Heir-Apparent has a strong predilection for his old tutor, Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, and for his old school fellow, or rather, class-mate, Mahmoud Moukhtar. According to all accounts, the Prince Youssuf Izzet-din is a strong man, who has no intention of being the mere cypher that his cousin is. Whilst delegating full powers to his Ministers, he will govern as well as reign. He will not consent to be the mere "Registrar" of Ministerial decrees. Already there is a strong party in Turkey who wish to see their Sultan assuming a little more power. There is a wide gulf between the tyranny of the ex-Sultan, Abdul Hamid, and the self-effacement of the Sultan, Mahmoud the Fifth. They would like to see this gulf bridged, and standing on the bridge a monarch who would resuscitate the glories of the Ottoman Empire, restore peace at home, and enforce respect from abroad. With Ghazi Moukhtar Pacha at the Sublime Porte, Turkey may yet assume the rôle of a "Great Power."

The Perils of Turkey.

THE collapse of the Young Turkish oligarchy has opened a long vista of perils for the Turkish Empire, and merely to catalogue them is to empty the vials of the Apocalypse. But there is one reserve which must be made before indulging in such an exercise. We are considering the case of a primitive and ill-organised community. If it has intelligence to know that it is dying, it would instantly expire. But a beneficent stupor comes at these crises to its aid. A people with a more complicated brain and quicker nerves would long ago have succumbed. Surgeons know that there are stolid races endowed with an insensibility which renders anaesthetics almost superfluous. It is the business of the contemporary historian to know that some Empires are in the same case. Mischiefs which would mean revolution in France are patiently endured in Russia, and perils which would be fatal to any European State go heedlessly over China or Turkey. We are not quite sure that the new Turkey with a sort of Parliament and a relatively free press is altogether in the same happy case for ignoring its perils as the Turkey of the old régime. The old unanimity of the governing race is gone, and gone too is the religious veneration which gave the Caliph authority. But we are still dealing with a low organism which has something of the worm's happy knack of surviving mutilation, and if the catastrophe does come, we may safely predict that it will not move to its climax with European swiftness. The first words of Turkish speech which the traveller learns on Ottoman soil are the recurring exhortation, "Yavash, yavash" (slowly, slowly). It will be to that refrain, when at last the hour of destiny strikes, that the Turk will take his "bag and baggage" out of Europe.

The catalogue of perils, if one were to set it out in plain consecutive words, would run somewhat as follows:—(1) civil strife between the Committee and the Military League; (2) the Albanian rising; (3) the smouldering Arab revolt; (4) terrorism and ultimately a general rising in Macedonia; (5) the perennial Cretan trouble, which must come to a head in October; (6) an attack from Montenegro, timed in connection with the Albanian rising; (7) a declaration of war from Bulgaria as a sequel to the Macedonian events; (8) the war with Italy. Eight plagues may be thought to suffice, but the real catastrophe, the final revenge of destiny, would be no one of these; it would be the military intervention of Austria, which any movement, whether by Montenegro or Bulgaria, would almost certainly precipitate. We are not at all sure that the mere concatenation of mischiefs need in itself spell disaster. To a certain extent they neutralise each other. A civil war between the rival military parties would be a perfectly possible development of the present struggle between the Young Turks and the so-called "Liberals," if it were not that the Italian war and the risk of other wars must impose a certain abnegation on the most furious partisan. An Albanian rising ought to favour a Macedonian rebellion if either party were ready to respect the other's claims. But while there are two great tracts of country which are certainly Albanian and Bulgarian, there is a large debatable territory, including the two key-towns of Uskub and Monastir, which is claimed by both races. That means that neither of them would wish to promote the full success of the other, and both in consequence may refrain from striking the decisive blow while the common enemy is at his weakest. It is also clear that Montenegro could with ease destroy the isolated Turkish garrison of Scutari while the Albanians are in revolt around it; but if that were to happen, it is quite likely that at least the Moslem Albanians would fraternise with the Turkish troops, and join forces against an invader doubly obnoxious, because he is at once Christian and Slav. Even Italy, though she must wish to press any advantage which would end the war, will recoil from action which might cause the Albanian question to be settled under conditions which would give the decisive voice to Austria. Finally, we have to reckon with the diverse levels of culture which make any common action between all the victims of Turkish centralism almost impossible. Bulgarians and Greeks are at a common level of civilisation. Their leaders are educated men who really know the complicated chess-board, and in spite of the follies of the past, they have now reached an apparently solid understanding. But among the Albanians, the leaven of education has only just begun to work. Their hatred of the Turks is passionate; their desire to be left alone to their own devices is traditional and general; but we doubt if they yet effectively desire autonomy, or whether their illiterate clan chieftains can even conceive a national political organisation. For that reason it is improbable that they will know how to act, though the game is in their hands. As for the Arabs of the Yemen, it is improbable that even a rumour has yet reached them of the happenings in the far North, and still more improbable that they will understand it when it reaches them. They know the Albanians only as the white-capped soldiers who are led out to die in their deserts under the Turkish flag. It is a strange web of jarring interests, and we find it quite conceivable that the white-bearded Ministers at the Porte, who have tranquilly survived the Crimea and San Stefano,

seen two Young Turk revolts, and deposed three Sultans, may know how to ensure the survival of the Ottoman State by a serene inaction and an adroit manipulation of conflicting perils.

From the standpoint of the ancients who are facing this crisis, it is inevitable that the various mischiefs should range themselves in a certain order of gravity. The Italian War matters only in conjunction with the rest, and may therefore be ignored. It is evident that the Italians are being amused by clandestine negotiations, and for the rest their hostility matters no more than it has done at any time since last September. The difficulty with the Chamber bulked largely in the telegrams, but frankly it can never have given much trouble to a resolute statesman. Everyone knew that the late Chamber was packed, and no one is shocked because the letter of the Constitution has been somewhat strained by its dissolution. It is harder to be sure that the Young Turk Committee is finally beaten. We should have said that it had lost its following in the army, had not the Cabinet, after abolishing martial law, within ten days revived it. That means that it dreads conspiracy or a military *pronunciamento*. The Albanians must be met by large concessions, but if this expedient grows difficult, their leaders are probably open to bribery, and the emotions of the mass can always be reached by an appeal to their solidarity against Slavs and foreigners. They would rather massacre Slav peasants than fight the Turks.

The real trouble begins when we consider the attitude of the Bulgarians in Macedonia and the Kingdom. They welcomed the Constitution sincerely. They even wished, in spite of some grave reasons for disappointment, to march in a body with the Committee's troops at the time of the *coup d'état* in 1909. They have since been harried and provoked to a point at which a race so steadfast and intelligent listens to no talk of compromise. It is significant that they took no share in the occult revolt of the Military League, or in the qualified and nominally loyal rebellion of the Albanians. They have their own plans, and have ceased to think of reforming the Turkish State, or making its Parliament a reality. Some months ago their revolutionary organisation fixed its date for a general rising about September, and the

usual preliminary acts of terrorism, followed by the inevitable Turkish reprisals, are now taking place. An unusually pacific Ministry is in power at Sofia, but it is none the less quietly making its military preparations, and it has entered the first of its diplomatic protests at the Porte concerning the ill-treatment of its race fellows in Macedonia. All this has happened before. What is new is that there is good reason to believe that the Austro-Bulgarian *entente*, which first declared itself at the time of the Bosnian annexation, is now so far complete as to include a scheme for the partition of Macedonia. If Austria has decided to sanction the catastrophe, it will inevitably come. The aggressive behaviour of Montenegro lends colour to the suspicion that Austria is ready. King Nicholas is less decidedly the satellite of Russia and Italy than he was. He has made his terms with Vienna, and on the day when he marches it will probably be as the pioneer of an Austrian advance. A quarrel with Montenegro alone would not be mortal—indeed, it would have its distinct advantages, since it would rally Albanian loyalty. But if it turned out that Montenegro, in picking a quarrel over a trumpery frontier incident, were in collusion with Austria, which, in her turn, is in alliance with Bulgaria, the end would be at hand. The Young Turks knew as well as any European that the real danger to their experiment would come from Bulgaria. That knowledge inspired them only with an insensate and provocative obstinacy. They might have made the Macedonian Bulgars for ever their friends by assuring them a permanent relief from Hamidian horrors. It was hardly even a case of making concessions; they need only have refrained from aggressive injustice. They chose instead to make their little finger thicker than Abdul Hamid's loins. Just before the end they perceived their mistake, and talked of nominating British and French gendarmerie officers as a guarantee for good government. The concession was too late and too small. Nothing short of a full gift of autonomy would now suffice to ensure a permanent peace, and from the standpoint of Turkish military caste a bloody and dramatic exit from Europe at the end of a hardly-fought war would probably seem preferable to a tame surrender. We have written our Apocalyptic catalogue. But at the end of it we recur to the fatalistic impression that Turkey has the habit of survival.—*The Nation*.

THE MOSLEM UNIVERSITY VOTING PAPER.

[In view of the decisions of the Secretary of State for India regarding the proposed Moslem University, it is absolutely essential that the views of the Moslem Subscribers of the *Comrade* should be ascertained. You are, therefore, earnestly requested to consider very carefully the decisions stated below, and to strike off the alternative which you do not like. Having done this, kindly cut this paper out, and send it to the Editor of the *Comrade*, 109 Ripon Street, Calcutta, preferably by registered post. The results of this voting will be published prominently in the *Comrade* every week. But the names of the voters will, under no circumstances, be disclosed if secrecy is desired.—Ed., *Comrade*.]

The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, in his letter to the President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee, says that

"His Majesty's Secretary of State has decided, after mature consideration, that the proposed University should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established," and that it "should in future be styled 'The University of Aligarh,' and not the 'Moslem University.'"

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I am, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

(SD.) GOPAL CHANDRA GHOSH,

Head Master, B.M.M.E. School, Pabna.

Write for Prospectus To-day.

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The Comrade.

A Weekly Journal.

Edited by / Mohamed Ali.

Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare !

—Morris.

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dum reviews the situation in Tibet and suggests that China should station a representative at Lhasa to advise Tibet on questions of foreign policy. This representative might have a bodyguard, but China ought not to station unlimited soldiery in Tibet nor send an expedition. The memorandum further says that China at present ought not to use India as the highway to Tibet.

The *Statesman* correspondent writes from Kalimpong on August 30th:—The *Times*' article on Tibet suggesting the reconsideration of British policy in Tibet has aroused keen interest among the Tibetans here. They hope that Britain will now act in accordance with this suggestion. They say that the only hope for permanent peace in Tibet is to appoint a British Resident to Lhasa and that the sooner this is done the better for all concerned. They say that the Tibetans left to themselves would not be able to govern the country properly. On the other hand, if the Chinese are invested with too much power, they say, there will be constant friction which sooner or later would lead to a recrudescence of the recent troubles. Englishmen in touch with Tibetan opinion feel that this matter is urgent. If the present opportunity is not seized upon, they declare, we shall probably never get another quite so favourable.

Reuter wires from Washington on 2nd September.—It is announced that the United States will not oppose Great Britain's demand from China that Britain be consulted with regard to any action contemplated in Tibet.

A message to the *Daily Telegraph* from Peking on 2nd September states that China has rejected British demands with regard to Tibet stating that she cannot recast formal solemn agreements.

Sir Francis Younghusband in a letter to the *Times* on the 3rd September says it is inhuman to let the present conditions in Tibet continue. We must tell the Chinese and Tibetans that we recognize China's suzerainty but never Chinese sovereignty. We must also be careful not to lose the good will of the Tibetans, which we gained in the expedition of 1904.

Reuter wires from Peking on September 4th:—The Legation here has not received any reply to the British Memorandum with regard to Tibet. It is understood that China intends replying formally acknowledging the receipt of the memorandum and denying certain statements therein attributed to the President.

Pan-Islamism.

A SPECIAL article published in the *Times* on 3rd September from "A Correspondent in India", calls attention to what the writer regards as a serious danger, namely, the revival of Pan-Islamism in India and elsewhere, due chiefly to the Turco-Italian war and our subservience to Russian policy in Persia, which has caused the worst possible impression even among the loyal inhabitants of India. The correspondent suggests that the Amir, intoxicated by flattery, may one day stand forth as the Champion of Islam and start a conflagration of incalculable extent.

The *Times* in a leading article commenting on the above says, it is unable to endorse its correspondent's view with regard to the Amir. In any case, the Pan-Islamic menace is not so formidable as depicted. It desires that Muhammadans in India should have every consideration, but they cannot expect to dictate the whole of British foreign policy.

The Week.

Egypt.

REUTER wires from Cairo on 3rd September:—The Government has suppressed the Nationalist journal *El Lewa*, and four natives have been arrested in connection with the circulation of seditious posters.

China.

REUTER wires from Paris:—The *Journal des Debats* states that General Brisant Desmillet has been appointed Military Adviser to the Chinese Government.

Tibet.

THE *Times* correspondent at Peking telegraphs that the Chinese have not yet replied to the Tibetan Memorandum, but they state that the expedition is engaged on the borders of Szechuan and was never ordered to enter Tibet.

British Memorandum.

REUTER wires from Peking on August 29th:—Sir John Jordan, the British Minister, has sent a memorandum to the Chinese Government in which he refers to China's intention to incorporate the Tibet province.

The memorandum declares that Tibetans ought to be allowed to manage their own internal affairs without Chinese interference, and recommends a new Anglo-Chinese Agreement as precedent to the recognition by Great Britain of the Republic. The memoran-

Afghanistan.

THE *Pioneer's* frontier correspondent states on 29th August that the Mullah Powindah has proceeded to Kabul. Before leaving he divided all his property among his sons. The meaning of this is not clear unless he means to take up his abode permanently in Afghanistan. In that case considerable changes may be expected in the attitude of the Manenuds whose misconduct on most occasions has been due to the Mullah's instigation.

Nicholson Committee.

THE *Pioneer* on 30th August says.—The report that the Nicholson Committee will advise the disbanding of 27 Indian regiments and the reduction of the British garrison need not be taken seriously. The Committee has not even completed its examination and its recommendations will not be forthcoming for several weeks, if not months.

Public Service Commission.

IN connection with the Public Service Commission, Mr. M. S. D. Butler, who has been appointed Joint-Secretary, will proceed home shortly to settle preliminaries with Lord Islington and other members of the Commission.

Hindu University Fund.

HIS Highness the Maharaja Holkar has been pleased to order payment on 30th August of Rs. 3 lakhs towards his donation to the Hindu University Fund and of the remainder, two lakhs, two months later, when the new financial year begins.

A deputation consisting of Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukhdeoprasad, C.I.E., and Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya arrived at Kotah on 1st September and waited upon His Highness Maharao Sir Umdisinghji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., on 2nd September when His Highness was pleased to sanction a donation of one lakh of rupees to the Hindu University. The amount was paid on the morning of 3rd September.

Indian High Courts.

REUTER wires from London on 30th August. Sir Henry Prinsep, retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the High Courts in India, concludes that the improvement in the capacity of the local Bar demands a corresponding improvement in the attainments of District Judges, from which body Judges of High Courts are largely drawn. Sir Henry comments in strong terms upon the delay in finding a solution of the difficulty. He says that if Lord Crewe and his advisers, none of whom has any Indian judicial experience or knowledge, hesitate to deal with the matter, then let a Commission of Enquiry be appointed.

"India is rapidly drifting into a Vakil Raj. We must at least attempt to provide stronger counteracting influences to restore the proper equilibrium in the Courts of Justice."

In the course of his article in the *Nineteenth Century*, Sir Henry Prinsep evidently refers to the long-talked-of scheme for the better judicial training of Civil Servants. This question was started several years ago and a scheme was drawn up by Sir Harvey Adamson while he was in charge of the Home Office. The scheme, however, did not meet with approval at Home, and ever since it has been under consideration. It is quite probable that the Islington Commission may take up this question.

Railway Allotment.

THE Secretary of State has sanctioned an additional grant of Rs. 1½ crores to the Railway programme during the current year, thus bringing the total railway allotment to Rs. 15 crores for 1912-13. This additional grant, it may be stated, is independent of the wagon shortage question which is still before the India Office.

Free Primary Education.

PRIMARY education has been made free in the Jhind State.

Poona Fergusson College.

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GEORGE CLARKE, on September 5th, opened the N. M. Wadia amphitheatre as part of the Fergusson College. This college, which is managed by the Deccan Education Society, secured a grant of Rs. 25,000 from the trustees of the Wadia charities and decided the name of the building after them. There was a large gathering present to witness the ceremony. Sir George Clarke made a long speech eulogizing the work of the College and combating the idea of colonial self-government as something that involved absolute destruction of all that is most deeply ingrained in the life of the people of India.

Moslem Education Cess Bill.

A HUNDRED Muhammadan Zemindars of Larkana district, Sind, at a meeting on 27th August declared themselves in favour of the Hon. Mr. Bhurgri's Education Cess Bill and urged that the Bill be speedily passed.

Moslem Educational Conference.

IT HAS been decided to hold the annual All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lucknow in Christmas week, when Mr. Amir Ali is expected to be present.

Indian Pan-Islamism.

(FROM THE "STATESMAN.")

FROM time to time writers given to hasty generalisations upon rumours and misunderstood facts have announced to the world that Islam was about to unite its forces in a holy war. The failure of their predictions seems to have no discouraging effect upon these alarmists, and one is not altogether surprised to find that one of them has seized the present opportunity to discover a revival of Pan-Islamism in India, and to proclaim his apprehensions in the *Times*. There can be no doubt that Indian Muhammadans have lately undergone much annoyance and irritation. Sir Edward Grey's extraordinary deference to the machinations of the Russian Government in Persia has moved their indignation. There is probably no Muhammadan who does not believe that Mr. Shuster was dismissed, with the concurrence of England, solely because he was an honest and capable man who was beginning to create order amidst chaos. The pretence that he was got rid of on account of his over-weening preference for British officials impressed no one. The charge was not true and cannot have been seriously made by a Power which is on terms of friendship with Great Britain. Muhammadans may be excused for treating the official version with scepticism and preferring their own theory that Mr. Shuster's real offence lay in the evidence which he gave of a sincere desire to maintain Persian independence. In these circumstances his dismissal may well have occasioned some bitterness among the thousands of Muhammadans in India who feel a lively sympathy with Persia in her difficulties. The unprincipled attack of Italy upon Tripoli could not fail to increase their exasperation. If ever there were circumstances in which Turkey might hope to appeal with success for the intervention of the Powers, the justice of Europe might surely have been invoked to defeat a wanton and unprovoked act of filibustering. But the Powers declined to interfere, and the assent of England to the conspiracy of inaction was scarcely calculated to appease Muhammadan sentiment in India or elsewhere. The revocation of the "settled fact" of the Partition of Bengal has since been followed by a bitter disappointment over the conditions under which a Muhammadan University may be founded at Aligarh. One can readily perceive that out of these materials a writer obsessed by the Pan-Islamic myth could evolve a very plausible account of the growing solidarity of the Muhammadan community and of the development of a sharply defined Muhammadan public opinion, based on the wrongs which Islam has suffered. But the implied suggestion that this quickened sense of Muhammadan unity could ever lead to seditious action would be absurd even if it were not accompanied by the wild flight of the imagination which has led the *Times* writer to foresee the day when the Amir, intoxicated by flattery, will stand forth as the champion of Islam and presumably rally the Muhammadans of India around his flag. That the Amir is held in honour in this country as a great Muhammadan potentate is true. But it requires a singular combination of fancy and ignorance to conceive of a bizarre movement in which the educated scions of Aligarh and the peaceful Muhammadan cultivators of India will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Amir's wild and unruly warriors. It is not strange that the *Times* should reject this grotesque chimera, which is an insult not only to the loyalty but to the intelligence of the Muhammadan subjects of the King-Emperor.



Verse.

Ad Inertiam.

Nymph of the placid brow and eyes serene !
Sister of soft-eyed Peace and mild Content !
That love'st to dwell at ease, 'mid song and scent,
In blossomed groves or shady coverts green ;
That in cool streams, bright poppie banks between,
Dost lave thy languid limbs 'neath branches bent
To intertwine for thee a leafy tent
Safe from man's gaze and Phœbus' arrows keen,
I fly to thee ! O wrap me in thine arms,
And lull my head upon thy gentle breast,
That, tangled in the mazes of thy charms,
My soul may lose its fever and unrest,
And be unmoved 'midst all the dread alarms
Of earthly life which haggard cares molest.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

TETE À TETE



THIS week we again publish the voting paper about the acceptance or non acceptance of the Muslim University on the Government's terms. Hitherto less than 300 votes have been received out of some 2,600 Muhammadan subscribers, and we cannot compliment our Muhammadan readers on the energy they have shown in expressing their views on so important a subject.

The Moslem University Voting Papers.

We are deeply attached to our readers for the constant support which they have given to us, but on more than one occasion we have had to complain of their actually doing several weeks later what they had all along intended to do. Life is too short for such dilatoriness, and in this matter the community must place sufficient data before the Muslim University Foundation Committee at an early date so that it may arrive at a decision truly representing the voice of the community. Our readers are by no means the least responsible or the least capable section of the Muslim community, and if they do not express their views soon enough, it would generally be understood that the question does not interest them, which, of course, would be entirely opposed to well-established facts. Unless our Muhammadan readers wish such a conclusion to be drawn from their delay in sending to us their voting papers, they should arrange to vote within this week. We are not quite sure whether we shall publish the voting paper in our next week's issue also, and there is all the more reason why all votes should be registered within the next week. We have received six votes for the acceptance of the University on the Government's terms to which conditions have been attached. Three voters desire that the University should be accepted on these terms for the present and then the Mussalmans should agitate to secure what is now refused. Another would accept it without the powers of affiliation on condition that Government would permit it to be named the Muslim University of Aligarh. A fifth would accept it if schools can be recognised by the University and if the powers proposed to be vested in the Chancellor are not to be exercised by the Governor-General in Council. A sixth voter would accept the University if it is to be called the Muslim University and the Viceroy would be the Chancellor. All these are included among those who would accept the University on the Government's terms although their acceptance is conditional. There is one voter, however, who would not accept the University on the Government's terms, but adds that the Mussalmans may temporarily and conditionally accept the University if the Government promises to permit it to affiliate outside institutions "in the near future, say, 10 years at the latest." The voting up to date has been as follows:—

For the acceptance of the University on the Government's terms ... 20
Against the acceptance of the University on the Government's terms ... 271

Total ... 291

WE PUBLISHED in the last issue of the *Comrade* a letter from Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, Member of the India Council, in which he explained his attitude towards the general question of reform in Muslim society. Such explanation

was deemed necessary by our correspondent inasmuch as the reported versions of his speech on the subject, which he had delivered at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association, had given rise to much misunderstanding and hostile criticism in the Muslim vernacular press of this country. The two main points dealt with in that speech were the questions of purdah (or seclusion of women) and polygamy. Mr. Abbas Ali Baig had expressed his views with considerable emphasis on both these questions. He had told his audience that the seclusion of women was not sanctioned by the Koran. According to him, this "pernicious

custom" had its origin in mistrust and was devoid of any authority. "The purdah system, with its concomitant and consequential evils of lethargy and disease, is acting like a heavy drag-chain upon the efforts of the Muslim races to rise to the level of those more fortunate nations who have not hampered themselves with any such handicap." The whole trend of his argument pointed to Western practice and usage as the standard that should be applied to measure the status of women in Muslim society. His remarks on polygamy were even more trenchant and he urged the Mussalmans to suppress the practice by means of legislation. We have no doubt that the views of Mr. Abbas Ali Baig are the fruits of genuine conviction, and it would be absurd to read into them any other motive than his earnest desire to bring about the social regeneration of his people. There cannot, at the same time, be any doubt as to the drastic character of the reforms he advocates. It is, however, his method of solution rather than his ultimate aim that seems to have alarmed his critics in the vernacular press. Enlightened Muslim opinion in this country would not oppose any measures that would lead to reform on the lines of least resistance. Efforts would be welcomed everywhere that would bring about the necessary change of conditions in the lives of the Muslim women and afford them freer and better opportunities for physical and intellectual development. All this, however, requires the creation of a new environment. The growth of education, of moral earnestness, of new social ideals and new criteria of social relations amongst men as well as women must precede all drastic changes in the direction of female emancipation. The question of purdah is as much an economic as a moral issue and cannot be considered apart from the existing conditions of Muslim society. Before undertaking far-reaching social reconstruction the woman must be economically enfranchised. She must be fitted by suitable education and training to accept freedom as a natural and necessary condition of her being and not as a luxury to be abused. Without this "emancipation" would be a mischievous sham even though the entire population of the harems were, in obedience to the fiat of a social reformer, disgorged into public thoroughfares. The question of polygamy stands on an entirely different plane. Islam allows its followers the liberty of marrying more than one wife up to the limit of four under certain very stringent conditions. If those conditions are observed as strictly as they are enjoined, polygamy would cease to be a serious social question for the Mussalmans. The liberty allowed by religion contemplates possibilities that would blast the happiness of many lives if the law did not provide for them in exceptional cases. That the liberty has been often abused does not by any means prove that there no longer exists any need for its proper use in the world. To legislate it out of existence would be to punish the innocent with the guilty and to assume the functions of Providence in a matter that Islam has left to the sense of moral responsibility and the conscience of its followers. Whatever its outward form and cloak, polygamy is practised throughout the world, and as long as the fundamental human needs and the proportion of the sexes remain as they are, it would continue to be practised, in spite of the very righteous indignation of social reformers and moralists.

WE ARE glad to note that both the Muslim League and the Muslim

Educational Conference have been invited to hold their next annual sessions at Lucknow. The meetings of both these bodies will be of more than ordinary interest, and we are sure they will be largely attended and lead

to fruitful results. The Muslim public cannot but admire the enterprise and public-spiritedness of the Muslim leaders of Lucknow who have decided to bear the trouble and expense that the two most important annual gatherings of the community would naturally entail. Those who know how lavishly the members of the Constitution Committee were entertained by the Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad on each occasion when they met at Lucknow may be perfectly certain of the warm reception and hospitality that await the visitors to the capital of Oudh during the next Xmas week, when the League and the Conference will hold their annual sessions. Every Muslim who takes interest in public affairs must have felt gratified at the zeal and energy with which the Hon. the Raja Saheb has been taking part in the public life of the community. We hope his example will influence at least some members of the Muslim aristocracy, who enjoy great leisure and position, to take active interest in public affairs and serve their community and their country. There is, no doubt, much truth in the assertion that the landed aristocracy of India is very conservative as a class and appears very little disposed to move with the times. It must, however, be remembered that the Indian landlord stands in a peculiar relation to the Land Revenue authorities of a district. If an over-zealous official happens to dislike his public activities, he can exercise an irresistible pressure on the offending landlord and speedily cure him of his unorthodox "views and opinions." Only a man of extraordinarily powerful moral fibre can be insensible to

the terrors of an official frown that may mean the loss of lakhs and no end of worry. This type is unfortunately not yet common in any class of Indian society. It must, therefore, be a matter of thankfulness that a few individuals amongst the upper classes are beginning to think for themselves and exercise their due influence on public affairs. Oudh Mussalmans are fortunate in having two such patriotic aristocrats as the Raja Sahebs of Mahmudabad and Jehangirabad, not to mention others.

THE arrest of Shaikh Shawish, the Egyptian Nationalist who had settled in Constantinople a short time ago and had begun his career as Editor of *Al-Hilal*, would cause considerable surprise to those who still take an old-fashioned view of international relations.

The Tail and the Dog.

A political refugee has always enjoyed protection in foreign lands and, according to the practice of civilised countries like England and France, has never been arrested and sent back to his own country for trial. Egypt is a part of the Ottoman Empire and we do not exactly know the laws that are mutually observed in such cases. If Shaikh Shawish has been arrested because he is charged with having issued seditious circulars against the Egyptian Government, and has thus been indirectly guilty of misdemeanour against the Suzerain power, the argument would sound plausible to people with conveniently short memories. Those, however, who have not yet forgotten the declaration of Egyptian neutrality just when the Suzerain was attacked by Italy can scarcely be asked to believe that the Egyptian Government is actuated by a very active sense of loyalty to the Empire. It is ready to act independently or claim all the privileges of belonging to the Ottoman Empire just as it suits certain interests. Here we have another instance of the tail wagging the dog. According to the latest news, many more arrests are to be made in Constantinople, and the *Tanin* has been suspended because it criticised the action of the Government. This affords rather a sad commentary on the ostentatious love of liberty with which the present Turkish Government entered on its career.

OPINION cannot be divided over the question of the need for the immediate extension of the medical education of Indian women. No nobler effort can be made for the uplifting of our zenana population than the gradual diffusion among them

Medical Aid for Indian Women.

of medical knowledge and domestic hygiene. We are gratified, therefore, to find that like so many of her predecessors, Lady Hardinge has decided to devote her energies to the solution of this problem. The scheme she has recently formulated for the establishment of a medical college and hospital for Indian women and a school for the training of Indian women as nurses and midwives should be welcomed with gratitude throughout the country. The question of medical relief for women in India is beset with many peculiar difficulties which are the natural concomitants of the present constitution of Indian society. The stolid conservatism of the Indian ladies and their ignorance of even the rudiments of domestic hygiene results in that highly insanitary condition of Indian homes which has been largely responsible for the high percentage of deaths among Indian children and mothers, and the generally poor physique of Indian people. While these circumstances rendered it all the more imperative that medical aid should be easily accessible to our ladies, the systems of *pardah*, of caste distinction and social restrictions have strongly militated against an adequate provision of that medical relief which they needed so sorely. The rigid system of seclusion made it impossible for the higher and middle class ladies to call in male doctors or take full advantage of the medical facilities afforded by the numerous excellent hospitals which the Government has established in most big towns. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, that medical relief should be offered through the agency of efficient Indian lady doctors who are fully conversant with the peculiar needs and conditions of the Indian harems and whom our *pardahnashins* are prepared to trust. The system of medical training which has hitherto prevailed in India has clearly failed to turn out lady doctors fulfilling the requisite conditions. True, Lady Dufferin's Fund did much to help forward the cause of female medical education. But as no arrangements were made for the establishment of separate medical colleges and training schools for women, the only class of Indian women who could take advantage of the commendable efforts of successive Vicereines for the extension of female medical training in India, was the small class of women that did not observe the *pardah*. Besides, most of these female students came from very poor homes and had neither the capacity nor the inclination to prosecute their medical studies beyond that elementary knowledge of midwifery and medicine which qualifies them for practising as nurses or midwives, or secures them the posts of assistants in female sections of the hospitals, so that in all the more important cases of medical or surgical aid they have been solely dependent on the co-operation of male doctors and surgeons. But many Indian ladies would almost suffer any tortures than call in the aid of male doctors. The scheme which Lady Hardinge has

formulated should do away with many of these difficulties. The separate female medical training schools will throw open the facilities for medical training to all such ladies of respectable families as are prepared to dedicate their lives to the nursing of their sisters, and the separate medical college and hospital for ladies will be a great incentive to educated ladies of even the highest families to prosecute their studies to the higher stages of medical education and thus be in a position to help their sisters even in those cases where the highly unwelcome presence of male doctors is now indispensable. And surely a nobler vocation cannot be conceived of for the future daughters of "New India" than that of ministering to the medical relief of suffering humanity. India owes a debt of gratitude to Lady Hardinge which can be repaid in some measure by Indians contributing liberally to the Fund for the creation of these long deferred, much needed and most welcome facilities.

RECENT events have brought the question of reform in the Indian judicial system a good deal to the fore. Commenting on the Mymensingh Case only the other day the *Times* edited the world with its dogmatic protest against the

The Indian Judiciary.

desirability of continuing even the present imperfect separation of the Judicial and Executive functions in India. The unfortunate Midnapur Case has now raised a perfect storm of contradictory statements in which the British Press and the Anglo-Indian and Nationalist Presses in India are all taking part in a most lively fashion. Our "leading" contemporary of London has given a fresh exhibition of its naivette in dealing with Indian affairs by announcing that the whole difficulty of Judicial Administration in India arose out of the combination of two causes, *viz.*, the political predilections of the Bench and the "gross latitude" allowed to the Bar. This evidently encouraged an Anglo-Indian contemporary notorious for its bureaucratic proclivities to openly suggest the dismissal of certain Judges whose decisions had been set aside by the Appellate Court. The National Press, on the other hand, is hysterical in its praises of the Indian members of the Bar. This confused hubbub, while it could naturally lead to no satisfactory solution of the problem, has served to emphasize the fact that something was fundamentally wrong with the system of Judicial Administration as it prevails in India. The first step towards cure is the right diagnosis of the disease. We are gratified, therefore, to find that attempt is at last being made in certain quarters to investigate the problem of the Indian Judiciary in a calm and unimpassioned manner. Sir Henry Prinsep, who has certainly a right to speak on the subject, has very recently contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* "a very suggestive article in which he accounts for the defective judicial system by the great inadequacy of the judicial training of the District Judges and of the Civilian Judges of the Indian High Courts." While we cannot agree with Sir Henry in his fears of a "Vakil Raj," we certainly think that the admittedly great improvement in the capacity of the local Bars and the ignorance of "His Honour" of "the tremendous complications and the innumerable technicalities of the English, Hindu and Muhammadan laws" are in a great measure responsible for the constant friction between the Bench and Bar in India. In November last in commenting on the "Judicial presumption" of certain Courts, we had taken occasion to draw the attention of the Government to the great undesirability of appointing I.C.S. men with no training in judicial manners or judicial habits and but a bowing acquaintance with Law, to preside over Sessions and even Civil Courts, and deliver judgments on knotty points of law before a Bar which is famous alike for its subtlety and its masterful grasp of legal technique. Under the circumstances it was but natural that friction should arise, and we can hardly find it in our heart to blame the members of the ruling race resenting the superior powers of the Indian lawyers practising under them and protesting against "the license which it has been frequently decided is permissible to Counsel." The question is becoming daily more and more acute as the Indian lawyer becomes subtler, abler and more resourceful, and it is high time the Government saw its way to intervene. And if the Government is at all desirous of maintaining the high and pure traditions of British Justice it should act up to the repeated advice of the Press and the public and of several retired High Court Judges, and making it compulsory for all Civilian who are meant to join the judicial line to undergo a systematic judicial training for a considerable period, reserve all judicial posts in the District and the High Courts exclusively for these trained officials. We are perfectly aware that this will result in a partial separation of the Judiciary and Executive or at least, a more definite line of demarcation between the two main branches of the I.C.S. Doubtless, therefore, any such measure would be strongly opposed by the members of the Government Service. But we trust the Government will realize the extreme gravity of the situation. The Government owes it quite as much to its own prestige as to the best interests of the ruled no longer to be led away by a false sense of delicacy for the feelings of an all-pandered officialdom. As for the separation

of the Judiciary and the Executive, we have a notion that Sir Harvey Adamson, as Home Member, announced a tentative scheme some time ago. But it was so long ago that we have forgotten whether there was such a scheme—or even such a Home Member!

WE ARE gratified at the reference made by the *Times of India* to our remarks on the subject of the desecration of the Delhi Jami Musjid by the visitors. Our contemporary fully endorses our view of the urgency of the need for

Visitors to the Delhi Mosque.

passing a special regulation forbidding the visitors to stroll within the sacred precincts of the mosque without pulling off their boots or putting on boot coverings. It also agrees with us in not considering it an adequate explanation "that at the time of the restoration of the mosque to the Muhammadans the Government did not allow the managing body to compel European visitors to follow the custom observed elsewhere," and regrets the action of the Government in "still refusing to pass the special regulation asked for by the Managing Committee." "If it is the case," says our Bombay contemporary, "that the Moslem public feel very strongly on the subject, and it is natural that they should do so, here is a matter which the new Delhi administration can put right with very little trouble." We thank our contemporary for espousing the cause of the Moslems in a matter calling for immediate redress, and trust that the new Delhi administration will "see its way to do more than forbid the wearing of boots within the roofed portion of the mosque," and will protect from desecration the other portions of the mosque which are just as sacred in the eyes of the Mussalmans. We are confident that a Viceroy with such urbanity of manner and social sensibility as Lord Hardinge would not allow the present state of affairs to continue.

WE HAVE received, by the last mail, two letters sent to us from Derna by Maulvi M. Abu Saeed Arabi, a native of Rangoon, whose zeal has carried him to the theatre of war. He crossed the

Letters from Derna.

Egyptian frontier without much difficulty and was escorted to Derna by an Arab guide. He was most cordially received by Enver Bey, and his tent was pitched close to the tent of the distinguished commander and organiser of the Ottoman forces in Cyrenaica. It appears that he is not the only Indian in the camp of the Mujahideen, but many other Afghans and Indians are already there fighting by the side of their Arab brethren. "We are encamped," says our correspondent, "on a green mountain which, some time ago, was occupied by the Italians. But, after a bloody battle, the enemy was most successfully routed by Enver Bey and the Moslem Camp was transferred there." The correspondent saw with his own eyes three big guns which the Italians had left behind which are now being used by the Arab forces. Ever since Enver Bey appeared upon the scene and organised a disciplined force out of the wild fighting material for resisting the enemy, the Italians have been, like an army besieged, pinned behind defensive fortifications and seldom venturing out to fight. The Arabs regard them with unspeakable contempt. Never was an enemy so openly despised and sneered at. The Arab women have made Italian cowardice a byword, and an Arab child finds it difficult to think of the existing conditions of stalemate as a serious warfare. Our correspondent states that small parties of Arabs dash into the Italian lines under cover of darkness, inflict considerable damage and return with rifles and other booty to the camp. A number of volunteers once happened on a similar excursion to get into an Italian kitchen and carried off everything they could find there "except the walls." Again, an Arab soldier encountered an Italian sentinel, lifted him up, slung him across his shoulders and set out for his camp. The Italian remained for a few moments tongue-tied with terror; presently, however, this Arab's companion burst out into song and a volley was fired at the Arabs one of whom received a bullet in his shoulder. Instantly the Arab put down his burden, just found time to blow out the brains of the Italian; and then quietly walked back to his camp. As to the general state of the country, our correspondent assures us that the people are in a flourishing condition, and the trade of Tripoli with the outside world continues through Egypt and Tunis. Derna is connected with Benghazi, Salloum, Homs and Tripoli by telephone. The correspondent gives details of the daily life of Enver Bey, and speaks in terms of unbounded admiration of his energy, his enthusiasm, his unfaltering determination to defend the land, his personal charm and innate courtesy, his intense love of Islam, and the confidence and devotion that he has inspired amongst the Arabs. Much of his time is now spent in attending to administrative matters concerning the province of Cyrenaica. He has established order throughout the hinterland, organised the administration of justice, introduced new methods of collecting revenue and opened schools for the instruction and military training of Arab children. He has infused an entirely new life amongst the Arabs and become the idol of the people.

The Comrade.

"The Strangling of Persia.*"

THE last mail has brought us from the publishers Mr. Morgan Shuster's book,—a record of his remarkable experiences as Treasurer-General of Persia,—the publication of which had been announced some weeks ago. The announcement had created lively curiosity, as it was generally felt that the late Treasurer-General was the one man who was admirably fitted both by character and knowledge to lay bare the ghastly story of diplomatic and personal intrigue which culminated in his dismissal and the destruction of Persia's liberties. During his eight months' stay in Teheran, from the moment he took over the administration of Persian finance to the time when he left at the bidding of Russia amid the dumb sorrow and despair of the stricken people, the political stage was crowded with incident. The most intense moments in the drama of a nation's struggle for liberty were packed into this short interval; and he saw with his own eyes how the various threads of foreign intrigue and coercion, of domestic treachery and greed, of passionate hope and grinding ambition were weaving out episode after episode till the tragic *dénouement* was reached. An American gentleman of upright character and generous instincts, trained in an atmosphere of personal freedom and democracy, had gone to administer the financial affairs of an ancient Oriental kingdom which had just shaken off a fearful and soul-destroying despotism. The absolute personal rule had been destroyed, but the State was yet in the grip of the tentacles that the absolutism of centuries had left behind. The administration was in the hands of a hierarchy of old grandees whose sole conception of the Constitutional Government was that it offered every one of them an opportunity to become a "Shah." Foreign intrigues were thickening fast and the designs of the Muscovite to reduce the North of Persia to a political vassalage were daily becoming more aggressive and bold. Finances were in ruin; the crude administrative machinery was falling to pieces; the State organism was developing signs of complete disintegration and collapse. The one ray of hope in this dark and dismal atmosphere came from the Mejliss or the national elected body which represented the hope, the earnestness, the patriotism and the devotion of the people. If Persia could ever hope to rise united, free and strong from the crisis, the impulse towards her regeneration would come from the Mejliss. This body was at once her hope, her promise, the only symbol of her national life, the last rock of her salvation.

Such was the situation when Mr. Shuster appeared on the scene. A man of weaker grit and resolution would have completely lost his bearings. The American Treasurer-General was, however, a man of unbounded resource and remarkable strength of character. He entered on his almost superhuman task with a single eye to do all what lay in his power to evolve order out of the financial chaos. What he achieved and what he experienced—the obstacles he encountered and the grim and implacable forces of opposition that speedily gathered against him while he strove manfully at his task,—he has told with consummate ability, candour and directness in a narrative of surpassing fascination and interest. "The Strangling of Persia" is the tragic story of a nation in agony, of might pitched against right, of brute force trampling justice under foot, of sham diplomacy masquerading as law and plighted word, of how the pathetic wail of a down-trodden people for freedom and light passed unheard in the din of the diplomatic forces battling in Europe. It grips the imagination. It invades the feelings. It takes the reader breathlessly along from one chapter of scandal and intrigue to another till a *coup d'état* ends the Mejliss, the curtain is rung down on a prostrate nation and the voice of liberty is hushed under the heels of the Cossacks. In style and construction, Mr. Shuster's book is a narrative of immense vividness, simplicity and power. His descriptions of some of the dramatic episodes are thrilling and leave a deep impression on the mind. In moments of indignation the language never loses its dignity and restraint: the facts are told with marvellous cogency and they are left to speak for themselves. The interest is sustained throughout and the tale of intrigue and scandal never begins to pall. There is a judicious play of light and shade, and the many human touches relieve the gloom of political warfare, diplomatic tangle and of the hopeless chaos of affairs. In his Foreword, Mr. Shuster says: "In the belief that the real interests of humanity and betterment of international relations demand that the truth be told in cases of this kind, I have written down the facts with a bluntness, which, perhaps under other circumstances, would be subject to criticism." No one after reading his book can deny that he has "told the truth." His disinterested effort in the cause of right and justice will be gratefully remembered as long as Persia's fate will continue to move the pity and indignation of men.

* *The Strangling of Persia*, by W. Morgan Shuster, ex-Treasurer-General of Persia. Publishers, T. Fisher Unwin, London. 12s. 6d. net.

What that fate has been it is impossible to describe in full detail within the compass of this article. Only a brief summary of the story, as told by Mr. Shuster, can be attempted here. The Persian Nationalists had been brilliantly successful in deposing Mohammad Ali and sending him into exile. But the prospects of evolving a stable and orderly government from the complicated situation were far from encouraging. Such a Government must both command the respect and support of the majority of the Persians, and remove all reasonable pretext for a further intervention in their internal affairs by the so-called friendly Powers claiming to have special interests. The general administration of the country and especially the conduct of its finances had so absolutely broken down that Persia had credit neither abroad nor at home; and the utmost courage and patriotism were necessary on the part of her intelligent classes if she was to emerge from the administrative chaos and ruin. The internal difficulties were themselves formidable, but to these were added the open hostility of Russia and the scarcely less injurious timidity of England so far as thwarting Russia's evident designs upon the success of the constitutional Government were concerned. The greatest need of Persia at the time was money and honest, capable and trained officials to look after financial affairs. An effort was made to raise a loan in England on the security of the Crown jewels; but Russia intervened and the British Government vetoed the arrangement. After the famous Potsdam meeting between the Tsar and the Kaiser, Russia adopted a harsh and drastic attitude towards the Persian nation without fear of interference or adequate remonstrance by her partner to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, on which all actions of Britain and Russia toward the Persian people were supposed to be based.

Towards the end of 1910, the Mejliss decided to secure financial administrators from the United States for the re-organisation of the "archaic and chaotic Treasury of Persia." An early attempt was made by Russian emissaries to employ certain persuasive and notorious members of the Mejliss to defeat the project. But the attempt failed. The American State Department was approached next, but the Department replied that it knew nothing of the affair and that the question would be dealt with when it arose. When, later on, the Persian Government requested the American Government to lend its assistance in securing the services of five American financial experts, the objections of Russia were waived aside both by herself and by England, and Mr. Shuster and his colleagues went to Persia "in good faith, and in the natural belief that the two Powers having (to use their own language) 'special interests' there offered no objection to the fair and honest accomplishment of our task." Immediately after reaching Teheran, Mr. Shuster set about his work in right earnest. The finances were in hopeless chaos. As he puts it: "I might say that they were tangled—very tangled—had there been any to tangle. There were no Persian finances in any ordinary sense of the word. The so-called Ministry of Finance, presided over by a succession of frequently changing Persian gentlemen, whose sole claims to financial genius lay in their having run through their own money and thus become in need of pecuniary recuperation, was in reality an unorganised collection of under-officials who had charge of various bureaux or offices through which the internal taxes, called, generically, *malیات*, were supposed to be collected for the benefit of the Persian Government." There were no organised civil services or tests for fitness. None of the finance officials had ever known a thing called "the budget." Mr. Shuster first of all drew up a basic financial law which was adopted by the Mejliss. This law conferred on the Treasurer-General full powers of collection and disbursement of the revenues of the Empire. And when he asked the Finance Minister to turn over to him the bank balances and cash belonging to the public Treasury, the latter smiled and said to him in the most friendly manner:—"Monsieur Shuster, I am ready at once to transfer these important matters to you. Our current account is kept with the Imperial Bank of Persia. I believe that at present it consists of a deficit or overdraft of 440,000 tumans (about \$400,000). Here is an order upon the bank instructing them to place the accounts to the credit of the new Treasurer-General." Mr. Shuster thanked his Excellency, and on that same day, i.e., 13th June 1911, he commenced his duties as "Treasurer-General of the Persian Empire." The Persian foreign debt consisted of several loans which the different Shahs had contracted with Russia. There was also the Indian Government loan, and, lastly, there was the so-called Imperial Bank loan of 1911. In addition to this there was a large and unknown amount of foreign claims against the Persian Government aggregating several millions of dollars. This was the general financial situation when Mr. Shuster assumed charge of the financial affairs of the country.

There were many obstacles to overcome before the gigantic task could be successfully accomplished. There were, first, the reactionary Persian officials, comprising men of great wealth, power and influence, many of whom had received European education and training. They had reached the conclusion that it was far safer to become the *protégés* of the Russian Government than to side with their own people struggling heroically against heavy odds. Then

there was the silent and veiled hostility of the Russian agents who employed every means, however unworthy or base, to wreck all schemes of financial organisation. Then again, there was a continuous round of gossip, scandal and small talk with which the American finance administrators were laughed and jeered at by the European colony at Teheran. Mr. Shuster gives a graphic picture of the life of that colony:—

Imagine, if you will, a fast decaying Government amid whose tottering ruins a heterogeneous collection of Belgian Custom officers, Italian gendarmes, German artillery sergeants, French savants, doctors, professors, and councillors of State, Austrian military instructors, English bank clerks, Turkish and Armenian courtiers, and last, but not least, a goodly sprinkling of Russian Cossack officers, tutors, and drill instructors, all go through their daily task of giving the Imperial Persian Government a strong shove toward bankruptcy, with a sly side push in the direction of their own particular political or personal interests. In this pleasant diversion the gentlemen and even the ladies of the Foreign Legations were somewhat peacefully engaged, when several unfortunate Americans landed on Persian soil with the truly extraordinary idea that they were to be employed under the orders of the Persian Government.

The Persian Ministers and Cabinet officials were neither equipped by experience and training, nor suited by character and temperament to undertake the task of stamping out the corruption and venality that marked the administration of Persian finances. Only honest foreign finance administrators with independent initiative could hope to do it. The financial law of 13th June, 1911, conferred on Mr. Shuster full powers to administer financial affairs. His purpose was to establish a central organisation, having charge of the collection and disbursement of all the revenue and exercising full control over payments on behalf of the Central Government. He endeavoured at the same time, to organise a Treasury gendarmerie for the purpose of assisting the civil officials in the collection of taxes. "Despite the handicaps under which those charged with the new law laboured, and despite the abnormal conditions of war and disorder into which Persia was plunged but a few weeks after this law was passed, during the eight months of our work in Teheran a large proportion of the taxes stated to be due were collected both at the capital and throughout the provinces, the extraordinary expenses incident to the attempt of Mohamed Ali Mirza to regain the throne were promptly met, the salaries of the diplomatic representatives of Persia abroad were sent them for the first time in several years, all foreign obligations and the current salaries of the different Ministries were promptly paid, and a complete and accurate record of every receipt and expenditure was kept in the central office of the Treasurer-General." This was a splendid achievement, and if only the work could have been continued on the lines laid down by Mr. Shuster, the aspect of Persian affairs would have been quite different to-day. But it was exactly this kind of work that was not desired by Russia, by the corrupt Persian officials and by the powerful reactionary grandees. Opposition from these quarters assumed an organised shape, dangerous intrigues were set on foot and diplomacy and threats combined together to drive Mr. Shuster out of office and sweep the fabric of financial administration, that he was building up with patient toil and devotion, out of existence.

How the task of Mr. Shuster was rendered impossible may be told in a few words. The Russian Legation openly declared war upon the new financial law the very day it was passed and the Russian Minister announced that the Belgian Customs employees should not be subjected to the control or supervision of the American Treasurer-General. Even the French, German, Italian and Austro-Hungarian Legations rained protests upon the Persian Foreign Office. The British, Dutch and American Legations and the Turkish Embassy kept clear. The German Minister protested against "the infringement of German interests." It would be worth noting that these "interests" consisted of two subsidies of 6,000 tumans paid annually to two German subjects who were in charge of the so-called German School and German Hospital "which had been established in Teheran on the subsidy demanded and obtained by one of the richest and most powerful nations of Europe from the impoverished Persian Government." M. Mornard, who has been the Treasurer-General of Persia since the departure of Mr. Shuster, was at that time employed as head of the Customs. He has been a pliant tool of Russia all his life and his record of service is not free from shady transactions. When Mr. Shuster wanted to bring the Persian Customs administration under his control, M. Mornard, at first showed a spirit of defiance and openly flouted the authority of the Mejliss. When, however, it dawned on him that Mr. Shuster would not stick at half measures and that he had, in fact, asked for M. Mornard's dismissal, the wily Belgian came round to apologise and faithfully promised to observe the law.

Russia had by this time grown thoroughly alarmed at the honest, straightforward and business-like manner in which Mr. Shuster had set about to organise the finances of Persia. The Muscovite speedily made up his mind to get rid of the man who was building up the one straight and sure road to Persia's strength and independence. The opportunity was not long in coming. Mr. Shuster had, as we have already said, evolved

a plan of creating an efficient gendarmerie for the Treasury. He met Major Stokes, Military Attaché of the British Legation, and after a number of talks with him he became convinced "that he (Major Stokes) was an ideal man to undertake the work of organising and of instructing, along technical lines, the officers and men who should compose this force, and finding that he was loath to leave Persia, in whose future prospects and regeneration he was sincerely interested, I made the proposal to him, informally, that he should accept the post of chief of this future gendarmerie organisation, under my own direct supervision and orders." Sir George Barclay, the British Minister, practically agreed and so did Sir Edward Grey whose only observation about the matter was "that Major Stokes, before accepting the command of the gendarmerie, will have to resign his commission in the Indian Army." After two weeks during which the matter had been regarded as practically settled, the British Government suddenly presented a *note verbale* to the Persian Foreign Office "warning the Persian Government that it ought not to persist in the appointment of Major Stokes unless he is not to be employed in Northern Persia." This remarkable communication went on to say that "if the Persian Government does persist, his Majesty's (British) Government will recognise Russia's right (*sic*) to take such steps as she thinks are necessary in order that her interests in Northern Persia may be safeguarded." This was the first occasion that Russia and England combined to intimidate the Persian Government in the exercise of its most elementary sovereign rights.

It was exactly at this juncture and when the European situation, on account of the Moroccan question, had rendered the diplomacy of Sir Edward Grey subservient to the Russian will, that Mohamed Ali was let loose on the country. This was, as Mr. Shuster says, literally a bolt from the blue. The reactionaries openly rejoiced, the Ministry was quite incompetent to cope with the situation and some of its members were even suspected of treachery to the Constitutional Government. The Persian army was as mythical an entity as the "the gnomes who had disturbed the sleep of the Rip Van Winkle and as elusive as the Golden Fleece." Every pie that the Treasury could scrape together was needed for administrative reforms. The woes of Persia weighed on the minds of her patriotic sons who keenly felt the selfishness and treachery of their own men and the cynical cruelty and injustice on the part of their unscrupulous neighbour. And yet, they made heroic efforts to save their country. The civil strife was due to the connivance of Russia, and her officials interfered in hostile spirit on numerous occasions in the defensive measures that the Constitutional Government was led to adopt. In spite of all this, however, the Shah's forces were defeated and his general killed. But Salard-Daula still hung about the Turkish frontier. The Council of Ministers decided to confiscate his estates and those of other rebels and an order was accordingly issued and the Treasurer-General was charged to execute the same. The British and Russian Legations were notified of the contemplated measures as a mere matter of courtesy with the information that if any foreign interests should be found to exist in connection with the estates of Salard-Daula and others, all rights of foreigners would be fully safeguarded. Neither Legation offered the slightest objection. But when the Treasury gendarmes were sent to take possession of the Shua-us-Sultana property, two Russian officers with a number of Cossacks came upon the scene, threatened the Persian Treasury Gendarmes and summarily asked them to go. Mr. Shuster protested against this to the Russian Minister and next day sent a large body of men to take possession of the various properties. Russian Cossacks and officers tried to interfere again. Here was a plain case of interference requiring thorough investigation and punishment of the Russian officials who were responsible for it, but the Russian Government upheld the conduct of its agents and disregarded Persian protests.

The Russian attitude in Stokes affair, the interference of Russian officials in the Shua-us-Sultana affair and the opposition of the Russian Government to the proposed loan of £4,000,000 which Persia had every chance of securing on satisfactory terms in England convinced Mr. Shuster and the Mejliss that "Russia had determined to take full advantage of the still disturbed European situation and the only too apparent weakness of the British Foreign Office in all its relations with Russia concerning Persian affairs." Mr. Shuster, therefore, prepared a brief statement of the situation and on October 21st, after consultation with a number of prominent Persians and with the unofficial sanction of the Cabinet, he mailed an open letter to the *Times* with a request for publication. On November 2nd, the Russian Minister called at the Persian Foreign Office and made a verbal demand, in the name of his Government, that the Treasury gendarmes should be immediately withdrawn from the park of Shua-us-Sultana and that an apology should be tendered for the "insult" which his Government alleged had been offered to its consular officers. On November 11th, a written renewal of the original demands of the Russian Government was presented at the Persian Foreign Office as an ultimatum to be complied within 48 hours. Meanwhile the Russian troops began to move out of the Caucasus. The Russian demands were, at last accepted by the Persian Government on the advice of Sir Edward

Grey. The Persian Foreign Minister went to the Russian Legation and, seizing the Russian Minister by the hand, said:—"Your Excellency, I am instructed by my own Government to apologise in its name for the affront put upon the consular officers of your Excellency's Government in the Shua-us-Sultana affair." And then followed "the grim diplomatic jest which only a Russian Cabinet, with its utter disregard for fairness or decency, would think of perpetrating."

The Persian Ministers evidently believed that their self-abasement and the delivery of the estates would appease even Russian anger and settle the whole affair. A compliance with Russian demands was the very last thing that the Russian Cabinet desired. . . . What Russia plainly wanted was to have some pretext for continuing to occupy Northern Persia with her troops, a thing which she had started to do before her ultimatum to Persia had even been presented. . . . Persia's agreement to the demands of the first ultimatum was accepted, but the Persian Minister was informed that in the meantime another ultimatum was being prepared.

True to its promise, on November 29th, the Russian Government presented to Persia its second ultimatum demanding its acceptance within forty-eight hours. The demands included the dismissal of Mr. Shuster, an undertaking to be given by the Persian Government not to engage in the service of Persia foreign subjects without first obtaining the consent of the Russian and British Legations and the payment of an indemnity.

At last the final crisis came in Persia's fortunes and her fate as a free and sovereign State hung on the decision that she was to take. The Persian statesmen and chieftains who formed the Cabinet quickly decided to accept Russia's ultimatum with all it meant to the liberties of the people. There was, however, one body still left that had to utter the last and fateful word. On December 1st, shortly before the time-limit fixed by Russia expired, the Ministers appeared before the Mejliss to get its sanction. The Parliament grounds and buildings were packed with eager, excited throngs, while the galleries were filled with notables and representatives of the Foreign Legations. The fate of Persia as a nation was to be decided. And here we must tell the story in the words of Mr. Shuster:—

The proposal (of accepting Russian demands) was read amid deep silence. Seventy-six Deputies, old men and young, priests, lawyers, doctors, merchants and princes, sat tense in their seats. A venerable priest of Islam arose. Time was slipping away and at noon the question would be beyond their vote to decide. This servant of God spoke briefly and to the point. "It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and our sovereignty shall be taken from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands." One gesture of appeal with his trembling hands and he resumed his seat.

Simple words these, yet winged ones. Easy to utter in academic discussions, hard, bitterly hard, to say under the eye of a cruel and overpowering tyrant whose emissaries watched the speaker from the galleries. . . . Other deputies followed. In dignified appeals, brief because the time was short, they upheld their country's honour and proclaimed their hard-earned right to live and govern themselves. A few minutes before noon the public vote was taken. . . . As each name was called the Deputy rose in his place and gave his vote; there was no secret ballot here. And when the roll-call had ended every man, priest or layman, youth or octogenarian, had cast his own die of fate, had staked the safety of himself and family, and hurled back into the teeth of the great Bear from the North the unanimous answer of a desperate and down-trodden people who preferred a future of unknown terror to the voluntary sacrifice of their national dignity and of their recently earned right to work out their own salvation.

Amid tears and applause from the spectators, the crestfallen and frightened members of the Cabinet withdrew, while the Deputies dispersed to ponder over the course which lay darkly before their people.

But the last refuge of the people's hope and liberty, the patriotic and heroic Mejliss, fell a victim to the *coup d'état* of the craven-hearted Ministry. With the fall of the Mejliss fell Mr. Shuster, and Persia as an independent country ceased to exist. The Anglo-Russian condominium has arrived. The Persians are, according to Mr. Shuster, doomed to political annihilation and economic servitude. The world cannot heed their moral appeal because they are weak and Asiatics. "Morocco, Tripoli and Persia, three Moslem States, have been destroyed in one year by their enlightened Christian neighbours. It is not a pretty spectacle." We must finish a brief and hurried notice of the masterly work which Mr. Shuster has produced and which must be read by every man interested in Persian affairs, by believing with him that

The Constitutionlists of modern Persia will not have lived, struggled and, in many instances, died entirely in vain, if the destruction of Persia's sovereignty shall have sharpened somewhat the civilised world's realisation of the spirit of international brigandage which marked the *wellpolitik* of the year 1911.

The Muslim University.

III.

By far the most important decision which the Secretary of State has arrived at with regard to the Muslim University is connected with what Sir Harcourt Butler in his letter calls its "external relations." "His Majesty's Secretary of State has decided after mature consideration that the proposed University should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established".

In support of this decision, Sir Harcourt Butler has adduced in his letter an argument from the history of Muhammadan education in India, *viz.*, that "the hope of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was to convert Aligarh into a teaching and residential University".

We acknowledge that the great founder of Aligarh was unrivalled in his farsightedness and in his confidence in the success of the institution of which he was laying the foundation. When he had only eight little urchins and a thatched bungalow in a deserted cantonment which was to be the capital of Moslem education, he designed plans of spacious buildings and extensive courtyards to house 1,000 students. When his friends contrasted the Aligarh that was with the Aligarh that was to be, and invited him to consider the wilderness in which wolves howled every night round his solitary tent his only answer was the smile of the man who had faith in his Maker, faith in himself, and, we believe, faith in his community. Nothing was planned on a mean scale and only a generation has justified the bold designer.

But our admiration for Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's clearness of vision and boundless faith cannot transform the hero into the god. He had seen Oxford and Cambridge and he hoped that one day his own people too may have a similar institution at Aligarh. There is no evidence to show that in his heart of hearts he was disappointed with the progress made during his lifetime, and were he alive to-day the sight of 1,200 lusty and refined youths fired with his own zeal and united in a single aim could not but gladden his heart. But he would be a bold man indeed who could say that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had hoped to achieve in 1912, only 37 years after the foundation of a small school, a university for more than 1,000 undergraduates. More money flowed into the college in the first decade after his death than he had himself been able to collect during his lifetime. But great as was the financial success of the college in the *régime* of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, it sinks into insignificance by the side of the money collected in a year and a half since it was announced that His Majesty the King-Emperor would visit India, and the Muhammadans combined to make a heroic effort to collect the necessary funds before their Sovereign graced India with his presence and granted them a Charter for the Moslem University. We, who have more often complained of Muslim indifference, indolence and absence of organization than praised Muslim generosity and Muslim energy, must acknowledge that, although the whole idea of a deputation under His Highness the Aga Khan emanated in a humble way from ourselves, we had never hoped for such eventual success as has crowned the efforts of the promoters of the Muslim University. It would, therefore, be wholly without justification to suggest that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan ever expected the results which have been achieved under these special circumstances. How much more unjustifiable would it be to assert that the founder of Aligarh had expected that the Mussalmans would have within 50 years of his founding a school an undergraduate population at Aligarh exceeding that of Oxford or Cambridge.

But that is what we confidently predict. And if we praise the far-sightedness and self-confidence of that bold designer who planned everything for a thousand students when he had not enough funds at his disposal to provide adequately for the education of fifty, shall we not be guilty of short-sightedness and lack of confidence in ourselves if at a time when we have got the wherewithal to educate 1,000 undergraduates, in addition to some 600 school-boys, on a scale even higher than that of the best Government institutions in India, we do not prepare plans for a future in which Aligarh would have to close its doors if its undergraduate population was to be circumscribed like that of Oxford? That is where the argument from the history of Muhammadan education brings us. To think that because Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had drawn an arc, his successors should not complete the circle, is neither good logic nor good history.

Let us look into this question in some detail. The latest report of the Principal of the Aligarh College issued this week tells us that the college had on its rolls some six months ago no less than 610 students, 531 of whom were resident undergraduates. We leave out of account the collegiate school altogether, for in a discussion about the University it is best to concentrate our attention on the number of undergraduates alone. At the same time last year, the number of undergraduates on the books of the college was 502, of whom 437 were resident students. This shows an increase of more than 20 per cent. in the total number of undergraduates, and of 21½ per cent. in the number of resident students, in a single year. But high as this rate of increase appears, it is wholly misleading. What would give a better idea if the attraction of Aligarh for Moslem undergraduates is the number of applications for admission which the Principal receives each year. Mr. Towle received no less than 500 such applications for the current year but could accommodate no more than 69. In his report for 1911-12 he says "no large increase can be expected for 1912-13, but for the following year there should be a further advance of about 150 students in the college." This is accounted for by the fact that sufficient accommodation could not be provided for more than 69 in addi-

tion to the number on the books of the college in the previous year, but that in 1913 when two more blocks of the Minto Circle are to be completed, 150 more students would be accommodated. Now the funds collected for the Muslim University would suffice for 1,000 undergraduates, even if the Mussalmans follow the very high scale of salaries insisted upon by the Education Department in estimating the expenditure of the University. As the college already has 610 students on its books, and as no less than 431 were refused admission this year on account of lack of accommodation, it is clear that had the University come into existence, and had the accommodation for 1,000 undergraduates been ready, the University would have been completely filled to-day, and some 40 candidates for admission would have been refused. At this rate it is not difficult to calculate in how many years Aligarh would have an undergraduate population of 3,000, which is the utmost limit of Oxford and Cambridge. We believe, given accommodation, it would take no more than five years to reach this number. As for accommodation itself, it is a question of money, and although 30 lakhs have been collected in a year and a half under abnormal conditions, the existence of a Muslim University would itself increase the flow of charity towards it, so that, at the rapid pace of progress which has been noticeable in recent years, we are justified in believing that, if in 35 years a small school could grow up into a university for 1,000 undergraduates, it would not take more than 15 years at the very outside for that university to grow into three times the size it would have been to-day if it had been permitted to come into being.

In other words, the Mussalmans would have their Oxford in Aligarh at the latest by the year 1930, though there is a greater probability that they would have it by the year 1925. When they have secured that, what are they to do? Surely those responsible for Muslim education could not follow the example of the Punjab Chief Court in the matter of lawyers. They could not open the door of higher education only to 3,000 Muslim youths, expecting that the community would be satisfied with that, and turning the rest of its youngmen into farriers, as one ex-professor of Aligarh, a *protégé* of Sir Theodore Morison, had nobly suggested. They could not follow the example of the Presidency College of Calcutta either, accepting only a number, and even then only those who had matriculated in the First Division, and turning back the rest to wander like their first parents, and find like them that

"The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest."

This only the Executive-ridden Chief Court of the Punjab and the Swaraji Department of Public Instruction in Bengal could do with any hope of success. Having founded their Oxford at Aligarh, and filled it to overflowing within the next 15 years, the Mussalmans would have to found their Cambridge, and at that rate we shall find that once in every 10 years, and subsequently once in every five years, the problem of creating new universities would have to be faced if in the important particular of numbers the example of Oxford and Cambridge is rigidly followed.

The Mussalmans have a tremendous leeway to make up even to reach the level of their Hindu fellow-countrymen, and those who reflect on the fact that there are only 180,000 Mussalmans who are literate in English as compared with a million Hindus, cannot be expected to rest on their oars. The Hindu population is nominally 217 millions, and if the 60 million untouchables, to which no section of Mussalmans corresponds, are excluded, there remains a residuum of 157 millions. On the other hand, the Mussalmans number 66½ millions. The Hindus have therefore no less than 637 per 10,000 of literates in English, whereas the Mussalmans have only 27. The Mussalmans have, therefore, not only to keep pace with Hindu progress, but have to make up for lost time by increasing the number of literates in English from 180,000 to more than 420,000. Now the Moslem proportion in literacy in English is not so bad as in the number of college students, and they could not hope to keep pace with the Hindus unless they established within the next fifty years five universities with 3,000 students in each. That is what they have got to achieve, and, in the light of the progress made since the foundation of a school at Aligarh 37 years ago, it is not too hopeful to trust that they would achieve it. The appetite for knowledge grows with what it feeds on, and past experience has shown that educational charity grows in volume and rate with the advance of knowledge.

We have outlined above the requirements of the Mussalmans and also expressed a hope that within 50 years those requirements will be satisfied. But we have still to consider the methods which the leaders of the Mussalmans have in their minds for achieving this ambitious programme. Past experience has shown to the Mussalmans that progress in order to be real must be gradual, and if the Mussalmans are to establish as many as five universities of their own in India, it is not enough to dream of them and see visions of glory. A nucleus for each of these universities must be found in some educational institution established by the Mussalmans of each province themselves, no matter how humble it may be. The only college

outside Aligarh which the Mussalmans ever established is the Islamia College of Lahore, and naturally that must receive the earliest attention. In addition to this college, there are schools in various provinces, such as the Sindh Madrasah at Karachi and the Anjuman-i-Islam School at Bombay. These have got to be developed into First Grade Colleges within the next five years. Other schools have to be improved and a great many have yet to be established. The educational programme of the Mussalmans should be to concentrate their efforts in a properly regulated order on such institutions as are already in existence. They will have to improve in the first place the existing college at Lahore, till one day like Aligarh itself, it is converted into a university. Next in order would come the existing schools which would be improved in a manner that in later years they could be converted into First Grade Colleges. Thereafter their progress would follow the lines of the Aligarh College, and we would have in the fullness of time other Universities of Islam. The order, therefore, would be for schools to grow into colleges and for colleges to develop into universities. Unless this is done, the Mussalmans must either cry "halt" to their educational progress just after having made a fair start or increase the number of undergraduates at the University of Aligarh. There is no third alternative; for Government Universities cannot satisfy the requirements of the Mussalmans, and so far at least as this community is concerned, the Government would have to give up the idea of itself providing for its higher education instead of assisting Muslim institutions with grants-in-aid out of State revenues. Of the two alternatives surely no one can expect the Mussalmans to agree to cease to progress just after commencing to progress at all. There is therefore only one possible solution of the Muslim educational problem, and that is the establishment of new schools the conversion of existing schools into colleges and the development of these colleges into universities on the Aligarh model.

There is nothing in the programme which we have sketched to which, even with its new-born love for teaching universities, the Government can object; for we have always contemplated what the Government has now only begun to talk about, namely, teaching and residential universities. But teaching and residential universities do not come into existence like Pallas Athene, born fully armed out of head of Zeus. Before these universities can become exclusively teaching institutions, they have to put up with the compromise with which Aligarh has to put up. In other words, each of these five universities which we hope to see established within the next half a century will have to commence its career as a hybrid, teaching the majority of its undergraduates in the parent institution and affiliating neighbouring institutions till such time as they could grow into universities of the same type themselves. In the course of their growth the powers of affiliation would be atrophied and drop away. Progress is not possible on other lines; for, to judge from the analogy of the human family, a patriarch must have *patria potestas* over his children till such time as they attain the *toga virilis* and become patriarchs themselves. Thus alone shall the Mussalmans have the full consummation of the hope expressed by the great founder of Aligarh in the address presented to Lord Lytton on the 8th of January 1877, that "from the seed which we sow to-day, there may spring up a mighty tree, whose branches, like the banyan of the soil, shall in their turn strike firm roots into the earth and themselves send forth vigorous saplings." To-day the Mussalmans, who, but for the Secretary of State's decision, would have had the first university teaching no less than a thousand undergraduates, desire to re-establish a university which would be partly federal. But their educational programme does not end there. This is only the first stage of a progress in which the federation would be not of schools and colleges, but of universities. Progress on these lines would be on a system of proper co-ordination; but if the Mussalmans of each province were allowed to establish institutions as the fancy took them, there would be disorder and chaos.

But that is not all. Although the torch of learning must be carried into every province, it must be illumined from the central light at Aligarh if it is to be illumined at all. This would be apparent to anyone who reflected for a moment on the facts as they exist to-day. Is it or is it not a fact that Bombay, which has not yet established a college of its own, has contributed more than six lacs to the Muslim University, in addition to several lacs contributed previously to the college at Aligarh? Is it not also a fact that the Punjab has contributed over three lacs to the University, and, as everybody knows, has taken a leading part in financing the Aligarh College, while the Islamia College at Lahore itself has hardly a capital fund at all, and depends upon the contributions, made at the annual meetings of the Anjuman-i-Hemayat i Islam? What is the secret of the financial prosperity of the Aligarh College and the proposed Muslim University, as compared with the poverty of the provincial institutions in the Punjab and Bombay? It is this. Every province has not had a Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, nor has the founder of an educational

institution in such provinces been able to gather round himself men of the type and character of those who were associated with the work of Sir Syed. The entire Muslim community has displayed a greater confidence in those responsible for the management of the Aligarh College and the promoters of the proposed University than the Mussalmans in the various provinces have shown in the leaders of the provinces themselves. When we say this we mean no disrespect to provincial leaders. What we wish to signify is that although there are enough trusty men to manage collectively the affairs of one central institution successfully, there are not enough of them in each province to manage equally successfully the affairs of the institutions in their respective provinces. That is why the men of the Punjab support the Aligarh College even more than the college at Lahore and that is also the reason why "the shrewd men of Bombay" from whom at one time a contemporary of ours expected the fatal policy of provincialism, have supported the proposed Muslim University even more than their local school. Now unless the promoters of the Muslim University, who are in the main persons associated with the work of management at Aligarh, took up the work of improving educational institutions in different provinces, and even establishing others where none exist, this work would not be performed for a long time, and all past experience shows that even if it is performed it will not be performed so well. The first condition on which managers of provincial institutions would permit the promoters of the Aligarh University to interfere with their work would be that the proposed University should undertake some financial responsibility for those institutions. If there is no taxation without representation, there is also no representation without taxation. We have then this difficulty, that existing provincial institutions are not likely to grow rapidly, and new ones are not likely to be brought into being within a reasonable time, unless the authorities of the Aligarh University lend them a helping hand in the matter of finance. But it is obvious that when financial responsibility is accepted to any extent, the institutions assisted in this manner should follow the general lines of Aligarh. But this is nothing less than affiliation; for it is absurd to conceive that while moribund institutions are tolerated by Government if they are affiliated to provincial Universities, Aligarh should not be allowed to affiliate them when it assists them financially, and takes a keener interest in their internal administration than the present federal universities with their loose organisation and absence of sentimental ties have ever done.

We have said enough to show that Muhammedans cannot keep level with other communities in India unless they have a much larger number of educational institutions than they have to-day. We have referred to the postulate that existing institutions cannot satisfy the requirements of the Mussalmans. And we have endeavoured to show that Muslim institutions cannot grow unless they are linked up with Aligarh. There is one postulate, however, which has all the time been at the back of our mind. It is this. Aligarh, as a local institution, though not as a movement, must not grow beyond the size of Oxford or Cambridge. Unless this is accepted, the whole of our argument falls to the ground, because it may be said that instead of the five different Muslim Universities spread throughout the country, with 3,000 students in each, the Mussalmans could establish only one at Aligarh and admit 15,000 students in the same. Some would think that distance would be an argument against such a possibility. But for our part, we are prepared to admit that the attraction of Aligarh would almost annihilate distances. There is, however, a very important consideration which must be fully understood. There is such a thing as the psychology of numbers, and if the Oxford that we know to-day could not be the same if reduced to a fourth of its present size, we say without fear of contradiction that it would be still more different if it had within its colleges four times the number of undergraduates that it has to-day. If Aligarh is to follow the lines of Oxford, it is much more essential that it should be limited in its numbers than that it should be limited in its scope and territorial jurisdiction. There is, therefore, no running away from the pointed horns of the dilemma that the Mussalmans must either have a hybrid University teaching in the main, and affiliating for so long as necessary, and in this particular differing to some extent, though not altogether, from Oxford, which has at least one college affiliated to it outside its municipal limits; or they must concentrate 15,000 undergraduates in one place and differ altogether from the model which they have always kept before themselves. We are not unaware that for all the glib talk of practical objections on educational grounds, other objections which are never publicly expressed have not been absent from the minds of those who are opposed to affiliation. But is it a greater danger to link up provincial institutions with the parent institution at Aligarh, or to bring together 15,000 lusty youths of Islam within the quadrangles of a single university, located in a single university town. To our mind both dangers are purely imaginary, though the publication of imaginary dangers sometimes brings them into existence. But let those who believe in the existence of danger for a moment pause and consider.

The Moslem University.

Moslem Feeling.

On the 24th August a mass meeting was held at Jodhpur and the following resolution was passed and a copy of it wired to the Hon'ble Raja Sir Mohammed Ali Sahib of Mahmudabad:—"The Muhammadans of Marwar and Rajputana desire that the Government should be respectfully and loyally approached to grant a University with full powers of affiliation. A local university is not needed."

The Moslem University.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Can anyone congratulate the Secretary of State for India on his decision recently communicated to the Hon. Raja of Mahmudabad through the Hon. Member for Education? There is no use denying that political considerations are in the main responsible for the view Lord Crewe has taken. Almost every member of our community realise that the Government do not wish that there should be a central movement established in the heart of the Indian continent, which should unite 70 millions of Mussalmans and, by bringing remote parts of the country in touch with the parent movement, bring about a solidarity that might prove undesirable. That is the real reason why the Secretary of State's sanction has been hemmed in by restrictions and limitations that would render the "University of Aligarh" a thoroughly impotent institution. But even on political grounds it is of the utmost importance to the maintenance of British rule that there must be some counterpoise to the power of the Mahrattas in the south, of the Bengalees in the north-east and of the Sikhs in the north. Geographically Aligarh occupies a most central position and true statesmanship would point to its being strengthened by Government, whose experience of the Bengalee anarchists cannot be very old yet. But there is another result which the Secretary of State's decision might produce; and that is, a reconciliation between Moslems and Hindus. The Hindu and Moslem leaders equally realise what incalculable harm is being done to the cause of Indian progress by animosity between the two communities. But, thanks to Lord Crewe, he has afforded us an opportunity of joining in a common cause. The curt Press *Communiqué* is bound to accomplish what many a Reconciliation Conference could not have done. The Government may or may not look askance at the Moslems and Hindus being brought together in a common camp, but the fact remains that Lord Crewe has managed to unite the two communities in opposition to his "final decision." A shrewd English friend told me the other day that he considered the Secretary of State's action most deplorable because it supplied the two great communities of the country with a common grievance that was sure to produce agitation, and agitation would bring unrest in its train.

From political let us turn to educational grounds mentioned in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter. It is said by some good people that the Moslems have not met satisfactorily the practical objections to the scheme, though they have exhibited much warmth in criticizing the Secretary of State's order. To begin with Sir Harcourt Butler's letter has raised four important points on which Lord Crewe is not in agreement with the Moslem community. They are:—
(1)—Affiliation. (2)—Control by the Governor-General in Council.
(3)—Name of the University. (4)—Reservation of discretion as to certain matters. Whatever has been written in the Press in support of Lord Crewe's decision is almost exclusively confined to the first point. The most ardent admirers of his Lordship have not been in a position to adduce any arguments in support of his views on the last three points. By vesting the powers of the Chancellor in the Governor-General in Council the Mussulmans would be converting their University into a state department. We would have practically nine Chancellors in place of one and everyone of them would have the right of advice and interference. As regards the name of the University one cannot understand why Lord Crewe should have scruples in calling a spade a spade. The University is a denominational university. Would your calling it "the University of Timbuctoo" make it any the less Islamic? The reservation of discretion by Lord Crewe, on matters not specifically mentioned in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter, is deliciously vague. The community through its representatives has submitted a full and complete constitution to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and its desire to know to what matters, if any, exception is taken by Lord Crewe is hardly unreasonable.

There remains the all-important question of affiliation. Far from leading to competition and conflict with the territorial universities one would have thought that the foundation of the Moslem University would give an impetus to the cause of higher education

in India. Nobody thought of taking the same objection to the establishment of the Punjab University in 1882 and the Allahabad University in 1887. The objection proceeds on the assumption that there would not be sufficient Government control and to this the constitution framed by the constitution committee is a complete reply. The second objection to affiliation contained in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter is based on Lord Crewe's solicitude for a teaching university. True we want to have a teaching university. But as affiliation shall not be extended to colleges not founded on the model of Aligarh College, there is no room for apprehension that teaching would become subordinate to examinations. The constitution committee has laid it down as a condition precedent that the College applying for affiliation must be a *residential* college. Again under the proposed constitution the Viceroy being the chancellor, it would always be open to him to withhold affiliation to a college in which there is not sufficient provision for the residence and teaching of students. The third objection lays stress on the tone or spirit of a particular college. But it utterly disregards the fact that the University cannot come into being before we have a number of colleges, properly equipped with hostels, in the neighbourhood of Aligarh. The present college at Aligarh covers several miles. If more colleges are to be built there, they will have to be located at places like Hardwaganj, Sasni and Bhikampur. That being the case it is difficult to see why the soil of these places, many miles removed from each other, should be more congenial to the growth of a certain tone or spirit than Karachi, Calcutta or Lahore. The last objection deals with the apprehended inability of the University to control colleges in different parts of India. Here again it is necessary to refer to the proposed constitution. Due care has been bestowed on the question by the framers of the constitution; and they have made ample provision for proper and effective control.

A close observer of the movement for higher education among Mussalmans cannot help remarking that the Secretary of State has attached too much importance to the affiliation question. It was not at all necessary to sanctify his decision by putting the seal of finality upon it. Even if his Lordship confers a general power of affiliation on the Moslem University, he should rest assured that the Islamia College of Lahore is the only institution that might apply for affiliation after many years' preparation. But the decision involves a question of principle. It may be forbidden to Indians for all time to have self-government on colonial lines. But why should that principle be extended to matters educational, especially when the constitution seeks to arm the Viceroy with very vast powers as Chancellor. The question that would suggest itself to every thinking man is, how is it that the Secretary of State did not hint his disapproval when the funds were being collected. By his silence he not only acquiesced in the proposal, but held out encouragement to the community to go on with the work. Would it be statesmanship now to undo what has been done with his Lordship's tacit consent. Subscriptions have been paid on the clear understanding that the University is not to be confined to any locality or province. That being the case I deem it my duty as an humble member of the Moslem Community to raise my feeble voice and say that the foundation committee would be acting against the unanimous will of the community if they accepted the University on the terms mentioned in Sir Harcourt Butler's letter. This is not the stage when we should enter into discussions as to what should be done with the money. We simply want to make it known that we never wanted to have such an impotent, emaciated, lifeless University as the Secretary of State has been pleased to offer us and we will have none of it.

Is not a compromise possible? Compromise is a very good thing indeed and the life of individuals as well as of nations consist of a series of compromises. But what hope of compromise can there be when the Secretary of State's proposals involve a negation of the basic principles on which the entire fabric of the movement is built? Whatever their other failings may be, Indian Mussalmans are not an unreasonable people; but to expect that they would accept any modification on the two questions of affiliation and the vesting of the Viceroy with the powers of the chancellor is simply hoping beyond all hope.

Any compromise on these two points means that we toiled hard since 1898, sparing neither energy nor trouble, obtained 30 lakhs and more from a poor community on false promises, and then went to sleep by making it over to Government with the consolation that a Secretary of State who has hardly been in office for a couple of years, knew more about our needs and requirements than ourselves.

MORADABAD,
and September.

S. RIZA ALI.

SIR,

You announce in your issue of the 24th August that the Moslem University Foundation Committee will meet at an early date to decide the fate of the University project. Will you kindly give publicity to the following views with regard to the questions which the Committee will have to decide.

No question in the modern history of India has moved the Indian Mussalmans so deeply as the question of the Moslem University. The enthusiasm displayed by the community over the question has been so warm that there is a suspicion whether it has not actually outstripped discretion. The unexpected check which the enthusiasm has received is perhaps only a God-send to afford the community an opportunity to reconsider coolly the merit of the whole project. What do we want a University for? Mr. Editor, you have answered it by saying that the movement is based upon the conviction of the Mussalmans that their supreme need is to evolve a distinct type of higher education for their community. Will the University even as projected by the Constitution Committee serve this purpose? I am afraid not. The University will still be too much dependent upon Government. Government cannot, Government will not recognize any type save the type Imperial. It is idle to expect the Government to countenance the growth of a distinct Moslem type. Government may countenance denominational Universities. But the countenance will go only so far as these Universities will represent different methods adapted to the special circumstances of the respective communities in order to train them up to a common Imperial type. In short, Government wants us to be British citizens first and Moslems afterwards. The Mussalmans, on the other hand, want to be Moslems first and British citizens afterwards. I do not know if a compromise between the two ideals is possible.

The dream of a Moslem University is however a legacy left to us by Sir Syed and his gifted son. The dreams of such men never remain unfulfilled. I suppose we have only failed to read the dream correctly. According to Dr. Ikbal **مسلم ہیں ہم وطن** **مسلم ہیں ہم وطن** the Moslems are all one nation, the whole earth belongs to us. (I generally read **مسلم ہیں ہم وطن** with a hyphen.)

A University which will serve the need of a people like this cannot be confined to any locality, province and country. We should avail ourselves of the best opportunities provided for the training of young men which the earth can afford. Let our young men learn science in Germany, Arts in France, Industries in America, Commerce in England, Theology in Egypt, and Modern Islamic culture in Turkey. Let us send forth young men all over the earth to glean of the best they can find. The funds collected and promised for the University will yield an income which will enable the community to maintain some 200 young Mussalmans in foreign countries, and in a few years we might welcome them back to our land—the pioneers of thought, culture, commerce and industries. We want a distinct type of higher education for our people. The distinctive feature might be obtained by a period of compulsory sojourn in some Moslem land.

Such is the University which will suit a community like ours. It will be more effective for the speedy advance of our people than any local University. I believe it will also be more economical.

Mr. Editor, you are of opinion that any diversion of money to any other channel than the projected University would amount to the breach of a solemn trust. I hope, the Foundation Committee will look at the matter differently.

A SILENT MOSLEM.

SIR,—I find that you have invited the subscribers of your Journal to say if the Mussalmans should or should not accept a University on the conditions laid down recently by His Majesty's Secretary of State, namely, that the proposed University should not have power of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established and that in future it should be styled "the University of Aligarh" and not "the Moslem University." You do not refer to any of the other conditions insisted on by the Secretary of State either specifically or in general terms. Now it seems to me that this invitation is rather premature. The decision of the Community must be swayed by various considerations. The Mussalmans desire a practically autonomous University, and one of the most important considerations in deciding the question at issue must be the extent of power ultimately left in their hands. For the degree of the usefulness of a separate university established at an enormous cost must largely depend upon the extent of that power. So until all the objections and suggestions that His Majesty's Secretary of State or the Government of India has to make in respect of the Bill as already drafted by the Constitution Committee, both as regards matters of principle and details, are made known the Moslem Community will not in fact be in a position to pass a final verdict on the question.

The funds of the proposed University were subscribed on the understanding that it will have power of affiliation of colleges outside Aligarh, the Secretary of State, decision in that respect has come to us as a surprise. What the final verdict of the Community as a whole would be when it is in possession of all the possible objections and suggestions on behalf of the Government, is more than I can tell at present, but of this much I am sure that an overwhelming majority of the Mussalmans is, as at present inclined, against the acceptance of a University without such powers of affiliation.

I am afraid that if objections are made by instalments and we go on accepting them in the same manner, we will have only a shadow of power left to us in the end, and the Moslem University will be little better than a magnified religio-secular Government College based on the residential system.

The objection that a university at Aligarh would be quite unable to control Colleges situated in different parts of India, has very little force. There is at present only one Muhammadan College in the whole country. There is, however, a chance of a Muhammadan College being established in each of the provinces and presidencies within a decade or so, but no more. Any one province or presidency can scarcely provide a sufficient number of Muhammadan students for two Muhammadan Colleges in it. It is not at all likely, therefore, that there would be more than seven Colleges which could be affiliated to the Moslem University, and the task of controlling these seven cannot be so difficult as His Majesty's Secretary of State imagines it to be. The question of their affiliation would, moreover, have to be decided by the Government which might refuse to affiliate a college if it should find that the Moslem University would by reason of its distance or otherwise, be quite unable to control it.

DARBHANGA, }
5th September 1912. }

M. H. J.



The McCormick Case.

Defamation Case Proceedings.

ON TUESDAY, the 14th July, the hearing of the charge of defamation preferred against Mr. C. Arnold by Mr. G. P. Andrew, which had been adjourned from the 27th June in order to allow of the arrival of Lieutenant A. McL. Finnie, was resumed by the District Magistrate.

Mr. Rutledge: Your Honour, I have Mr. Finnie here and I propose to call him.

The Court: You wish to call him next?

Mr. Rutledge: I wish to call him now because he speaks to the earlier parts of this case and produces documents which Mr. Hamlyn referred to and said that he would require them for the further cross-examination of Mr. Andrew.

Mr. Hamlyn: Do I understand that my cross-examination is going to be interrupted by putting a witness for the prosecution into the witness box?

Mr. Rutledge: I am doing this as Mr. Hamlyn requested it on the last occasion.

Mr. Hamlyn: I made no such request.

Mr. Rutledge: As far as I recollect on the last occasion Mr. Hamlyn stopped the cross-examination of Mr. Andrew because he said he understood that Mr. Finnie was being called and he wanted him to be present before he proceeded with the further cross-examination of Mr. Andrew.

On Mr. Hamlyn rising to make further objection, His Worship intimated abruptly that it was not his intention to proceed with the case any further but to send it up to the Sessions; and he quoted the section on which he relied in his decision.

Mr. Hamlyn, after reading the section: Of course, Your Honour, I cannot prevent you from taking such a course. You have, I admit, already intimated during these proceedings that this case will go to the Sessions; but I must emphatically protest at your decision at the present stage.

The Court: The only thing necessary now to do is to examine the accused.

Mr. Hamlyn: I don't know whether Your Worship has sufficient material before you on which to send this case to the Chief Court?

The Court: My opinion is that it should go to the Sessions. I have already expressed that opinion twice.

Mr. Hamlyn: I want to get in a lot of documentary evidence in order to facilitate the trial in the Chief Court. I take it that before I know what is established against my client, Your Worship will want me to send a list of my witnesses?

The Court: Yes, within three days.

Mr. Hamlyn: That is quite an impossibility.

The Court: I cannot help that. I will now examine the accused. Mr. Arnold, will you go into the witness box, please.

Mr. Arnold accordingly entered the witness box.

The Court: You are Mr. Channing Arnold mentioned in Exhibit A, are you not?

Mr. Arnold: Yes.

The Court: Were you the Editor of the *Burma Critic* dated the 7th March and 28th April?

Mr. Arnold: Yes.

The Court: I take it that you assume the responsibility for these articles?

Mr. Arnold: Absolute responsibility.

The Court: Do you wish to say anything else?

Mr. Arnold: Yes, I wish to add my protest to that of my Counsel against your whole attitude over this case and your action in committing it to the Sessions before hearing the case through.

The Magistrate then charged Mr. Arnold under Section 500, I.P.C.

The Magistrate, taking from his pocket a statement which he had brought into Court ready written, said: I will now read out my reasons for committal.

The order was then read.

Mr. Hamlyn: Your Worship will remember that some ten days ago an application was put in by me on behalf of Mr. Arnold asking that certain books and documents be produced at this hearing.

Mr. Rutledge: I got the notice on Tuesday last and at considerable expense I telegraphed to Mr. Andrew to bring them or such as he could. If the case had gone on, I would have taken objection to several of them being produced on the ground of their being absolutely irrelevant; for instance, the Shooting Case which occurred last October at a considerable distance from McCormick's estate. These documents were sent on from Mergui in a registered bag addressed to me. I have enquired of the Post Office but have not got them yet.

The Court: I take it that they will be produced in the other Court.

Mr. Hamlyn: I understand, Sir, you made an order for their production. I want inspection of them to see what witnesses are necessary to call and what witnesses to leave out.

Mr. Rutledge: I have no objection to Mr. Hamlyn perusing in my office any documents that come to me from Mergui, but I certainly wish to object to them as irrelevant and encumbering the case.

Mr. Hamlyn: I accept Mr. Rutledge's challenge that several of the documents have nothing to do with the case, but I shall like to see them for myself. I understand Your Worship to say that you have committed the case to the next Sessions.

The Court: Yes, the Sessions of the 13th August.

Mr. Hamlyn: We are very anxious that the matter be expedited, but we must have sufficient time. There are certain witnesses in India whom it is necessary for us to call. I wish to put in a list of witnesses as soon as possible and Your Worship will see that everything is done to get them here.

The Court: I will, yes.

The Court to Mr. Rutledge: You will give Mr. Hamlyn inspection of the documents?

Mr. Rutledge: As soon as I get delivery of them I will.

Mr. Hamlyn: If Mr. Rutledge will give me inspection of the documents in the course of to-morrow it will facilitate the matter very much.

The Court: Then in that case you can let me have the list the day after to-morrow?

Mr. Hamlyn: Provided I have inspection of these documents. I don't know how these documents would come from Mergui. There is only one boat a week I understand and that arrives invariably on Sunday.

Mr. Rutledge: I expected them by the mail by which I got the advice that they had been posted.

Mr. Hamlyn: Very well, I understand that Mr. Rutledge has intimation that they are in the post.

Mr. Rutledge have had intimation that they were sent.

Mr. Hamlyn: In that case he ought to get them by Monday next. Do I understand Mr. Rutledge that what documents I have asked for are on their way? I should like a list of these documents.

His Honour read out a list of documents.

Mr. Rutledge: I think I had a letter stating what documents were forwarded. One refers to the Shooting Case. Then there are various applications of McCormick for land. There is no telegraph despatch book in the Deputy Commissioner's Office or in the District Superintendent of Police's Office. There are four counterfoils of telegrams, I think. I am speaking from memory. I think four counterfoils were sent in this parcel.

Mr. Hamlyn: Well, I take it all these documents will be in this Court or the Chief Court. I take it they will be put into the custody of the Court?

Mr. Rutledge: I will exercise my discretion whether I will produce them or not.

Mr. Hamlyn: I insist upon their production for my inspection. In the ends of justice these documents are absolutely necessary and I invoke Your Honour's aid in order to get them. I think you can order them to be produced under Sec. 94 Chap. VII.

The Court: Mr. Rutledge, do you object to these documents being produced?

Mr. Rutledge: I object to them purely on the ground of irrelevancy. As soon as these documents arrive, I will put them before Mr. Hamlyn for his inspection.

The Court to Mr. Hamlyn: I think that is all, Mr. Hamlyn, you are entitled to.

Mr. Hamlyn: Your Worship has already decided that the case shall go to the Sessions and Your Worship is not acquainted with what the accused's defence is and I want these documents. Mr. Rutledge won't even admit any of these documents.

Mr. Rutledge: I have not got possession of any of them. I am not responsible for the Post Office.

Mr. Hamlyn: If these documents, Your Honour, are not in existence some explanation will have to be forthcoming why they are not. I shall ask Your Honour to put the machinery in motion under Sec. 94 to get them.

Mr. Rutledge: I protest that Sec. 94 does not give Mr. Hamlyn any right to have the documents produced in Court until he proves that they are necessary and desirable. I have gone out of my way to give him what I could.

The Court: I think, Mr. Hamlyn, your best plan would be to see these documents first.

Mr. Hamlyn: Your Worship, I have put in an application for certain documents and I expect these documents to be produced. I can quite understand, knowing of what importance these documents are to the case, that the prosecution are undesirous of producing them.

Mr. Rutledge: The prosecution are not undesirous. That is a particularly fatuous remark in the face of the fact that I have offered to put them at Mr. Hamlyn's disposal.

His Honour then passed an order with reference to the documents in the foregoing argument.

The Court: Mr. Hamlyn, will you let me have a list of your witnesses by the 19th instant?

Mr. Hamlyn: No, Your Honour, I cannot until I have had inspection of the documents. There are certain officials who will have to come from their employment if I do not get these documents, and it will put Government to a great deal of inconvenience. I understand that some of the documents are in the post and some are not coming at all. When I have seen them, I shall be able to make up my list of witnesses. As Your Honour knows very well, these articles containing the allegations against the prosecutor are very lengthy and it may be necessary for me to call fifty or a hundred witnesses to establish them. I wish to save the necessity of calling witnesses by getting the documents. I will ask you to give me a week, as I do not know how long it will take to inspect these documents.

The Court: Very well, I will let you have a week, up to the 23rd July.

Mr. Hamlyn: I don't think it is necessary for me to ask as to bail.

The Court: The same bail, as before.

Mr. Hamlyn: Your Honour can cancel the bail bond if you please and if Mr. Rutledge does not oppose that.

Mr. Rutledge: I certainly oppose that, but I do not ask it to be increased.

The Case in Parliament.

In the House of Commons on 2nd July Mr. Kellaway (M.P. for Bedford) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—If he is aware of the complaints in Burma of the conduct of the trial of a planter for abduction and rape of a girl of ten years of age at Victoria Point, Tenasserim, in August last; if he is aware that the friends of the girl appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor to remove the case from the Court at which it was heard on the ground that the Magistrate who held the first enquiry and the Judge who conducted trial were both personal friends of the accused; that such appeal was refused; that bail was allowed, although abduction is a non-bailable offence, and that the accused admitted holding the girl in his house for three months, refusing her access to her parents and not allowing her to see her father during his illness or attend his funeral; and if he will inquire into all the circumstances connected with the trial.

Mr. Montagu, who replied, said:—This case, on which the Government of India has made a report to the Secretary of State, will shortly be the subject of judicial proceedings in Burma, pending which, I must of course, decline to express any opinion on the allegations made. But I may explain that the Magistrate's Court has power to allow bail even when the offence charged is described "as non-bailable."

The McCormick Case Petition for Revision.

Mr. Clarence Hamlyn, acting on behalf of Fatima, the mother of the child Ina, filed the following petition on 9th August in the Chief Court.

In the Chief Court of Lower Burma, Criminal Revision No.— of 1912.

Fatima, widow of Malassa, of Pulo Ton Ton, Lower Burma, Petitioner

versus

Captain McCormick of the eighth mile, Victoria Point, Lower Burma, Planter, Respondent.

The application for the revision of the proceedings Criminal Regular No. 27 of 1911 of the District Magistrate's Court, Mergui. Respectfully sheweth:—

(1) That Petitioner is the mother of one Ina, a minor twelve years of age.

(2) That in or about the beginning of July 1911 Petitioner made a complaint against the Respondent before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Victoria Point, as to the abduction by the Respondent of her said daughter (sec. 363 I.P.C.). Subsequently a complaint of rape (sec. 376 I.P.C.) of her said daughter was added against the said Respondent.

(3) That a warrant in respect of the said offences was issued by the said Sub-Divisional Magistrate for the arrest of the said Respondent.

(4) That the Police investigated the said offences, before and after the issue of the said warrant, in a manner to which Petitioner took exception.

(5) That the D.S.P. delayed to execute the said warrant issued by the said Magistrate and tried to intimidate him into withdrawing it, and subsequently telegraphed to the Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to admit the Respondent to bail, which the said District Magistrate did in Respondent's own hands of Rs. 500 only, an act which your Petitioner has been advised is illegal.

(6) That the case was ultimately sent up to the Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, for trial or enquiry.

(7) That Petitioner for divers reasons believed that a fair and impartial enquiry could not be had before the said District Magistrate, one being his friendship with Respondent, and Respondent's influence.

(8) That she caused a petition to be made, and filed it through the Magistrate at Victoria Point, requesting that the case might be transferred from the said District Magistrate's Court to some other Court. She likewise caused a registered letter to be sent to the Commissioner of that Division for the like purpose, and also two telegrams to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province with the same purpose in view.

(9) That no notice was taken of the said petition by the District Magistrate, and nothing was done in relation to the said letter and the telegrams; and her said petition for transfer was wholly ignored by the said District Magistrate, who went on with the said enquiry or trial, using as an interpreter one who was a paid servant or agent of the Respondent, notwithstanding objections being made to the said interpreter on petitioner's account.

(10) That though the case was in charge of the Police, and though Petitioner and her friends earnestly requested the aid of

an Advocate, to conduct the said case, and was led to expect that one would be provided, by Government, no one was so provided, nor did the Police conduct the said case in Court before Magistrate.

(11) That some of Respondent's servants were called without the consent of Petitioner as witnesses for the prosecution, and they were not cross-examined on Petitioner's account. And moreover, some of Petitioner's own witnesses were not called at all, although they were on her list of witnesses,—witnesses who could speak of the circumstances of the actual abduction and who were in the vicinity of the Court waiting to be called.

(12) That the said District Magistrate discharged the Respondent and described the allegation of "rape" as "false," and that of "abduction" as "mistaken."

(13) That the Police failed in their duty in consenting to the trial or enquiry being thus conducted or held at all before the said Magistrate and in not filing an application to this Court to set aside the said trial or enquiry as being illegal. And a record of the case, Petitioner is informed, went through official circles to the Commissioner of the Division and the Local Government, and nothing has been done in connection with the said illegal trial or enquiry. Petitioner is a widow with six children and is in impoverished circumstances.

(14) That Petitioner being aggrieved in consequence of the aforesaid, and of the trial or enquiry being held by the said District Magistrate at all, and by the discharge of the Respondent, applies to this honourable Court to revise the proceedings thereof (*vis.* Criminal Regular No. 27 of 1911 in the District Magistrate's Court, Mergui, K.-E. *versus* McCormick) on the following, among other grounds:—

(a) That the said trial or enquiry was illegal *ab initio* in that the District Magistrate proceeded with it knowing Petitioner desired it to be transferred and had filed a petition to such effect.

(b) That the said enquiry or trial was illegal in that the said District Magistrate did not call all the evidence which Petitioner desired to call, and was ready and willing to call, the said witnesses being in attendance for that purpose.

(c) That the Police having charge of the case and the said District Magistrate trying or enquiring into the matter allowed defence witnesses to give evidence in the case for the prosecution, and such witnesses were not cross-examined.

(d) That the discharge of the said Respondent on the facts and in face of the circumstances was illegal and improper.

(e) That the facts prove that the case was not judicially or legally gone into and the said case should be gone into *de novo*.

Wherefore Petitioner prays:—

(1) That the said order of discharge of Respondent by the said District Magistrate be set aside.

(2) That the said trial or enquiry *ab initio* may be set aside as being illegal, and a new trial or enquiry ordered before another Court.

(3) That a warrant be issued for the arrest of Respondent and that he be brought before such Court to stand his trial for the two offences mentioned, or that the Respondent be committed for trial to this Court itself.

(4) That all such necessary orders may be passed as to this Court seems right.

(5) That the Records of Criminal Case No. 27 of 1911, District Magistrate's Court, Mergui, may be sent for, and of the District Magistrate's Court, Rangoon, Criminal Regular No. 83 of 1912.

Comments of "Burma Critic."

On the petition of the mother of the child Ina, that the finding in the enquiry by Mr. Andrew under Chapter XVIII into the charges of abduction and rape against Captain McCormick should be set aside and that a warrant for the accused's arrest be issued, the Chief Judge has passed the following order:—The application will be considered after the termination of the case against Mr. Channing Arnold, and not before.

This decision of the learned Judge surprises us, and it will no doubt surprise those members of both Houses of Parliament who are watching the case on our behalf. The comments in the London Press show that it has been generally concluded from the reply made in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State that a new enquiry into the charges against McCormick had been ordered. Inasmuch as the illegalities rendering the enquiry before the Deputy Commissioner of Mergui null and void have been already admitted by him and as the proceedings are thus proved to have been illegal, we should have thought that any further delay in putting the accused on his trial would have been best avoided.

Morocco.

News of the Week.

A company of French troops has been landed at Magador to protect the foreign colonies.

Reuter wires from Paris on 1st September:—A message from Tangier states that it is reported there that the negotiations between France and the pretender El Hiba have resulted in the release of the French prisoners who were handed over to the pretender by El Glawi at Marakesh.

Reuter wires from Paris:—Colonel Mangin advancing southwards encountered and repulsed on 29th August the pretender El Hiba. The whole force under El Hiba's Khalifa suffered heavy losses. The *Matin* on 1st September confirms the report that El Glawi has effected the release of the Marakesh prisoners who are now with him.

The situation in Morocco gives cause for increasing anxiety. France has already 58,000 French troops in Morocco, of which 46,000 are in the western half, but the whole country from Fez to Marakesh is in a turmoil. Further reinforcements are proceeding from Casablanca. Native reports as to the release of the French prisoners have not been confirmed.

Reuter wires from Tangier on September 5th:—The French Commander has decided to advance to Marrakesh in spite of the risk he will thus cause the captured Frenchmen to incur. Although the Frenchmen were reported by the natives to have been released, it appears that they are still in El Hiba's hands. It is reported, however, that the Pretender's popularity is waning.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, August 18.

General Moinier, who is expected to spend several days at Marseilles, has been sent for to Paris by the Minister of War. He has come home on sick leave and has no intention of returning to Morocco, where he has been almost continuously for the last four years. Meanwhile his successor in command of the troops in Morocco has been appointed. He is general Franchet d'Esperey, who until now commanded the 28th Infantry Division of Chambery. General Franchet d'Esperey, who was born in 1856, has a remarkable record of distinguished service. He has 13 campaigns to his credit, most of them in Tonking. He has also been in China. His appointment is received with general approval.

According to telegrams from Toulon, General Lyautey has been summoned home in order to discuss the situation with the Government. The cruiser *Jules Ferry* is under orders to start for Morocco to-morrow evening, and will return with the Resident-General. Two fresh battalions of reinforcements will leave Toulon on 27th August and 15th September.

The special correspondent of the *Temps* at Tangier telegraphs that Mulai Yusef was proclaimed Sultan on August 13th. The letter announcing his accession to the Throne was read in the mosques at 9 o'clock in the morning of August 14th. Mulai Hafid, who is on board the British liner *Macedonia*, is expected to arrive at Marseilles on August 15th. M. de Billy, the French Diplomatic Agent at Tangier, has been appointed by the Government to be in attendance upon the ex-Sultan during his residence in France. Doubts are expressed in various quarters here as to the suitability of Tangier as his future place of residence and the point seems still undecided. "Accounts of conversations with General Moinier, who arrived yesterday at Marseilles on board the steamer *Chanina*, are published here. General Moinier is inclined to regard the situation in Morocco somewhat seriously. "Le gros point noir," in his opinion, is in the southern country round Marakesh, on which town it is known that the Pretender, El Hiba, is now marching. Telegrams from Marakesh state that El Hiba's prestige is daily growing and he is said to have some 50,000 men at his disposal, all well armed and equipped. It was hoped that an agreement which had been patched up between the two kais, El Glawi and Mtugi, might have led to their combined action against the Roghi of the South. Neither kaid, however, is willing to enter into conflict with such a powerful adversary and it has hitherto required all the French influence to prevent Mtugi from openly declaring himself in favour of the Pretender.

Abdication of Mulai Hafid.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Tangier, August 11.

THE native officials have been confidentially notified to-day that the Sultan Mulai Hafid has already carried out the formalities

of his abdication, and that when he leaves Rabat, probably to-morrow, his abdication and the succession of his younger brother, Mulai Yusef, will be publicly announced. Mulai Yusef is now Viceroy.

It is just four years ago, on another August Sunday, that I was the sole European present at a great gathering of native officials and notables of Tangier, where, with semi-religious form and great enthusiasm, it was decided to proclaim Mulai Hafid as Sultan that same afternoon. He was recognized as the coming saviour of the country, whose strength of character, religious zeal and fervour, and surpassing intelligence would restore the fallen glories of the Moorish Empire. That afternoon, amidst the greatest rejoicings, which lasted for days, and the booming of cannon, Mulai Hafid was proclaimed Sultan.

To-day, another August Sunday, I have again been the only European at another gathering of the Tangier notables, many being the same men who were present at the gathering four years ago. With the exception of a few cynical remarks as to the past and hopes for more peaceful times in the future the announcement of Mulai Hafid's imminent abdication and the succession of Mulai Yusef was listened to with absolute indifference.

Mulai Hafid is expected to arrive at Gibraltar to-morrow night or Tuesday morning. He there intends to embark in the P. and O. liner *Macedonia* for Marseilles on his way to Vichy. His harem and servants will arrive here to-morrow and will remain in Tangier. Mulai Hafid will probably make the pilgrimage to Mecca before taking up his permanent residence at Tangier.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, August 11.

In the *Times* of June 12th I gave some account of a long correspondence which had passed between the French Office and Mulai Hafid on the subject of his abdication. On November 17th, 1911, the Sultan addressed elaborate communications to M. de Selves, then French Foreign Minister, in which he dealt hypothetically with the eventuality of his abdication "in consequence of weakness or lassitude," and asked for assurances both regarding the succession and regarding his future place of residence. He desired to be allowed to reside, as he put it, "either in the place where his heir was or elsewhere in the Moroccan Empire, or in any of the numerous towns situated in the French or other colonies or at Medina or in any other Islamic towns." When, early in the present year, M. Regnault arrived at Fez on a special mission in order to obtain the Sultan's assent to the French protectorate in accordance with the terms of the Franco-German Treaty of November, 1911, he gave Mulai Hafid explicit assurances regarding the eventuality of his abdication, and added that he might, if he thought fit, designate one of his sons as "heir-presumptive to the Shereefian Throne." General Lyautey, on his arrival in Fez as Resident-General, acting on instructions from M. Poincare, induced the Sultan to defer his intention of abdicating. But Mulai Hafid, after the revolt in the capital, insisted on proceeding to Rabat accompanied by M. Regnault, and there or in the neighbourhood of that port he has been residing since last June.

Mulai Yusef, who, it is understood, will be the new Sultan, is said to be a man of "moderation and piety" and well disposed towards France. He would co-operate with the French Resident-General, and he enjoys considerable prestige in the Muhammadan world.

There is no profession of regret in France at Mulai Hafid's prospective departure. The *Journal des Debats* recalls the fact that in 1908 he made himself the instrument of Germany and placed many difficulties in the path of France. It was at the instance of Germany that he was recognized as Sultan in succession to his brother, Abdul Aziz, whom he had driven from the Throne. But he successively deceived every one who had anything to do with him. He enjoyed no respect and commanded no devotion in the country, and his attitude during the revolt and massacres in Fez last April is described as having been cowardly. The only possible consequence of his abdication which causes much concern is that the discontented sections of the population of Morocco might endeavour to represent him in his retirement as the prisoner of France and endeavour to excite insurrectionary movements in his behalf. It will be remembered that an appeal of this kind was one of the methods employed at Fez in order to prepare the insurrection of last April.

With regard to the abandonment of Mulai Hafid's journey to Mecca, which, it appears, he wished to undertake before abdicating, the *Temps* suggests that the pilgrimage might have had undesirable consequences, not only in Morocco, but also in Algeria and Tunis, and that it might have prejudicially influenced the disposition of the Sultan himself. His abdication after the pilgrimage might have been regarded as a religious protest, and might have inflamed Mussalman fanaticism.

(FROM THE "TIMES" TANGIER CORRESPONDENT)

On Board S. S. Macedonia, August 14.

Mulai Hafid desires to inform *The Times* that the troublous period through which he has lately passed determined him to abandon the throne of Morocco. He feels that the new régime requires new men. His one desire and prayer is for the peace and prosperity of his country. He looks forward with great pleasure to the opportunity which his landing on French soil to-morrow will give him of expressing to the French Government and people his friendship and his thanks for all the sympathy and kindness shown to him.

Mulai Hafid arrived at Marseilles on board the *Macedonia* at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 15th August and was received by the Prefect of the Department, the Governor of Marseilles, and M. de Billy, the French Diplomatic Agent at Tangier, who has been appointed to be in attendance on the ex-Sultan during his residence in France. Mulai Hafid sat in a rocking chair and received the salutes of the officials with a slight bow. In reply to the Prefect's words of welcome Mulai Hafid said:—"I am very happy to hear the words of the representative of the French Government, and I rejoice to see France, to whom I owe much." Then, with a smile he shook hands with the Prefect—a gesture which he has only adopted since he ceased to be Sultan. His personal retinue consists only of 15 slaves and 12 servants. Mulai Hafid was then conducted ashore, where he was received with military honours, and to his hotel. He will arrive on 16th August or of 17th August at Vichy, where he will occupy numerous apartments at the Hotel Majestic.

The New Sultan.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, August 15.

The vague sense of depression regarding Morocco which is manifest in French public opinion at the present moment finds relief in the belief expressed by General Moinier that the situation will be much improved by the disappearance from the scene of Mulai Hafid. As for Mulai Yusef, it is recognised that he is not a particularly shining light, but it is believed that he is capable of inspiring confidence in his people and of co-operating loyally with France in the work of pacification and re-organization. His conduct during his tenure of the Khalifate of Fez has been entirely satisfactory.

Discussing the new Sultan—whom Mulai Hafid named as his successor in his letter of abdication, thereby avoiding the difficulty of an *interregnum* and enabling him to be proclaimed at once by the religious authorities as the legitimate sovereign—the *Journal des Debats* hopes that the Government will abstain from the mistake of conferring upon him a French decoration. In the case of both the previous Sultans the reception of honours was followed immediately by very regrettable events. Nor, it thinks, must there be any question of allowing Mulai Yusef to visit Paris.



Persia.

News of the Week.

A message to the *Times* from St. Petersburg on September 5th states that the British and Russian Governments have agreed to make another small loan to Persia.

Router wires from Teheran:—It is reported that Yar Mahomed Khan acting on instructions from Salar-ed-Daulch has seized the Customs House at Kermanshah.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—It is expected that the approaching visit of M. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, to London will have important consequences with regard to the Anglo-Russian Convention.

The Trans-Persian Railway.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Just as I am leaving London I see that you have opened a rather belated fire upon a speech that I made in the House of Lords on 15th July, more than three weeks ago, about the projected Trans-Persian Railway, accusing me of rhetorical exaggeration, and so forth.

Your present opinions are not, so far as I know, shared by any of those who are best qualified by experience and authority to speak on the matter, other than the few able writers who have converted you to their views. Ever since we had an external frontier in India our policy has been to save India as far as possible from direct contact with foreign Powers. This has not been a policy of selfish, or foolish, or old-fashioned isolation, but has been dictated by the highest considerations of economy, prudence, and national security. Continental railways in the long run involve continental frontiers, continental complications, continental burdens. If passengers and mails can be carried by an international railway to India, equally can soldiers and guns, and whatever the advantages, if any, it is not possible to contend that India will be as safe as before.

What reason, I ask, is there for building (largely with British or Indian money) a line to India that will thus weaken the security of India, will do no good to Great Britain, and be of very doubtful advantage to British or Indian trade? Anyone who heard the debate in the House of Lords could see that Lord Morley and Lord Crewe disliked the idea almost as much as myself (and are therefore, I suppose, equally open to your disapproval), but that the Government have been compelled to lend a Platonic support to the investigation of the scheme by the threat that if they did not some other Powers would do it in spite of them. In my view this was a *brutum fulmen*; but even supposing it to be otherwise, it does not provide a very sound or creditable reason for British co-operation.

You say that after advising the Government to hesitate a hundred times before taking such a step I added, "That was the opinion of India." I neither said nor even hinted anything of the sort. You have apparently taken these words from the exceedingly condensed report that appeared in the *Times* of July 16. I neither spoke them, nor anything like them, as the Parliamentary report will show. As I said in a recent debate, it is impossible to speak in general terms of the opinion of India about anything, and I assuredly should not have been so foolish as to predicate it about a subject of which 999 out of every 1,000 of the Indian population must be profoundly ignorant. So far as I can judge from a perusal of the Indian Press, the majority of the English newspapers are suspicious or hostile, and the native newspapers, as a rule, entirely hostile. But the argument is one that I did not use then and refrain from using now.

You express surprise that I doubt the advantage to Persia of the proposed railway, and you actually quote, in support of your argument, some phrase that I once employed about the beneficence and unifying influence of railways in India. Do you really contend that there is any analogy between the two—between a country with 315 millions of people, a bountiful trade, and an ordered Government, and a country whose entire population is less than ten millions, which consists for the most part of deserts interspersed with bare oases, and the Government of which is in a state of such hopeless collapse that it cannot even keep order on the few highways, and is in almost hourly danger of complete dissolution? I can imagine railways which might do good, even now, to Persia, but they would not be on the alignment or with the objects of the Trans-Persian scheme.

But surely the question ought to be asked, do the Persian Government or the Persian nation want this railway, that, according to you, is to confer upon them such blessings? Have they asked for it? Are they behind the project? As I write there is before me the letter of the Persian correspondent of the *Near East*, dated Teheran, July 4. This is what he says:—

The Trans-Persian Railway scheme is again the absorbing topic. With the exception of those who expect to benefit directly by the consummation of the proposals, the labours of the Société d'Etudes excite but little enthusiasm amongst the native population here, while there are many who regard the scheme with suspicion and consider it as another step in the direction of absorption. The sanction of Persia will have to be obtained under pressure, for it is no exaggeration to say that the bulk of Persian opinion is opposed to it, whilst it is just as true to state that the most popular scheme here is that which will satisfy in large measure her present needs.

If this be the attitude of Persia, why should we join in forcing upon her a railway that she does not want, and which she rightly thinks will rivet upon her the fetters of foreign domination—all the more so that we have not even the selfish excuse of thinking that it will be of any benefit to ourselves? Such a policy is to me inexplicable, and seems to rest upon no foundation either of expediency or statesmanship.

But really what are the practical chances of the railway being made, at any rate in an early future? You quote the Secretary of State for India as saying that not a rupee of Indian money is likely to be spent upon it. Do you imagine for a moment that Great Britain will find the money or give the guarantees? And, if not, who is to do so? Are we to contemplate

a railway being made to India, through territories under our influence or protection, where not actually under our rule, by money raised on the Continent of Europe (for there is none in Persia)? Would any British Government be found to acquiesce in such a solution?

For this reason, not least, I deprecate official encouragement being given to a project that appears to me certain not merely to do harm, if carried out, but to cause international friction and annoyance if, as seems to me more probable, it is foredoomed to failure.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

August 9.

[* * We regret the inaccuracy to which Lord Curzon calls attention in the report of his speech. Such errors, however, are bound to occur, so long as the House of Lords persists in stationing the reporters in a place where it is impossible properly to hear the speeches. The Editor, the *Times*]

British Policy in Persia.

OUR Teheran correspondent, in the two remarkable letters which we have published from him within the last ten days, draws a gloomy picture of the state of anarchy into which Persia has been allowed to drift. The most disquieting feature in the whole situation is, he declares, the apparent lack of any definite policy on the part of the British Government. It is a conclusion that can hardly be resisted by any one who has followed Persian affairs with any care during the past year or so. The central Government in Teheran enjoys no prestige, exercises hardly any authority outside the capital, and is incapable of assuming any responsibility. In the northern provinces order is only maintained by the presence of Russian troops, and in the south it is not maintained at all. The revenue is falling off, the Treasury is empty, and M. Mornard, the Belgian Treasurer-General, is even said to have hinted at resignation. Actual bankruptcy is staved off by the advance of small doles by Great Britain and Russia; but the project of a big loan, which was to have provided Persia with sufficient money to set her house in order and make something like a fresh start, seems to be as far from realization as ever. No loan of any magnitude is practicable without an Anglo-Russian guarantee; and this guarantee could obviously only be given on conditions that the money would be spent to some purpose. According to the Constitution, any loan or railway project requires the consent of the Mejliss. After her experience of the hostility of the two previous Assemblies Russia is naturally opposed to the summoning of a third. It is difficult to believe that the Persian Government has any real respect for a Constitution which no longer exists except on paper, but in its dread of responsibility it uses the non-existence of the Mejliss as a pretext for avoiding negotiations which might commit it to far-reaching decisions. However much we may blame the Persian Government for the straits in which it finds itself, we cannot pretend to find much cause for satisfaction in the record of the financial transactions of the two Great Powers with the Government which they keep alive by petty doles. Persians may be forgiven if those transactions remind them of the methods of an Armenian money-lender dealing with an embarrassed Teherani spendthrift.

We have been consistent advocates of the closest possible co-operation between Great Britain and Russia in Persian affairs, though that either the Russians or our own Government have done or left undone in their handling of the difficult problems that have from time to time confronted them. We are convinced that without the Anglo-Russian understanding the situation in Persia would have been worse even than it is at present. Indeed, much that we deplore could, we believe, have been avoided had the two Powers and their local representatives kept in closer touch with one another. It is impossible to read our correspondent's letter of yesterday without coming to the conclusion that, for the moment, there is no such thing as an Anglo-Russian policy in Persia. It is doubtful, even, whether either Power has thought out a policy to solve the existing difficulties. No useful result can be expected from this hand-to-mouth way of dealing with a complicated and delicate set of problems in which important British and Russian interests—to say nothing of Persian—are involved. Our correspondent points out that Northern Persia has become, and must continue to be, a Russian Dependency, and that while Great Britain is certain to do her best to avoid anything like military occupation of Southern Persia, our policy of drift is leading inevitably to occupation. That is a development which we should view with the greatest repugnance, though we are being driven to recognise that, in spite of our repugnance, we may have to accept it. If it is to be avoided, or if, assuming its inevitability, it is to take place with the *minimum* of friction and the *minimum* of dangers, Great Britain and Russia must take counsel together, and must frame a joint policy based on the actual facts of the situation. Not less necessary is it that, when such a policy has been agreed upon,

the two Governments should see that it is loyally and consistently followed by all their representatives and agents in Persia.

—The *Times*.

Financial Straits of Persia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Teheran, July 29.

IN VIEW of Lord Crewe's assurance on July 24 that Great Britain and Russia would do their best to help Persia financially, it is rather sad to observe how little that best means. For while either Power, acting singly, could no doubt act efficaciously, fresh difficulties have so far continually arisen to prevent their doing much in concert. Yet, if a Persian Government is to be kept in being, it is admittedly a vital necessity that money should be forthcoming quickly. Instead of that, M. Mornard, the Treasurer-General, has been deprived of the only revenue he possessed to meet current expenses and finds himself in such a difficult position that he is even said to have murmured the fateful word "resignation."

It will be remembered that each Government lent Persia £100,000 four months ago. Certain substantial advantages were received in return, interest at 7 per cent., Persian recognition of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, an increase of the Cossack brigade, and the disbursement of money on the *gendarmerie* of Shiraz. But in addition it was stipulated that the whole of the surplus revenues of the Northern Customs should be paid over to Russia and of the Southern to England till such time as the loan should be fully repaid. Now the surplus of the Northern Customs, after payment of the existing loan charges on them, is capable of producing £100,000 *plus* interest in the space of a year. The loan therefore is being repaid at an enormous rate, and the nature of the whole transaction is sufficiently indicated by the fact that whereas the Treasurer-General applied three months ago for a further loan of £50,000, a request which has been entertained but not complied with, he has himself since paid Russia £40,000 in part payment of the loan of four months ago. However beneficent the intention of the Russian Government, it will be seen that in practice no more effective way of facilitating a rake's progress could easily be devised. The arrangement is the more incomprehensible, as it was recognized by the two Legations, at the time, that the joint £200,000 was only sufficient to tide over two months, and that unless a large loan scheme could be arranged in the interval a further advance would then be necessary. Recognizing the inadvisability of insisting on immediate repayment of capital in such circumstances, Great Britain has for the present waived its claim to the whole of the surplus of the Southern Customs and has deferred the establishment of any sinking fund for one year. A strong effort is being made to induce the Russian Government to follow suit, and, though so far unavailing, it is hoped that it may ultimately be successful. The second English advance on this occasion, £50,000, has also been delayed for three months and still awaits Russia's readiness to lend a similar sum. It is possible, however, that Russia may agree to moderate the pace at which she is at present being repaid, and also to make the new advance, in return for railway concessions.

Meantime the project of a large loan has receded more and more. It has indeed become pretty clear that without an Anglo-Russian guarantee of some kind no substantial loan is possible. The alternative policy seems to be to go on doling out to the Treasurer-General, at ruinous rates, Government loans of fifty and a hundred thousand pounds to meet mere current expenses, until inevitable bankruptcy and disruption supervene.

Lord Crewe sees "signs of improvement." One wonders where. With all respect to Lord Crewe, there is no improvement and there can be no improvement. The material for it does not exist. Whether even a large loan would now benefit Persia is doubtful. There are strong signs that it could only be made on condition that it went to the payment of foreign claims and the maintenance, not of *gendarmerie*, but of a profitless army, objects which would leave little for productive expenditure. If, however, a sufficient fund of good will, both internal and external, can be counted on, a loan large enough to secure the establishment of order, the collection of revenue, and the undertaking of some productive expenditure, represents Persia's last chance. Northern Persia is now, and must continue to be, a Russian dependency and the sooner it has Russian administrators the better. On no other condition is progress permissible. For cognate reasons Persia would do well to employ English administrators in the South and that on no finicking scale. Thus only can the Persian Empire be kept on the map.

The most disquieting feature of all is the British Government's apparent lack of any definite policy. Lord Crewe has told us that Britain will do her utmost to avoid anything like military occupation of Southern Persia. That, we may be sure, is true. Not less pathetically true is Lord Curzon's reply that our attitude is inevitably leading to occupation. Those who care for such matters will do well if they insist that the Government shall find itself a policy.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Reuter wires from Athens on September 1st:—Owing to the protests of Samians against the presence of Turkish soldiers, the Russian Consul has promised that the soldiers will leave Samos so soon as the gendarmerie has been organised.

A message to the *Times* from Vienna on September 2nd states that the Emperor has now sanctioned concrete proposals drafted by Count Von Berchtold. The paper adds that Austria is buzzing with diplomatic activity.

Following upon Count Von Berchtold's visit to Roumania, Dr. Von Bethmann-Hollweg, together with the German Ambassador in Vienna and the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Berlin, will arrive at Buchlau on Saturday as the guests of Count Von Berchtold.

The semi-official journal *Reichsreport* says that the international discussion of the proposals should create a handle for the future development of the administration with regard to the nationalities of European Turkey. If no understanding for joint measures be reached Austria-Hungary will be able with a clear conscience to decline responsibility for consequences and will be obliged without further regard for foreign susceptibilities to protect her own interests with a free hand.

Reuter wires from Teheran on September 2nd:—The British and Russian Ministers have made representations to the Government urging that the negotiations with regard to the delimitation of the Turko-Persian frontier be expedited.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on 3rd September:—Peace pourparlers proceeding in Switzerland have been temporarily suspended, some points raised by the Italians requiring to be examined by the Porte. The opinion is held in Turkish official circles that the prospect of ultimate understanding is hopeful.

The outlook regarding the Balkan States is causing renewed disquietude. The bellicose agitation in Bulgaria continues and it is feared that the Cabinet may ultimately be forced to yield to the clamour for war.

The Bulgarian desire for better treatment of Christians in Macedonia is believed to find a sympathetic echo in Russia.

Reuter wires from Constantinople. A band of Kurds, supposed to be Persians, have ravaged villages in the district of Van, killing several Armenians and carrying off some women. Troops have been despatched.

Reuter wires on 5th September:—Count Von Berchtold has made a second communication to the Powers elaborating his first, but it does not remove doubts as to its ultimate success.

Analysis of water from the wells at Zuara has revealed the presence of typhus germs.

Official despatches received in Rome report that investigation has brought to light evidence proving that the Turks, before abandoning the town, deliberately contaminated the principal wells with germ cultures of this deadly malady.

A telegram to the *Times* from Constantinople states that the Anglo-Turkish conversations on the subject of the extension of the Bagdad Railway to the Gulf and kindred questions will be resumed in the near future.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The British ex-Lieutenant Montagu who fought against the Italians in Tripoli has been acquitted by the British Court of the charge of shooting a British subject named Dayan, a native of Bagdad, during the dispute in Montagu's room in Constantinople. Mr. Montagu maintained that the affair was an accident.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on September 4th:—As the result of evidence that seditious circulars in Egypt emanated from a noted Egyptian Nationalist agitator, Sheikh Shawish, who is now running a newspaper in Constantinople, the Turkish police at the request of the Egyptian Government searched his premises and then arrested Shawish. He was handed over to the Egyptian police who are conveying him to Egypt.

Reuter wires from Constantinople on September 5th:—In addition to Sheikh Shawish who was arrested in connection with seditious circulars which are appearing in Egypt, the Government has presented a list of several persons who are wanted for conspiracy.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 12.

THE situation in the capital and the Asiatic provinces is improving. The relaxation of martial law has produced a good effect on all parties in Constantinople, while the dismissal of the Valis of Konia, Smyrna and Trebizonde for irregularities in the elections has pacified the members of the Union and Liberty Party in Anatolia. The members of the Civil Service are beginning to follow the example extensively set by the army by pledging themselves to resign their membership of political parties and to abstain from political activity, while the voluntary suspension of the important Committee organs, the *Hakk* and the *Tanin*, is believed to be a sign that the more moderate elements in the Union and Progress Party here desire to avoid a conflict with the Government.

Colour is given to this theory by the fact that the majority of the local branches of the Committee both here and at Salonika have decided to accept the dissolution of the Chamber as legally effected and to participate in the coming elections, which they at first threatened to boycott.

The condition of the European provinces, however, is still unsatisfactory, and must remain so for some time if the bolder spirits of the Committee are not rapidly brought under control by the moderate elements.

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Hodeidah, July 27 (via Aden, August 12).

Throughout yesterday the Italian cruisers *Piemonte* and *Aretusa* shelled the military buildings and the camp outside the town, damaging two old forts and setting fire to two magazines containing ammunition and powder. This caused a tremendous explosion and the conflagration which ensued continued throughout to-day. The damage is estimated at £100,000. Three persons were killed and five wounded. The native population of Hodeidah was seized with panic, but the troops preserved excellent order.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, August 13.

According to trustworthy information, the gendarmes and other Turkish officials captured in Nikaria by the insurgents were put into fishing boats on August 5 and were sent to Samos under armed escort. There they were transferred to two sailing vessels and were landed on the coast of Asia Minor. The Kaimakam with some other civil officials proceeded from Samos to Smyrna. The eight Turkish soldiers, under a sergeant, who constituted the garrison of the islands to the south of Nikaria and Samos escaped.

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 14.

Izzet Pasha, commanding the troops in the Yemen, in a telegram dated August 6, states that he has defeated a force of 3,000 men with three guns under the Pretender Syed Idris at El Hafa and Dershum. The rebels suffered heavy losses, while the casualties among the troops were slight.

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* telegraphs:—"An uncanny stillness reigns here in the night, only interrupted by the sound of the hoofs of the horses of the numerous mounted patrols which ride along the deserted streets. The strict application of martial law causes great indignation among the population. The 'Liberal' press is trying to lay the blame on the Committee and the Committee papers on their part attack the Government. They declare that the way in which martial law is applied will paralyze all political life and render the liberties of the people illusory. 'The Cabinet is anxious to gain over the navy. The Sultan signed an Iradeh granting promotion to 120 naval officers.'"

In another message the correspondent describes the reign of martial law as follows:—"The commander of the First Army Corps has issued a long proclamation forbidding, among other things, being outdoors after midnight. Whoever is obliged to go into the streets must get a special permit at the nearest police station. The Government even declined to accede to the request of the newspaper proprietors to allow journalists and compositors to be about in the

streets after midnight. All places of amusement have received an order to close at 11 o'clock. The music-halls are now giving their performances in the afternoon, as they are anxious to save the last three hours for the more profitable sale of liquors.

"All officials have been called upon to sign a declaration that they do not belong to any political party. Many of them have refused to do so. The newspapers have all of a sudden become colourless, as the least offence leads to suspension. All propaganda for or against this or the other political party has been interdicted. It has been forbidden to hold meetings without the permission of the police, to form political clubs, to publish articles for or against the army, to criticise military measures, to publish supplements to newspapers—even to make a noise and to run in the streets . . .

"The commander-in-chief of the navy has been dismissed because of his sympathy with the Committee . . . Mahumud Shevket has gone to Salonika. Two hundred officers at Salonika and the officers at Trebizonde have telegraphed protesting against the dissolution of the Chamber. The officers in the latter place even threaten to desert to the mountains. . . . Ahmed Riza, who was about to go to Paris, cancelled his journey, as the leaders of the Committee are wanted in Turkey.

"The Committee paper *Hakk* publishes a declaration from a member of the Senate saying that the senators well knew the illegality of the Government's demand for a dissolution, but yielded in view of the condition of the country."

Salonika, August 9.

The Vali of Salonika has been recalled after vainly protesting against the introduction of martial law. He has gone to the capital. Several other officials have been suspended.

Constantinople, August 10.

Husein Djahid, editor of the *Tanin*, announces this morning that he interrupted his holiday and returned to Constantinople for the purpose of placing his pen at the service of the country, but finding the situation unfavourable he has resolved to suspend provisionally the publication of his journal, expressing the hope that it will reappear shortly. The *Hakk*, another Unionist organ, has also suspended publication. The *Glas*, the organ of the Bulgarian Exarchate, has been suspended by the court-martial on account of its alleged libellous articles on the subject of the recent events at Kotchana.

Constantinople, August 11.

The provisions of the state of seige in Constantinople have been modified as regards the time of closing of cafés and restaurants, which, beginning from to-night, are allowed to keep open till the usual hours. The prohibition against frequenting political clubs has been removed.

The Albanian Situation.

(FROM REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, August 10.

A BOMB exploded last night at the Austrian post office and another at the tramway depôt. Some damage was done to property, but no one was hurt. The outrages are believed to be the work of the Young Turks.

Reshid Bey, the well known publicist, has been appointed Vali of Salonika in place of Hussein Kiazim, who was dismissed as being a partisan of the Committee and an opponent of martial law.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, August 10.

The Albanians who were concentrated at Prishtina have now nearly all returned to their homes, leaving behind chosen delegates to continue the discussion of reforms with Ibrahim Pasha's Commission. Mehmed Pasha and Riza Bey have telegraphed to the Sultan expressing appreciation of the fact that his Majesty ordered the mobilization of the troops at the instigation of Mahmud Shevket Pasha and Talaat, Djavid, Dr. Nazim, Eyub Sabri and Omer Nadji Beys, who therefore are responsible for all the damage and bloodshed subsequently caused. They request, in the name of Albania, that these instigators shall be taken before the High Court.

The Albanian leaders have now formulated their demands for reform, which have been submitted to Ibrahim Pasha in the form of a programme. They read as follows:—

(1) Inauguration of a special system of administration of justice, that in vogue at present being out of harmony with the requirements of the country.

(2) The military service of Albanians to be effected in times of peace in the European vilayets.

(3) The nomination of capable, honest and experienced functionaries, speaking the national tongue.

(4) The creation in Yanina, Monastir, Skutari and Kossovo of agricultural schools similar to that existing at Salonika.

(5) An increase in the number of schools devoted to instruction in science and religion.

(6) The teaching of the several languages in the schools.

(7) The construction of roads and railways.

(8) Absolute liberty to establish private schools.

(9) Organization of *nahies*.

(10) The impeachment before the High Court of the Cabinets of Hakki Pasha and Said Pasha.

(11) A general amnesty.

(12) Restitution of arms to the Albanians.

Slowly the plans of the Committee are maturing. Prudent counsels and the shadow of martial law have convinced the Young Turks that their best policy is to seek by peaceful persuasion to regain the confidence of the population and thus to triumph at the elections. An attempt may be made to exploit the so-called unpatriotic and unconstitutional deeds of the Cabinet, and from what I can gather they are to acknowledge the failure of their Albanian policy, casting the blame upon the valis, commandants and mutessarifs, who are to be accused of misleading the late Ministry as to the real situation. Owing to the effective manner in which their movements are controlled, the Committee chiefs anticipate remaining ten days in our midst, after which they will disperse in different directions on electioneering tours. Djavid and Talaat Beys maintain an admirable demeanour in public and are the personification of cheery optimism. They rejoice in a force which they profess still to possess, and jeer at a Government whose weakness forced it to hoist the white flag before a pack of ragamuffins at Prishtina. That the day is not far distant when they will be called to power again they are seemingly confident: equally confident are the army pashas that, whatever changes are necessary, the present collection of ex-Ministers now united here will never again be seated in the Executive Government.

The Vali went to Constantinople yesterday upon the urgent demand of the Ministry of the Interior.

Instructions have been received here from the Minister of War to arrest and imprison the ex-Commandant of the Salonika corps, who is one of the authors of the telegram which was sent to the Sultan purporting to be from 193 officers of the garrison and which has already been fully reported. The Pasha had, however, in the meantime escaped to Monastir, to which point orders have been sent for his arrest and return to Salonika under escort.

August 11.

The Government have accepted ten of the 12 reforms demanded by the Albanians. They decline to impeach the Cabinets of Hakki and Said Pashas on the ground that the Chamber alone is capable of taking such a step. On the question of the restitution of arms they propose a compromise, offering to arm the inhabitants of villages situated on the frontiers and the shepherds and forest workers. This arrangement will probably be accepted.

Salonika, August 11.

The Government is exercising an effective control over the movements of the Committee by means of martial law. The Union and Progress School where Talaat Bey and company are residing is placed under military control.

The Kaimakam of Salonika has been dismissed and Hakki Bey, late commandant of *Gendarmerie*, who was one of the trio responsible for the anti-ministerial demonstration by the officers, will be tried by court-martial to-morrow. The Mufti of Razlok and his friends who signed the telegram of protest against the method adopted for the dissolution of the Chamber are to appear before the same tribunal.

The Okhrida Albanians have begun to disperse and the Tosks promise to follow their example if they are assured of a share of the benefits accorded to the Ghegs. The Albanians, however, express their firm intention to march on Salonika at the slightest attempt on the part of the Young Turks to cause trouble. Hassan Bey has rented a house at Uskub where he proposes to reside for the future. Zekki Pasha, who considers the question entirely settled, has returned to his post of Inspector of the Macedonian Corps. The battalions sent from Salonika to Kossovo have received orders to return.

The receipt of instructions to proclaim a state of siege at Salonika has been followed by a strongly worded protest to the Government by the Vali, who considers the measure entirely unnecessary and feels, in any case, that he should have been consulted before its application.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, August 12.

Pourparlers are proceeding in Constantinople between Hilmi Pasha and Eyyub Sabri Bey of the Committee and representatives of the Entente Libérale. The latter party has offered to come to a reasonable understanding with the Young Turks, and in virtue of this Asim Bey, a neutral, will be nominated Vali of Salonika, instead of Reshid Bey, a Liberal. Martial law will be applied less vigorously.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

August 12.

A petition which has been received by the Ministers of Justice and of the Interior from a Bulgar notable at Resna states that Niaz Bey, one of the "heroes of the revolution" of 1908, before taking to the mountains summoned the population by means of the crier and informed the local Bulgars that his followers would murder 20 of them for every Moslem killed by Bulgar bands and would begin with the petitioner's wife and family. The local authorities took no steps to prevent either the delivery of the speech or the departure of the speaker at the head of an armed force.

Constantinople August 14.

The news that Djaffer Tayar Bey has fled to Servia has put a better complexion on the situation in Albania and Ibrahim Pasha is reported to be optimistic.

Dervish Bey, ex-Deputy for Seres, the brother of Mustafa Nazim, one of the assassins of Zekki Bey, has taken to the mountains with 15 men.

Later.

Djaffer Tayar Bey has arrived here from Belgrade. Bairam Tsur, a noted Albanian brigand chief, who entered Uskub at the head of 1,000 men, has been ordered to retire immediately by the other leaders of the insurgents. Although the Government has, according to the latest information decided in principle to grant most of the Albanian demands, it is possible that a permanent commission of control may be substituted for the proposed Inspector-General of the Albanian Vilayets.

The Turkish Cabinet.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN CORRESPONDENT.")

THE *Frankfurter Zeitung* publishes the following telegram from its Constantinople correspondent:—"In Young Turkish quarters the firm hope prevails that the present régime may soon be overthrown. At the same time the leaders of the Committee are inclined to abandon the projected establishment of a revolutionary Government, as they do not themselves believe in the possibility of resistance by force to the prevailing current of opinion. The decision to arrest Djavid and Talaat Beys before they could depart for Salonika had only been taken by a portion of the Cabinet and had ultimately to be abandoned owing to the resistance of Nazim Pasha, the Minister of War. The high officers who sympathize with the Committee are trying to organize and get into touch with one another. They set their hopes on Djavid Pasha, the dismissed commander of the Monastir Army Corps, who has not yet returned here, but remains at Salonika.

"I hear that the Government intends to take judicial proceedings against Hakki Pasha (the former Grand Vizier), Mahmud Shevket Pasha and Rifaat Pasha (the former Minister for Foreign Affairs and now Ambassador in Paris) in connection with Tripoli."

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 13.

Zia Pasha, Minister of the Interior, has resigned. The cause of his resignation is unknown, but it is believed that the Minister felt himself unequal to the burden of the most difficult post in the Turkish Empire. Marshal Ibrahim Pasha is spoken of as a possible successor.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 14.

Rumours of further Cabinet changes are again current. It is reported that divergences of opinion have arisen between Hilmi Pasha and several of his colleagues, who consider that he is over-anxious to conciliate the Committee Party. Hilmi Pasha is said to have urged the retention in office of several provincial governors whom the majority of the Cabinet proposes to dismiss and to have opposed the projected appointment of Reshid Bey, formerly Vali of Angora, of Monastir and of Aleppo, a strong partisan of the Party of Union and Liberty, and at one time editor of its organ, the *Shakrah*, as Minister for the Interior.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 15.

Damad Sherif Pasha has been named Minister of the Interior. It is believed that his place as Minister of Public Works will be

taken by Tewfik Bey, President of the financial section of the Council of State. Other appointments are: Edhem Bey, Vali of Salonika; Hassan Tahsin Bey, Vali of Yanina; and Mehmed Ali Bey, Vali of Trebizond.

The *Jeune Turc* to-day publishes an account of an interview granted to its representative by Hilmi Pasha. The Government proposal is to adopt a strictly neutral policy and its programme may be summed up as follows:—

- (1) To secure free elections.
- (2) To settle the Albanian question once for all.
- (3) To banish politics from the Army and the Civil Service, the members of which would, if necessary, be compelled to abstain from political propaganda.
- (4) To maintain friendly relations with and obtain the confidence of the Powers.

It is added that the general elections will take place on the same day, namely, October 14, throughout the Empire.

Peace Negotiations.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, August 11.

THE *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* receives from an obviously official Italian quarter an account of the negotiations recently conducted at Lausanne between Signor Volpi and the Turkish emissaries. It admits that the former Ministers, Signori Fusinato and Bertolini, took part in the conferences, but denies that material questions formed the main subject of negotiation. The Turkish Government, it says, does not regard the conclusion of peace as a business transaction, while Italy is the less disposed to haggle over financial issues, in that she desires not merely peace or a *modus vivendi*, but, as far as possible, the restoration of good relations with Turkey. The greatest difficulty still lies in the importance attached by Turkey, as the leading Mussalman Power, to the moral and military aspects of the question. As is known, Italy does not insist that Turkey should recognize the decree of annexation. For the moment, however, the question of sovereignty is in abeyance. In the question of the Khalifate difficulties persist, but are not regarded as insuperable. As to the cessation of hostilities, Turkey desires an armistice, which Italy is not disposed to grant. It would, therefore, be necessary that hostilities should cease *de facto* and that Turkey should recall her regular troops from Tripoli. The conferences at Lausanne showed, however, that Turkey increasingly desires peace. The formula is not yet found, but it will be found, and will be at once honourable for Turkey and acceptable to Italy. In the best informed quarters here the prospects of an understanding between the belligerents is stated to be proverbial.

Paris, August 12.

ALL the information which reaches me from various well-informed quarters, while purporting that no concrete basis for peace negotiations is yet in view, nevertheless conveys the impression that on both sides there is a growing desire for a settlement and that it can not now be delayed for many months. In one important quarter it was pointed out that among the almost unprecedented features of this war is the desire of Italy to inflict as little damage upon Turkey as possible and to maintain the old policy of the European Concert as regards the integrity of the Turkish Empire, *exceptis excipienda*.

Vienna, August 15.

Three similar, but not identical, announcements appear to-day with regard to the initiative taken, or about to be taken, by Count Berchtold in proposing to the Powers an exchange of views on the Balkan situation. One is the semi-official note of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, announced in my telegram of last evening. Another, more ample, appears in the *Neue Freie Presse*, preceded by three columns of comment. The third is published by the Hungarian organ of the Foreign Office, the *Pester Lloyd*, in the form of an article "from an initiated quarter." A comparison of these announcements is interesting and—in so far as the obscurity of the subject-matter permits—instructive.

The note in the *Tagblatt* declares it to be the object of Count Berchtold's initiative to strengthen the Porte in pursuing, and to gain the adhesion of the Balkan peoples for, the present decentralizing tendency of Ottoman policy. The *Neue Freie Presse* states that at this moment it is important for all those who have the welfare of Turkey and the peace of the Balkans at heart to join in strengthening the Porte in its "sympathetic endeavours," and on the other hand "to exercise an enlightening influence upon the Balkan peoples, so that one may not impede the other in the realization of their demands, most of which can be rendered compatible with the position of the Turkish Empire as a Power, and so that it may be

made possible for the Porte to carry on its policy of adaptation to the actual ethnical conditions of Turkey."

The *Pester Lloyd* after introductory references to the importance of the Albanian question, and to the expectations aroused among other Turkish subject races by the concessions to the Albanians, declares that the leading circles of the Monarchy believe the moment to have come "for engaging in a conversation with the other Powers on the questions to be taken into consideration." It would be necessary, adds the *Pester Lloyd*, to settle the form in which the Balkan peoples on the one hand, and the Turkish Government on the other, would have to be addressed. The peoples would have to be soothed, and told to allow the new Ottoman Government time to carry out the reforms it contemplates. The Turkish Government needs to be strengthened in its "gladdening endeavours, which the highest interests of the Ottoman Empire command it to persist in."

In order to remove all possibility of misunderstanding, adds the *Pester Lloyd*, we wish at the very outset to say that it cannot be a question of any disguised relapse into the policy of intervention. It is intended only to make use of the favourable disposition of the Turkish Government, and of Turkish public opinion to promote the welfare of the Balkan peoples and of Turkey herself, by giving benevolent advice all round. The *Neue Freie Presse*, with the delicate imagery which characterises its utterances, insists also on the absolute unselfishness of Austria-Hungary, and writes:—"If the clothes were removed from our body so that we should stand before the world in diplomatic nakedness, and completely unveiled, no spot would be visible on which a motive of selfishness, in the narrower sense of the word, could be proved against Austro-Hungarian policy with regard to Turkey." Russia desires the opening of the Dardanelles, Italy the sovereignty over Tripoli, England the control of the Baghdad Railway terminus, Germany the protection of her Baghdad Railway interests, and France is bound to Russia. Austria-Hungary alone, declares the *Neue Freie Presse*, asks and desires nothing.

Nothing is yet known in diplomatic circles here of the initiative thus copiously announced. Count Berchtold will have audience of the Emperor to-morrow at Ischl, and may subsequently unfold his plan. Pending detailed information, any general criticism would be misplaced. One reflection only is prompted by the possibly inaccurate wording of the statement in the *Neue Freie Presse* as to the adaptation of Turkish policy to the "actual ethnical conditions" of the Empire. The third clause of the defunct Murzsteg Programme of 1903 contemplated the administrative reform of the Macedonian vilayets on an ethnographical basis "after the pacification of the population." The effect of this clause was to promote a ferocious struggle between Greek, Bulgar, and also Serb bands with the object of extending the ethnographical areas that might be claimed as Greek, Bulgar, and Serb, respectively, whenever the proposed reform should take place. The Bulgar male population of whole regions was mercilessly "suppressed" by Greek bands fitted out at Greek expense. Thanks chiefly to the courageous investigations of Lady Grogan, and to the reports of the British Financial Commissioner at Salonika, Mr. Harvey, supported by the *Times*, Lord (then Sir Charles) Hardinge drew the attention of the late Baron von Aehrenthal to this effect of the Murzsteg Programme at Ischl in August, 1907, with the result that clause 3 of the programme was practically abrogated, and the internecine warfare of the Macedonian races was checked. Since then Bulgars and Greeks have become reconciled. If the proposed initiative of Count Berchtold contemplates the encouragement of Turkey to pursue a decentralising policy on a racial basis, great care should be taken so to direct and control that policy, as to prevent any repetition of the horrors inadvertently brought about by the incautious authors of the Murzsteg Programme.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, August 15.

The reported proposal of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister to promote an exchange of opinion between the Powers with regard to Turkey's relations with the Balkan States has been favourably received here. The semi-official journals have not yet spoken. The Berlin *Lokalanzeiger* expresses confidence that, amid the conflict of passions among the Balkan Christians, the origin of which is ascribed to the war, the Bulgarian Government will not allow itself to be diverted from its "well-proved policy of cool discretion." Bulgaria's appeal to the Powers is described as a further proof of her unmistakable readiness to come to a peaceful understanding with Turkey, and it is assumed that the Powers who, "without exception" have laboured for the preservation of the *status quo* in the Balkans, will reply in some practical form. It concludes:—"It is these reflections which appear to have given birth to Count Berchtold's proposal, which should on general grounds meet with a cordial reception, and particularly so since it is purely the proposal of a mediator and takes account of the interests both of Turkey and of the Christian nations in the Balkans."

Turkish Cabinet's Mistakes.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE *Vossische Zeitung* publishes an interesting letter from its Constantinople correspondent, from which we quote the following passages:—"The Committee party men have every reason to be thankful to the Cabinet of Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, for the errors which these old and experienced statesmen are committing have already led to a very perceptible change of sentiment in many quarters and may yet effect an earlier return of the Committee party to power than was thought possible a week ago. The attitude of the public here towards political questions is but seldom determined by political principles; it is chiefly a matter of personal interest and sentiment. Because the Committee party had during the four years of its rule injured more than once some of those interests and by its overbearing behaviour offended even some of its own faithful adherents, its collapse was received everywhere with great satisfaction, and it will not be an indiscretion to say that this satisfaction was specially felt in diplomatic quarters because of the haughty demeanour of some of the Government organs both in personal and written intercourse. The public, therefore, was determined to forgive the new Government everything—even infringements of the Constitution, so long as they were discreetly veiled—provided it secured the country the necessary peace, and, above all, pacified the Albanians.

"It is difficult to believe with what levity people have talked here during the last few weeks about the value and importance of the Constitution. As if there never had been a Sultan called Abdul Hamid, or men deported without trial to Yemen, or men secretly drowned in the Bosphorus! 'What matters it whether there is a Constitution or not?' people with short memories would say; 'what we want is order and tranquillity. If we cannot get them under a Constitution and law we must get them without a Constitution and without law.' The Government and the Senate made these ideas their own, and proclaimed the Chamber as no longer legal on grounds which caused everyone not directly interested to laugh. But what have the Government and the Senate achieved by this sin committed against logic? The Albanians are still unsatisfied, and on the officers, too, the action of the Government against the Chamber did not produce the expected effect. The League has not dissolved, but is pulling the wires from behind the scenes and has undertaken to watch over the elections. And as action leads to counteraction, the rather venturesome behaviour of the League has brought about a combination of the dissenting officers, who, though declaring the political activity of their opponents to be incompatible with their position, are nevertheless themselves actively engaged in politics. 'Yes,' so runs the general talk, 'had it not been for Ramazan [the month of fasting] we might now have had civil war.'

"It is difficult in the peculiar conditions of Turkey to give at any moment a correct view of the internal situation—more difficult than anywhere in Europe. But after comparing the information from Government quarters with the information from those of the Committee officers, one feels justified in drawing the conclusion that the cause of the Committee is hopeful and that the Government will hardly survive much beyond Ramazan. . . . People who hear the grass growing and those who are anxious or are obliged to be on good terms with any Government are already beginning to make arrangements—of course discreetly—for the return of the Committee."

As against this view of the situation, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* telegraphs:—"The situation is now regarded here as decidedly more settled. Thanks to the careful and temperate attitude of the Government, which repudiates all policy of personal vengeance, it is beginning to consolidate . . . Djavid and Talaat Beys, who had been relying chiefly on the Adrianople Army Corps, have been prevented by the officers of that corps from entering the city. They wander about between Demotika and Salonika and have lost their bearings completely."

In another telegram, however, the same correspondent writes: "The Young Turkish Committee is preparing a manifesto which will shortly be published. It contains a history of the recent changes, which of course it interprets in the Committee's sense. It proclaims abstention from all violent means and its intention to organise its opposition purely on the basis of law. On the publication of the manifesto the two Committee organs, the *Tanin* and *Hakk*, will once more make their appearance." The correspondent adds:—"These decisions of the Committee constitute an important progress in the Parliamentary development of the country and are the only means of securing for its adherents the possibility of returning to power."

The Young Turks and their Enemies.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

M. VERGEZHSKY, the Constantinople correspondent of the St. Petersburg Liberal paper *Retch* and one of the most brilliant foreign correspondents at the Turkish capital, thus writes of the situation on the eve of the dissolution of the Chamber:—

"Many are the mistakes and offences which are to be found in the political balance sheet of the Committee of Union and Progress. They proved incapable of winning over the non-Turkish nationalities, they committed many follies in Albania, they allowed themselves to be carried away by their Jacobinism, they spent so much of their efforts on the struggle with their opponents that they had no energy left for reforms. And yet there are also some assets in this melancholy balance sheet. The introduction of universal military service based on the equality of the nationalities, the establishment of a sound system of collection of the taxes, regularization of the Budget, and, lastly, their efforts in the field of popular education and the substitution in the place of the old pre-reform administrators of young men capable of respecting the law and human personality—all these are undoubtedly to be booked to the credit of the Committee. And there is yet another service rendered by them which, I think, has not been sufficiently appreciated. The Unionists, by creating what is undoubtedly a strong and organized party, have dropped into the inert and somnolent mass of the people the first germs of organized social life, the first habits of conscious and active party activity. That is why the new Cabinet, composed as it is not merely of enemies of the Young Turks but also largely of enemies of Young Turkey, has in its declaration emphasized with such obvious ill-humour the party character of their opponents. To these men, who have grown old in bureaucratic habits, the very idea of party is strange, and a party seems to them something like a political offence."

In the course of his further remarks the correspondent quotes some conversations which he had with a group of Albanians who were present with him in the public gallery during the sitting of the Chamber when the vote of confidence was being discussed. "They were," he says, "well fed, excellently dressed, and perfumed men, with diamond pins, with thick gold chains dangling on irreproachably

stylish waistcoats. 'What is your chief cause of dissatisfaction?' I asked. 'We are dissatisfied with everything. They wanted to take away the arms from the population, to destroy the common law by which the Albanians govern themselves, and to introduce their own system of taxation.' 'But a State is obliged to collect taxes?' There was a fleeting smile in the dark eyes of my interlocutor. 'Yes, of course, and I am paying them. My estate is in the south. We are more civilised and we pay. But the mountaineers, they don't pay,' said the young landowner, who is a brother of the deputy Shahin Bey. Their father was Minister of Foreign Affairs under Abdul Hamid and left them enormous estates. 'What, then, do the highlanders live by?' Again the same smile. 'By highway robbery,' one of them let fall. 'And by hunting,' corrected the other. I scarcely contained myself from laughing. 'And what is the form of administration which you maintain?' The elder man, with a face expressing importance and determination, said: 'We, the nobility, rule the people. The land belongs chiefly to us. But our peasants fare on it very well indeed, and they obey us without murmur. If, for instance, somebody is killed, his brother comes to us, the chiefs, and lodges his complaint. We decide that the house of the offender ought to be burnt down and he himself may be killed by anybody. And I can guarantee you that the house will be burnt down and the criminal will be punished.' And he laughed proudly, and with his white hand, with the most elegant nails, arranged his stylish tie. Probably on his estate he puts away his European notions of law together with his starched shirt.

"Looking at these men I began to believe in the sinister talk of the restoration of the Hamidians. It is not for nothing that their chief leader is Isa Boletinats, the former guardsman of Abdul Hamid. He once was an ordinary cut-throat, killing and robbing right and left. Of such men Abdul Hamid used to form his Palace guard. Isa Boletinats was called to the Palace, served a few years, saved up some money, and went back to Albania. There he seized by force the estates of some hapless landowners. The wronged men made an attempt to complain, but the Sultan stopped the case. A few years later Isa came back to the Palace and served until the very fall of Abdul Hamid. Now he is leading Albanian bands against the Young Turkish Government. . . . We have before us the same old struggle of the old and the young, a struggle of Turkey dying and Turkey thirsting for regeneration."

THE MOSLEM UNIVERSITY VOTING PAPER.

[In view of the decisions of the Secretary of State for India regarding the proposed Moslem University, it is absolutely essential that the views of the Moslem Subscribers of the *Comrade* should be ascertained. You are, therefore, earnestly requested to consider very carefully the decisions stated below, and to strike off the alternative which you do not like. Having done this, kindly cut this paper out, and send it to the Editor of the *Comrade*, 109 Ripon Street, Calcutta, preferably by registered post. The results of this voting will be published prominently in the *Comrade* every week. But the names of the voters will, under no circumstances, be disclosed if secrecy is desired.—Ed., *Comrade*.]

The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, in his letter to the President of the Moslem University Constitution Committee, says that

"His Majesty's Secretary of State has decided, after mature consideration, that the proposed University should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established," and that it "should in future be styled 'The University of Aligarh,' and not the 'Moslem University.'"

After mature consideration, I am of opinion that:—

The Mussalmans ^{should accept} ~~should NOT accept~~ a University on these conditions.

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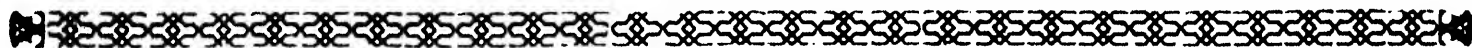
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phased that they would all make any sacrifice when the hour of danger came. Sir Edward and Mr. Smith were afterwards escorted through the crowded streets by armed men, mounted and on foot.

The morning in Belfast on the Covenant day was like a Sunday morning except for decorated streets and a wealth of Union Jacks and Orange emblems. Crowds pursued their way to service in the churches, the greatest concourse being present in the historic Ulster Hall, where the service was attended by Sir Edward Carson, the standard bearer with the Boyne Flag, the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Belfast, peers and commoners. After the service Sir Edward Carson, with an escort, went to the City Hall and, amid enthusiastic scenes, signed the Covenant. The table was covered with the Union Jack, and Sir Edward signed with a silver pen. Lord Londonderry was the second to sign, after which the heads of Protestant churches, peers, commoners, officials and others signed. There was a steady stream of "Ulsterites" signing the Covenant in London and other larger cities in Britain.

The ceremony was conducted with the utmost solemnity and dignity. The Corporation attended in scarlet robes. After Sir Edward Carson and other leaders had signed, a procession was formed and they marched through streets thronged with cheering crowd to the Ulster Reform Club, where they were entertained at luncheon.

The Primate of Ireland sent a message to Sir Edward Carson saying: "May God give you strength and wisdom to guide Ireland's faithful sons in trying to save their beloved land from degradation, disaster, religious strife and civil war."

Dr. McKean preaching at Ulster Hall said in his sermon that the Irish question at the bottom was against Protestantism. What Ireland wanted was rest from political agitation. The Bishop preaching in the cathedral said they were ready to make every sacrifice to avert Home Rule. At the service in the Assembly Hall, the preacher declared that the people would never submit to a Roman Catholic ascendancy.

Reuter wired from Edinburgh:—Ulstermen signed a Covenant on the gravestone in Greyfriars churchyard on which the "Solemn League and Covenant" of 1638 was signed.

On the eve of Ulster day, Sir Edward Carson issued a message declaring that the great outburst of enthusiasm throughout the Empire has deeply affected his colleagues and himself, and has given them renewed strength. It was realised that they were fighting for freedom and liberty, and for the inspiring ideals of Unity and Empire.

Most of the Unionist leaders have sent messages to Ulster, expressing sympathy with the movement.

Mr. Bonar Law is of opinion that victory is certain. He assures "Ulsterites" that they will not stand alone, but can rely on the support of the whole Unionist Party.

Mr. Balfour said he does not believe that either the British people or the House of Commons will attempt to drive Ulster out of the Union.

The Week.

Ulsteria.

Speaking at the meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council, Mr. F. E. Smith said that the time for action was approaching. If the revolutionary committee now in power in England coerced Ulster, rifles in Liverpool would go off of themselves. If this were treason, then he would reply "our duty is not to this Government but to the constitutions of which they are custodians." The Unionist papers state that the Council has approved the scheme of provisional Government for the whole of Ulster.

Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith visited Portadown on the 25th September where they were greeted with fresh scenes of enthusiasm. Semi-military guards of honour sang the National Anthem. They received addresses, in reply to which Sir Edward Carson em-

Sir John Simon, speaking at Leeds, advised his hearers not to be provoked by the Ulster crusade, and by the outrageous bad taste of Sir E. Carson's speeches. The Government refused to be blackmailed.

The "Outlook" says that a third of the officers in the Army are Irish, and that ninety per cent. of these are Unionist Protestants. The journal says that they are considering the question of resigning their commissions in order to lead Ulster when it is in arms.

The culmination of the great meeting in Ulster Hall, Belfast, was the presentation to Sir E. Carson of the original flag borne before King William at the Battle of Boyne. It was to be borne before Sir E. Carson at the ceremony. Sir E. Carson returned the flag to its custodian, saying that it was a sacred trust until the conspiracy against Ulster was killed. The responsibility for future events rested with the Government.

Mr. Gulland, Scottish Liberal Whip, speaking in Dundee, said he had been urged to ask the Government to prosecute Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Smith and others for preaching treason. He believed that the Government was only staying its hand to avoid creating riots, thinking it better to treat the matter with contempt.

Sir Rufus Isaacs speaking at Reading said, that the performances in Ulster would not turn the Government one hair's breadth from its intention of carrying Home Rule. He predicted that the Bill would have passed the third reading stage before the end of the year.

Reuter wires from New York:—Mr. John Redmond had a rousing reception at the Home Rule meeting in Carnegie Hall last night. Mr. Redmond asserted repeatedly that if the Government remained in office King George would sign the Home Rule Bill. The meeting passed a Resolution congratulating the Nationalists on the position of the Irish cause. A collection realised twenty thousand dollars.

There is a general positive belief in Unionist circles that the Ulster Covenant ensures the rejection of Home Rule by the Lords, if the Bill goes so far, and in any case ensures the submission of the Bill to the electorate.

The "Times" correspondent in Dublin states emphatically that everybody in Dublin and the south of Ireland feels that the Home Rule Bill is killed.

The Late Baron M. Von Bismarck.

The sudden death of Germany's "strong man" has caused considerable sensation. He had been undergoing a cure, suffering from a cold and overwork, but the seriousness of his indisposition was not suspected. He intended to leave for London in the autumn. The evening papers give prominence to the Baron's brilliant career and to the importance of his most recent work in London where he made an excellent impression, calling as it was believed for peace and closer unity between England and Germany. Public demonstrations in Berlin and throughout Germany of public esteem and grief are unprecedented since the death of Prince Bismarck. The feeling of national loss is emphasised in the official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," which is of opinion that the skill and sagacity of the late statesman would have succeeded in achieving favourable results for the Empire in the development of a new German policy.

The articles in the British press are unanimously careful. They agree that Europe is the poorer by the loss of one who is claimed for the world's peace. They hope that his successor will be equally strong and virile, though probably it is impossible adequately to replace him.

The hopes of a rapprochement which were expressed on his arrival in London and his sudden demise are regarded almost as an irony of fate.

The French press considers that the death of Baron Marschall von Bismarck has made Anglo-German rapprochement more remote than ever. It hopes the Baron's successor will abandon any illusory dreams of upsetting the Triple Entente.

General Nogi.

General Nogi, the capturer of Port Arthur, and his wife have committed suicide.

General Nogi cut his throat with a short sword, and his wife stabbed herself in the stomach at the moment the gun was fired announcing the departure of the funeral procession from the palace. The tragedy took place at their modest home at Akasaki. Both dressed themselves in the Japanese costume and drank a farewell draught of saké from cups presented to them by the

late Emperor, whose draped portrait was on the wall. A letter understood to be addressed to the Emperor was found beside the bodies. A student who was residing with General Nogi entered the room and found them breathing their last.

The will of the late General Nogi is a pathetic document. He says that he follows his Emperor because his services are no longer required. He has often sought to die and chooses the occasion of a great national calamity. He distributes his property between his wife, his friends, and public institutions, thereby indicating that his wife's death was not premeditated. General Nogi suggests that his body be given to a Medical College, only the teeth, hair, and nails being buried. Admiral Togo will succeed General Nogi as President of the Connaught Reception Committee.

China.

A MESSAGE from Mukden states that the Third Division, stationed at Paoching, is going to Manchuria to reinforce the troops operating against the Mongolians.

Friction between Russia and China on the subject of Mongolia continues. Russia complained that the officer responsible for the murder of Said Effendi, a Russian Mussalman, in Khotan last July, has not been tried, but has been promoted, has been touring through Mongolia, greeted with military salutes, and acclaimed as a hero. China again promised that the officer should be tried, but subsequently complained that newly-arrived Russian troops had inflicted an attack on Koko and had aided the Mongolians to defeat the garrison. China requested an investigation into the matter. The Legation, however, denied allegations, and refused investigations.

Reuter wires from Peking:—The Acting Premier has informed the Council that the Government is willing to negotiate with Great Britain with regard to Tibet on the basis of the maintenance of the "status quo".

Dr. Morrison in an interview with Reuter's representative on 22nd September pointed out that the growth of patriotic sentiment in China of recent years had not been accompanied by anti-foreign feeling. He denied that the opposition to the Six-Power loan was due thereto. It arose from the natural desire that China should be mistress in her own house. The action of the Powers in forbidding China to borrow except through banks which were given a monopoly naturally excited mistrust. It would be most unfortunate if the Governments persisted in their policy with regard to the Six-Power loan. China argued, he said, that she kept her obligations during the revolution and displayed her resources and ability to deal with a most serious situation. She ought to receive every encouragement and not be hampered in the work of regeneration. Dr. Morrison emphasised the urgency of meeting railway requirements. Among the most desirable railways he mentioned the linking of Burma and Yunnan Province and said that railways generally in any part of China would be remunerative in view of the richness and fertility of the country.

Five millions of the loan contracted by China with a London house was underwritten in a few hours at an average commission of 1 per cent.

London learns that directly the Foreign Office heard that the Chinese loan was being negotiated, it informed the promoters that if they proceeded with the project they would be acting in direct opposition to Government, who would be compelled to protest to the Chinese Government against the transaction.

The "Times" said that there could be no greater misfortune for the peace of the world than the Powers' resumption of independent policies with regard to China. Therefore, the action of the Chinese Government in contracting a new loan is fraught with dangerous possibilities, and it is not surprising that the British Government has given expression to its displeasure.

Reuter wires from Peking:—Sir John Jordan, British Ambassador, has presented to Yuan-Shi-Kai a statement to the effect that China's floating liabilities, which amount to nearly ten millions sterling, must be paid in a few months out of the proceeds of any forthcoming loan.

In spite of Government action and opposition, the remaining five millions of Chinese loan was issued in London this afternoon. The issue is quoted at a quarter premium. Large crowds attended the issue of the prospectus of the Chinese loan outside the leading banks.

Mr. Crisp who negotiated the loan interviewed by Reuter's representative, dwelt on the Foreign Office objection to the loan.

He was told it was quite hopeless to proceed, whereupon he requested that a letter be sent him asking him to abstain from concluding the loan for reasons of State. This was not forthcoming. Consequently he informed the Foreign Office that he would proceed with the issue of the loan in accordance with the contract with China.

The papers give prominence to the character sketches of Mr. Sarah Crisp, who negotiated the Chinese loan. They hail him as the new financier and compare him to David Coliath and Athanasius against the world. They declare that he won a victory against the most powerful combination in the world's history. The fact that the loan was arranged by English bankers under English auspices has captured the imagination of the City, which is confident that the British position in the Far East will be improved. The leading articles generally approve of the loan though the "Morning Post" denounces the critics of the Foreign Office for their ignorance of the Far East and views the situation with misgiving. A question asked in all the papers is whether the public will appreciate the pluck and confidence of Mr. Crisp and will subscribe the loan. Although pointing out the complications that may arise from the ten-million sterling loan, the "Times" says: "We have no sympathy with monopolies. No policy can be successfully carried out in England without a large measure of public support. The Government's policy has been based too exclusively upon particular interests, represented in England by one powerful institution, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, to secure the general support of British finance which is indispensable to its permanent success."

The "Daily News" and the "Daily Chronicle" publish editorials denouncing the action of the Powers with regard to the ten-million sterling loan to China. The former paper compares the Powers to "a blood-sucking money-lender"; the latter journal is sorry that Great Britain is taking a lead in an "unedifying business."

Yuan-Shi-Kai has wired to the Chinese Minister in London congratulating him on the flotation of the loan which, he says, is based on a desire to improve relations between the two countries. He adds that the Republic regards the keeping of faith before all things.

It is announced that the Chinese loan has been over-subscribed to a considerable extent.

Egypt.

A message to the "Times" from Constantinople states that Kabri-man Bey, Commandant of the Military Police at Skutari and a strong partisan of the Committee of Union and Progress has been arrested. It is understood, on charge of abetting the Shawish conspiracy against the Egyptian Government.

Beuter wires from Cairo:—As a result of the pressure by more moderate sections of the Nationalists who resented his hostility towards the Khedive and objected to his inflammatory writings which are described as foolhardy, playing with fire, and calculated to bring ruin on the country, Faid Bey, president of the party, has resigned and is now a refugee in Switzerland, having been expelled from Constantinople. Since he and Sheikh Shawish secured the leadership of the party, his prestige has been declining and recently it threatened to split in two.

Morocco.

The French column attacked midway between Robat and Fez and lost nine killed and thirty wounded. The attack was repulsed.

Afghanistan.

Sardar Nasrullah Khan, Commander-in-Chief, is bent upon improving the efficiency of the army. Cadets of well-to-do families are ordered to attend classes at the capital, presumably under Turkish instructors in the Amir's service, and they are then to be posted as subalterns to regiments. There is some activity also in recruiting, as batches of men are reported to have reached Kabul from Ghazni and other districts.

The "Pioneer's" Frontier correspondent states that at the Durbar held at Kabul during the Id, the Amir addressed all assembled and exhorted them to be loyal to the Mohammedan faith and to their rulers. He spoke of the new light that was breaking over all the countries of the world and urged them to take advantage of education. All Mohammedans should be in close sympathy with each other. The only militant note in his speech was his reference to the fact which he mentioned with satisfaction that people of Afghanistan were now better equipped than formerly with arms and ammunition. The Durbar closed with prayers for the "Kings of Islam."

A Frontier correspondent states that during the Id, Mullah Said Akbar, who was one of the leaders in the rising of 1897, preached vigorously in Tirah, where he had gathered a large number of leading

Mullahs. He exhorted tribesmen to drop their feuds and unite against the enemies of Islam. He pointed out that the tribes were now well armed with rifles and hinted at dangers that might menace them. A passing reference was also made to the war in Tripoli and affairs in Persia.

Delhi Province.

The following "Gazette Extraordinary" was issued on the 17th September:—

In the exercise of powers conferred by section 3 of the Government of India Act, 1854. (17 and 18, Viet C. 77) and with the sanction and approbation of the Secretary of State for India, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to issue the following proclamation:—

The following territory which is now included within the province of the Punjab, namely, that portion of the district of Delhi, comprising the Tahsil of Delhi and the Police Station of Mahrauli, shall on and from the first day of October, 1912, be taken under the immediate authority and management of the Governor-General of India in Council and formed into a Chief Commissionership to be called the "Chief Commissionership of Delhi" and the Hon. Mr. William Malcolm Hailey, C. I. E., I. C. S., is hereby appointed to be Chief Commissioner of Delhi with effect from the date.

The Secretary of State has agreed provisionally to the pay of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi being at the rate of Rs. 3,000 per mensem, pending the consideration of the question of the whole administration staff of the new province.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hailey, Chief Commissioner, arrived at Delhi on the morning of the 1st October. The arrival being public, he was met at the station by Major Beadon, C.S., Mr. Jacob, I.C.S., Mr. Hadow, D.S.P., and other officials. A procession was formed to the Town Hall where the Chief Commissioner was received by the Municipal President and Committee. Large crowds of interested spectators assembled in the streets, which were lined with the Police.

A "Gazette Extraordinary" has been issued by the Punjab Government notifying certain readjustments from the 1st October in civil charges in the Punjab, consequent upon the creation of the Chief Commissionership of Delhi. These changes include the creation of a Division to be designated the Ambala Division, with Mr. A. Meredith as Commissioner, to include the districts of Hisar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala and Simla. The boundaries of the Gurgaon and Rohtak districts are also revised to include such portions of the old Delhi as do not form part of the new Delhi Commissionership. The Civil Judicial divisions, which will now be sixteen in number, are also revised as well as the Sessions, which will now be fifteen in number.

The services of the following Punjab officers are transferred in this connection to the Government of India, viz. Mr. C. L. Dundas, Mr. S. M. Jacob, K. B. Khwaja Tasadduk Hussain Sahab, Lala Murari Lal Sahab, Khosla Hari Chand Sahab, Lala Chuni Lal Sahab, and Munshi Khazan Singh Sahab.

The powers under the Extradition Act will be exercised by the Governor-General and not by the Chief Commissioner. Similarly, the powers under the Local Authorities Emergency Loans Act will be exercised by the Governor-General.

The Chief Commissioner among other functions will exercise appellate powers under the Punjab Tenancy Act and the Punjab Land Revenue Act.

Hindu University.

The Hindu University deputation headed by Mrs. Besant reached Bankipore from Gya on the 25th September.

She addressed a meeting at Gya on the Hindu University on the 24th Sept. She laid stress on the teaching and residential character of the University and pointed out the advantages of a teaching University over the present Universities of India which were merely examining boards, and exhorted the Hindu community not to feel disheartened over the Hon. Sir H. Butler's letter regarding the question of affiliation.

She was followed by Messrs. Gurtu, Honorary Head-Master, Hindu College, and Ishwar Saran, Vakil, Allahabad High Court. Although the meeting was held at short notice over Rs. 30,000 was promised and about Rs. 1,000 was paid on the spot. Messrs. Gurtu and Ishwar Saran accompanied by the leading gentlemen of the town saw the wealthy gentlemen of the place and it is expected that Gya district will contribute over a lakh to the University. Mr. Pittar, District Judge, who was present at the meeting subscribed Rs. 100.

Urdu Teachers.

The Bombay Government has decided to open a class for training Urdu teachers as an experimental measure for two years and the Ahmedabad Training College has been selected to try the experiment, a Mohammedan graduate familiar with the work of a training college being engaged for the purpose. The Government has also decided to issue at the vernacular final examination a set of papers entirely in Urdu.

The McCormick Case.

BEFORE the Chief Judge and Jury at the Special Sessions of the Chief Court of Lower Burma, on the 3rd October, Mr. C. Arnold, Editor and Proprietor of the "Burma Critic", was arraigned on a charge of defamation in two articles in the paper dated April 28th, 19th and 12th, under the heading "Mockery of British Justice," containing imputations concerning Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner, of Mergui, thereby intending to harm or having reason to believe that such imputations would harm his reputation.

The accused who was defended by Mr. Hatlyn and Mr. C. Campagnac pleaded not guilty.

Mr. Guy Rutledge, Government Advocate with the Assistant Government Advocate prosecuted.

Mr. O. Gaunt held a watching brief on behalf of Captain McCormick.

The Chief Judge, before the Government Advocate opened his case, informed the Advocates on both sides of the limits within which the case would be kept and warning them about the relevancy of evidence to be adduced in the case.

The Judge warned the Advocate that the charge was in respect of defamation of Mr. G. P. Andrew; whether the imputations in the articles concerning Mr. Andrew lowered him in the estimation of others; also whether the accused published the imputations intending to harm or knowing or having reason to believe they would harm Mr. Andrew's reputation and whether the publication was covered by section 499 I. P. C. The question of close friendship between Mr. Andrew and Captain McCormick was a matter to be gone into and all Mr. Andrew's conduct in connection with the case and his proceedings would be relevant. Other matters adverted to in the articles will not be relevant. The trial was not to be the trial of Captain McCormick for the very obvious reason that Captain McCormick was not in this proceeding on his trial. Nor was the case to enquire into the conduct of Inspector Shazard or that of Captain Finnie or that of Mr. Buchanan or that of the Commissioner of Tenasserim in connection with the case. Evidence about anything, which was brought, or which in any way came to the knowledge of Mr. Andrew and about anything done or admitted by him before he gave his decision would be relevant. Evidence as to anything which was not within his knowledge or with which he had nothing to do would not be admitted because evidence as to such matters would not be relevant. So far as the prosecution case has been discussed in the committal proceedings His Honour considered evidence as to what happened between Captain Finnie and Mr. Buchanan at Victoria Point as irrelevant except such of it as came to Mr. Andrew's knowledge. A large number of witnesses for the defence have been summoned most of them being persons who gave evidence before Mr. Andrew in connection with the case against Captain McCormick. His Honour knew what it is contemplated they should give evidence about, but if it was intended to ask them to repeat or state again their versions of what they had or have to say against Captain McCormick, His Honour should, as at present advised, hold that evidence as irrelevant and inadmissible in this case.

Mr. Rutledge opened the case for the prosecution occupying the whole day, and had not concluded at the rising of court for the day. Counsel asked the jury to hold Mr. Andrew justified in discharging Captain McCormick and classifying the case against him as false, and that the imputations by the accused were unwarranted. The court was crowded and intense interest was evinced.

The hearing was resumed on the 4th inst. at the Special Sessions of the Chief Court, before the Chief Judge and a jury. Mr. Guy Rutledge, the Government Advocate, concluded his opening of the prosecution case, and examined the complainant, Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner, on the allegations made by the accused in reference to the charge against Captain McCormick, and other matters. He denied each and every one of them categorically, stating that the imputations were absolutely false, particularly the imputation regarding his having buried an enquiry into the charge against Capt. McCormick. He did not understand what the article in the "Critic" meant by saying that the inquiry was held in camera, when it was held in open Court just as any other inquiry he held while in Mergui. Complainant's evidence, which had not concluded at the rising of the Court for the day, was to be resumed on the 8th inst.

The Moslem University.

Moslem Feeling.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Calcutta, Aug. 22.

Extreme disappointment has been caused throughout the Moslem community by the decision of the Government of India to allow no affiliation of colleges to the proposed Mohammedan University. Educational authorities, however, support the action of the Government, holding that affiliation to a residential and teaching University, such as is contemplated, is inconsistent with its basic principles. The promoters of the University, or the more intelligent of them, admit that there would be a theoretical incongruity; but they urge that affiliation is essential to their scheme. They collected money from all parts of India on the understanding that Mohammedan schools and colleges everywhere would benefit by association with Aligarh. Without giving this assurance they could not have obtained the funds. Moreover, the only hope of improving Mohammedan schools and colleges, on the lines which have been so successful at Aligarh, is to place them under the control of the new University, which would then become the centre and inspiration of a system of Mohammedan education covering the whole of India. If affiliation is finally refused there will be a demand for the return of subscriptions, which has already been put forward in the Punjab, and either the University scheme must be abandoned or violent dissensions among the Mohammedans of different parts of India will ensue.

The promoters complain bitterly that they were not informed at an earlier stage that affiliation would not be permitted. Their present intention is to agitate against this decision of the Secretary of State, as against his determination that the University shall be designated the University of Aligarh (not the Moslem University) and that the powers vested in the Viceroy under the Constitution shall be exercised by the Government of India. This third decision would obviously place the University under official control.

(FROM AN ANGLO-INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.)

Calcutta, August 15

A remarkable situation has arisen between the Government of India and the Mohammedan community. Some eighteen months ago a movement was started for the establishment of a great Moslem University which should out rival the glories of Cairo and open new educational possibilities to the followers of the Prophet throughout India.

The idea instantly caught on. Funds came pouring in; tremendous sums were subscribed by Mohammedan rulers and noblemen—the largest individual donation being one of nearly £100,000 from the Nizam—but the humblest Mussalman contributed his mite.

Matters having progressed so far favourably, the Mohammedan leaders, headed by Raja Sir Mohamed Ali Khan of Mahmudabad, approached the Government of India and requested its sanction. This was formally notified on two conditions—first, that the committee could prove that it had sufficient funds; and, secondly, that the Government was able to approve of the constitution of the University. The second condition was, of course, implicit in the requisition addressed to the Government, and the committee inferred that the financial question was the only one that remained for solution. Accordingly more money was collected, and after twelve months the founders of the movement felt themselves justified in drawing up a constitution, providing for affiliation of Moslem colleges throughout India, and planning generally to base the proposed University upon the most up-to-date models in India and Europe.

A week or two ago all these hopes were dashed. A "communiqué" was issued by the Minister for Education, Sir Harcourt Butler, intimating that the Secretary of State had considered the draft constitution, and had decided that affiliation could not be permitted. The University must be styled simply the University of Aligarh—the premier Moslem college in the East—which was to furnish the nucleus for the new university—and was to be purely a teaching and residential university, without any power to affiliate.

Protests were heard, but a second "communiqué" was issued reaffirming the first, and declaring that this intimation of the will of Secretary of State was "final". Sir Harcourt Butler wrote a personal letter to Sir Mohamed Ali, giving various reasons for the decision of the Secretary of State; but these proved so unconvincing that a conference of Mohammedans was forthwith held at Lucknow, at which it was roundly declared that the Indian Mussalmans declined to accept the decision as "final", and Sir Mohamed Ali, in a reply published in the papers to-day, once more urges the Government to reconsider its irrevocable word.

If the Government persists in its refusal to allow the University to affiliate Mohammedan colleges, the Mohammedans will decline to have a

University at all, and all the subscriptions will have to be returned. This must inevitably excite bitter feeling among the Mohamedans, who have been roused to an unprecedented pitch of enthusiasm for the project, and whose disappointment will be correspondingly great. Indeed, one Mohamedan organ says it dreads the effect upon the minds of the younger generation of Mussalmans.

The worst of it is that the excuses put forward on behalf of the Government—that the University would be unable to control colleges in other parts of India, that there would be competition which would impair the value of the Aligarh degree, etc.—are not accepted. The belief is that the Government is afraid that the existence of such a University would tend to generate a certain degree of communal or national self-consciousness on the part of Indian Mohamedans which might complicate the problems of government.

Curiously enough, the Hindus have an exactly parallel grievance. They also have been working for a Hindu University at Benares, with power to affiliate Hindu colleges in other parts of India, and this power was denied to them in identical terms, and on the same day on which the hopes of the Mohamedans were crushed. I fear there is trouble ahead.—*Daily News*.

The "Times" View.

INDIAN advices show that there has been considerable disappointment, particularly on the part of some of the subscribers to the Aligarh University scheme, as to the reported decision of Government on the question of affiliation. They seem to have cherished the expectation that their "national" University would be given powers to affiliate Moslem institutions, in whatever part of India they might be situated, teaching up to a prescribed standard. They were prepared to see the power safeguarded by making its exercise subject to the approval of the *ex-officio* Chancellor, the Viceroy. They recognized that as the first great duty would be to make Aligarh itself worthy in every way of the distinction of which the founder, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, dreamed, the day for linking distant Colleges to it must be far distant—that its light might not be seen for a generation to come. But some of their leaders state that they could not have collected the large aggregate sum now in hand unless the prospect of ultimate affiliation had been before them; and it is even suggested that in some instances a return of subscriptions may be demanded by disappointed contributors.

The restriction of the power of affiliation to local areas only—for this is the decision of Government—is the result of the adoption of a considered policy of general application. Impressed by the admitted deficiencies of the system of higher education hitherto prevailing, the Government of India are encouraging the development of teaching, and mainly residential Universities, instead of permitting any further extension of so-called "federal" or examining Universities. The first definite step announced in this direction was that of the establishment of a University at Dacca to relieve the pressure upon the University of Calcutta, with its 52 widely-scattered affiliated Colleges, having an aggregate roll of more than 13,000 students. In a letter to the Bengal Government last April respecting this scheme, the Government of India pointed out that it has long been recognized that the federal type of University implanted in India, though convenient at the outset by reason of the paucity of institutions and their situation at long distances from one another, contains radical defects. Among these were cited the want of corporate life, the growth of external examinations, imperfect supervision, and the difficulty of fostering among students reverence for a central institution and loyalty to its ideals when that institution is remote and impersonal. "The Government of India," added the letter, "consider the creation of new Universities an important factor in educational progress. It is eminently desirable that these should be, where possible, of the teaching and residential type, binding together the Colleges of a small town or a single circumscribed area."

In accordance with this principle the creation of Universities at Patna, Nagpur, Rangoon, and other centres is projected as circumstance permit; and from it the Secretary of State declines to depart in the special case of the communal Universities. Even Viceroys may err in the exercise of permissive powers; systematic and continued refusal would be resented, and in course of time future Chancellors might find it difficult to withstand pressure for the affiliation of institutions much below the standard of the communal Universities themselves. Aligarh owes its position in large measure to the great traditions inherited from Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and the linking with it of inferior institutions might soon debase the hall-mark of Aligarh, which has stood for so much in the progress of Indian Moslem culture.

The difficulties of supervision and inspection found so great in the case of the larger State Universities would be augmented in that of unofficial communal institutions offering to survey Colleges from Peshawar to Tuticorin and from Bombay to Mandalay. Admittedly the question of affiliation is for the somewhat distant future rather than for to-day. The Bill to be passed by the Supreme Legislature will not be unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians; and it is quite conceivable that a future generation of rulers will be prepared to consider the whole problem afresh when and if it becomes one of practical moment.—*The Times*.



TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	As.	P.
Through Rashid-ud-din, Esqr., Lucknow.—			
Nawab Mustafa Khan Sahib, ...	25	0	0
Nawab Ali Hasan Khan Sahib, Nurul Hasan Khan Sahib, and Mrs. Nurul Hasan Khan Sahib, Rupees ten each ...	30	0	0
Abdul Jabbar Khan Sahib, Mrs. Mustafa Khan and Nawab Ashraf Jahan Begum, Rupees five each ...	15	0	0
Nawab Murtaza Khan, Mrs. Murtaza Khan, Mrs. Ali Hasan Khan, Mrs. Najmul Hasan Khan, Mrs. Zahur Hasan Khan, Syed Najmul Hasan Khan Sahib and Syed Abdur Rahman Sahib, Rupees two each ...	14	0	0
Messrs. Syed Rashid-ud-din, Syed Ali Muttagi, Kabir Ahmad, Abul Kasim, Nawab Moqtada Khan, Nawab Amir Hasan Khan and Hashmat, Rupee one each ...	7	0	0
Mother of Rashid-ud-din Sahib, Mrs. Asghar Husain, Mrs. Amir Hasan and Mrs. Farid-ud-din, Rupee one each ...	4	0	0
K. S. Asghar Husain Sahib ...	1	1	0
Petty collections. ...	16	11	6
Through Nayaz Ali Khan Sahib, Mangla.—			
Workmen of Mangla Head Works ...	100	0	0
M. B. Bhongir ...	50	0	0
Through Mohamed Akhtar, Esqr., Bazidpur			
Musammnat Bahban ...	15	0	0
Musammnat Nasiban ...	19	8	0
Badr-ud-din, Esqr., Ichapur. ...	2	0	0
Through Masleh-ud-din Ahmad, Esqr., Naini Tal.			
M. Masleh-ud-din Ahmad, Esqr., ...	2	0	0
M. Abdur Rahman, Esqr., ...	5	0	0
Petty collections. ...	8	8	0
Musahib Ali, Esqr., Bilgram. ...	15	0	0
Through Manzoor Ali, Esqr., Rampur.—			
Manzur Ali, Esqr., ...	10	0	0
Members of Mr. Manzoor Ali's family. ...	25	0	0
Through Habibur Rahman Khan Sahib, Habibganj. ...	25	0	0
Through Maqbal Ahmad Khan Sahib, Meerut. ...	17	10	0
Through M. Obaidulla, Esqr., Patiala. ...	3	5	0
Syed Shujaat Ali, Esqr., Serampur. ...	2	0	0
Mubarak Ali Khan, Esqr., Belghat. ...	19	12	0
Through Mohamed Sulaiman, Esqr., Barut,—			
Messrs. Mohamed Ali Khan and Mohamed Ishaq, Rupees five each ...	10	0	0
Mrs. Sulaiman. ...	12	0	0
Juma collections. ...	9	0	0
Id collections. ...	8	3	6
Petty collections. ...	45	0	6
Through Abdul Wajid, Esqr., Fatehganj, West.—			
Mrs. Mohsin. ...	30	0	0
M. Abdur Rahman, Esqr., (as Sadqai-Id-ul-Fiter) ...	2	6	0
Through Mohamed Akhtar, Esqr., Bazidpur—			
A Gentleman, in memory of his late lamented sister. ...	6	0	0
Musammnat Shahidan. ...	2	0	0
Mrs. Wali Ahmed and Mrs. Zurah, rupee one each ...	2	0	0
Through M. A. O. Ghani, Esqr., Rangoon. ...	10	0	0
Lai Mohamed, Esqr., Jhansi. ...	10	0	0
Nasir-ud-din Ahmed, Esqr., Ziarat ...	4	12	0

Mirza Asad Ali Beg, Pilibhit, on behalf of

Rahmani Begum.	...	5	0	0
Abdul Bari, Esqr., Sirawan.	...	2	0	0
Bunyad Hussain, Esqr., Gonda.	...	2	0	0
Abdul Kadir, Esqr., Jhelum.	...	7	8	0
Khalil-ur-Rahman, Esqr., Bankipur.	...	2	0	0
Through Abdul Majid, Esqr., Lucknow.—				
Dr. Karam Hosain Sahib.	...	8	8	0
Hatiz Mohi-ud-din, Esqr.	...	1	0	0
Mrs. Basharat-ullah.	...	1	0	0
Zia-ud-din, Esqr., Viradput.	...	4	0	0
Abdur Rahim, Esqr., Secunderabad.	...	10	0	0
Abdus Subhan, Esqr., Patiya.	...	20	0	0
Abrar Hosain, Esqr., Muri.	...	3	0	0
Shahar Pasha, Esqr., Etawale.	...	16	12	0
Imam Bakhsh, Esqr., Bannu.	...	1	8	0
Chote Khan, Esqr., Sitapur.	...	1	0	0
Through Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak Sahib, Nagpur.—				
Collections from Sadhar Bazaar.	...	47	10	0
" " Sitabuldi Bazar.	...	3	13	0
" " Hawari Bazar.	...	9	11	0
M. A. Rashed, Esqr., London.	...	37	8	0
Through Md. Mustafa Khan, Esqr., Shamsabad.	...	100	0	0
Through Syed Hasan Burny, Esqr.—				
Money collected by himself, Messrs. Mushtaq Hussain, Mohd. Shafiq, and Zamir-ul-Hasan Baruy of Bulandshahr.	...	50	0	0
Through M. B. Muslini, Esqr., Azamgarh.—				
Hafiz Hasan Ali Sahib, and Hidayat-ullah Khan Sahib, Mangrawan, rupees two each.	...	4	0	0
Messrs. Ali Hasan, S. Aleem, H. Sakhawat Ali, M. Wali Mohamed, S. Ashraf Ali, S. Taj Ali, S. Asad Ali, Khuda Bakhsh Khan, Karomat Ali, S. Abdus Samad, S. Shukr-ullah, Ali Hasan Khan, Sher Ali and Md. Saïd, rupee one each.	...	14	0	0
Petty collections.*	...	10	15	0
Gul Mohamed, Esqr., D. G. Khan.	...	8	0	0
Through Mohammed Akhtar, Esqr., Baidpur.—				
Mrs. Kabir.	...	4	0	0
Mrs. S. Hup.	...	2	0	0
Mother of Mohd. Akhtar, Esqr.	...	12	0	0
Mrs. W. Hasan, Jawahir, Aziz, Tahir, and (one illegible) rupee one each.	...	5	0	0
Petty collections.*	...	7	0	0
Through M. Ehtisham Ali Sahib, Lucknow.—				
Collections made at Kakori, on 1st occasion.	...	103	8	0
Bala Abdul Kadir, Jullundher.	...	29	0	0
Haji Abdur Rahman Sahib, Mohimwal, Delhi.	...	15	0	0
Mohamed Akhtar, Esqr., Baidpur, on behalf of his mother.	...	60	9	0
Achhe Khan, Esqr., Rawlin.	...	20	0	0
Messrs. Habibullah and Abdus Samad, Delhi.	...	50	0	0
Wajid Ali, Esqr., New Bikanpur.	...	3	0	0
Amount received since 14th September	Rs.	1,260	2	6
Amount previously acknowledged	Rs.	22,112	5	6
Total	Rs.	23,372	8	0

*Owing to great pressure on space we have been compelled to announce the minor contributions in this manner and trust that the donors will not mind it. We are more anxious than the donors themselves to give the fullest details of even the smallest contributions so far as space permits, not so much with a view to publish the charity of the givers as to give every one an opportunity of judging that his contribution is duly credited to the Fund.—Ed. "Comrade."

TETEÀTETE



At last we are here in the new-old Capital of this ancient land, and if we have quitted the light of the East, we trust we have also found a haven in the true and tender North. When we bade adieu to Calcutta, we were so pressed for time that we kept even our most intimate friends and supporters in the dark as to the date of our departure, so that no time which could be employed in sending convoys to the field of our next battle may be spent in the sadly sweet ceremonial of leave-taking. Similarly, none of our friends and supporters in Delhi had any inkling as to the time of our arrival here. But there was no Non-Official Secrets Act to prevent the leaking out of such information, with the result that we were caught just as we were about to give the slip to all, and were entertained by many friends, being thus presented with the opportunity of bidding most of our Calcutta supporters adieu in a less impersonal manner than through the columns of the *Comrade*. Our only complaint against our Bengal friends was voiced long ago by the great Master whose poems have revolutionised Moslem India:—

*Ighadī chālī wad murawwat sé dūr thī,
Rō rī ke kam kō aur rudnā zarūr thī.*

Here also, although our actual presence in Delhi was the "first information" received by our friends, they seemed determined to punish us for our secrecy and kill us with kindness. We have, however, prevailed upon some, if not all, to postpone the round of festivities till we have ourselves provided for them our weekly feast of reason and flow of soul. In the meantime, we have been deluged with letters and telegrams from our subscribers asking us why we have not appeared for the last three weeks. We had obtained leave for a fortnight when we left Calcutta, but evidently the desire of our readers for our weekly *causerie* has outstripped their memories. For the additional week's delay we, however, plead guilty. But we are prepared to turn King's evidence and bear witness against a whole crowd of abettors and accomplices. To set up a new Press, and to bring out an issue of 32 pages, all within three weeks, and that too in a place where it is impossible to get, for love or money, most of what a printing press requires is an experience which we would not like our worst enemy to go through twice in a lifetime. But we owe more than this explanation to our readers, for there is a world of others who are awaiting with, perhaps, still greater eagerness for our Urdu daily. We have received more inquiries about the *Hamdard* than we have time to answer individually, for

Alam hamā ufsāna-i-mā ilārad o mā hēch :

we have ourselves not yet made any announcement as to the date when the first issue of the *Hamdard* will be published. Our own hesitation to name the day has nothing in it of the eager hesitancy of the engaged lady, and is susceptible of a very simple explanation. The types from Beyrout and Cairo have only just reached Bombay, and we expect them to be here in a day or two, as we have instructed our agents to send them to us by passenger train. It must take at least a fortnight to put the whole machinery in order, and we trust the prospective readers of the *Hamdard* will take our word for it that we shall not keep them waiting a moment longer than we can help. Now that our early dreams are being materialised and our cloudland imaginings are coming true, we realise with the poet the full force of our responsibility.

*Asmān bār-i-amānat natawānist kashīd,
Qura'-i-fāl ba nām-i-man-i-diwana sadand.*

THE assassin of the Head Constable, Roti Lal Roy, who was shot dead in Dacca, has shown once more that the ghastly under-world of political crime is still peopled by political desperadoes of the dastardly and violent type. Some efforts have

The Dacca Outrage.

been made in a section of the Bengali Press to read into the murder some purely personal motive of revenge. A policeman, who was a prominent witness in the Dacca conspiracy case and some other political cases and had hitherto been employed to watch the movements of certain notorious members of a dissolved Samiti, is murdered in cold-blood. And yet we are asked to believe that the act is not what, in all likelihood, it appears to be: a fruit of the insensate political feeling that had, not very long ago, flowered into organised Nihilism in Bengal. The temper of the classes from whose ranks the assassin has been usually drawn may be calmer to-day. The prophets are, for obvious reasons, silent and have ceased to supply the necessary stimulus. That, however, should not lead us to infer that anarchism has been altogether killed in this country. Repression has simply scotched it and driven it underground. "Concessions" may also have played the part often claimed for them in easing the situation. But those who imagine that the body-politic has been completely cleansed in that way have a very imperfect idea of the character and psychology of the anarchist. He is a microbe that persists in the blood, and no amount of mild "treatment" or surgical operations can completely annihilate it. Perhaps it would be better to recognise frankly that he has come to stay in this country. Is it possible that India is acquiring something of the political and moral climate of European countries like Russia, Italy or Spain where the monster thrives so abundantly? Whatever the future may have in store, the heart of the country is at present sound, and Government, whatever its shortcomings, has a clear idea of the directions in which it ought to move. The anarchist may not, therefore, perturb our vision of the future or affect the nerves and darken the counsel of the rulers as long as it is frankly admitted that he is always a dangerous possibility, and occasionally a dread presence.

THE London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* puts together some very interesting views on the question of the Julfa-Urumia Railway for which Russia has perhaps already exacted a concession at Teheran. According to the correspond-

Julfa-Urumia Railway.

ent, there is, first, the commercial aspect of the scheme, arising from the fact that Urumia is an important trading centre to and from which two important caravan routes lead, one from Julfa by Khoi, Dilman and Salmas, and the other from Trebizond by Erzerum, Kotur and Khoi. The first is the route from Russia; the other is from the west of Europe, including Great Britain. The Julfa-Urumia Railway will secure for Russia an enormous advantage over all her commercial rivals. In view of this fact the recent conversations at St. Petersburg between M. Poincaré and M. Sazonoff, which led to the waiving of the exclusive Russian privilege in the matter of the Anatolian railways in favour of France, on the understanding that no line between Trebizond and Erzerum will be built, possess a peculiar significance. The understanding means, in fact, that, while seeking—presumably with British support, and, at any rate, under the Anglo-Russian Convention—to obtain for her trade a special advantage by converting the existing caravan route into a railway, Russia is obstructing her rivals in their efforts to get some compensation for themselves. The famous Potsdam agreement, which resulted in a similar deal about a branch line from Khanikin to Teheran, was mainly designed at the expense of British influence and British trade. But the most important aspect of the proposed Julfa-Urumia Railway is the strategical advantage that Russia will secure at the expense of Turkey. The district between Lake Urumia and Lake Van is the disputed Turko-Persian territory. But while the dispute proceeds, Russia, "as the *tertius gaudens*, has, under the pretext of safeguarding the caravan route from the nomad tribes, occupied with her consular troops the entire line from Julfa to Khoi and further." The number of these troops must at present amount to several thousand. Should a Russian railway be constructed on the present caravan line, the "disputed" district will be definitely occupied by the Russians, and will virtually become a Russian province. This must be, indeed, the primary object which the Russian Government has in view in asking for the concession, and will result in planting the Russians on the Turkish flank. There is good reason to think that the moment for seeking the concession has been specially chosen in view of Turkey's difficulties elsewhere and her consequent inability to make her protest effective. But, as the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent says, here comes in the liability of England. "We have undertaken under the secret clauses of the Cyprus Convention of 1878 to protect Turkey on the northern frontier of her Asiatic possessions, and Turkey may well, in view of Russia's strategical approach by way of Urumia, call upon us to discharge our obligations under that Convention. Are we going

to evade our obligations on the pretext that an actual attack by Russia has not yet taken place? On the other hand, have we not undertaken under the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 not to oppose any railway concession which Russia may ask for herself in the northern zone? Once more it is seen what an illogical departure our *entente* with Russia has been from our ancient lines of policy." And yet Sir Edward Grey thinks that Russia and England were never more completely in accord and the Convention never a greater blessing than it is to-day.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT discoursed with her usual perfervid eloquence at Bankipore the other day on the most suitable type of a communal university for India. She regretted that the main object for which the Hindu and the

Communal Universities.

Moslem Universities were needed "had been kept in the background while discussing the Government decision". Her ideal of a university was a teaching and residential one like those of Oxford and Cambridge, which "trained students in their atmospheres as worthy citizens", and not an "examining board" like the London University which merely granted degrees "to the clever students who had no university training." She exhorted the Hindus and the Mussalmans to "welcome enthusiastically the Government decision to grant them residential and teaching universities, which would enable Benares and Aligarh to become centres of Hindu and Mohamedan culture respectively". Her objections to a "federal" university were mainly framed on the assumption that "it would be difficult to control and supervise colleges scattered all over India". The present universities "had failed in the supervision of colleges under a limited area. How then could Benares and Aligarh Universities supervise colleges all over the country?" As regards the designation, she preferred "Benares and Aligarh, instead of Hindu and Mohamedan Universities." Mrs. Annie Besant has, of course, gained considerable practical experience in regard to Hindu education, and her views on the educational needs of the Hindus are entitled to weight. In her speech at Bankipore she, however, traversed a vaster area, discussed the question of a communal university in its fundamental aspects and based her objections to the "federal" type of university on broad educational grounds. Briefly, she objects to a university with powers of affiliation because it would lack the necessary "atmosphere" for the training of character and would fail to evolve an efficient organisation for supervision and control. The arguments, though far from trivial, are by no means new. In fact, it is because these arguments have weighed most with the Mussalmans that they have all along felt a "federal" university to be supremely important for their needs. When once we recognise the need of a communal university, we set our seal on the right of every important community to evolve its own educational type. The affiliation question is simply a problem of space. If India were no larger in extent than, say, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Aligarh would have possibly sufficed for the requirements of the community. But a population of 70 millions scattered over an area of 1½ million square miles cannot send all its youths to receive the hall-mark of Aligarh. The only practical solution of the difficulty would, therefore, seem to be to reproduce the Aligarh type, in its main features, in important Moslem centres throughout the country. Affiliation would supply a guarantee against the lowering of the standard and the degeneration of the type. Aligarh itself would be the seat of the University with all the advantages that residence and academic life can confer. The distant colleges would be residential in character and would not fail to catch, at any rate, some of the tone and the spirit of the parent institution. The University curricula and the tests would be identical. We fail to realise how a machinery set up for purposes of inspection together with a system of joint examinations and of "Circuit Professors," i. e., Professors employed by the parent institution occasionally lecturing for a term or so at the affiliated institutions, would interfere with the "residential and teaching" character of Aligarh or even of outside colleges affiliated to it? The State universities have admittedly "failed". But their failure is due, not to inefficient supervision and control, but to their total lack of ideal. Curiously enough, Mrs. Annie Besant and those who argue like her ignore the *raison d'être* that alone can justify the evolution of a communal university. If the existing colleges and the universities that control them are condemned as inefficient for want of "atmosphere" and character, it is surely a very strange logic to condemn the creation of better institutions inspired by definite ideals and answering to a common type. It is exactly because the existing universities have "failed" in their supreme functions, that the Mussalmans, at any rate, desire a new and better university; and it is because they want to sow broadcast the seeds of the ideals which have germinated in the "residential atmosphere" of Aligarh that they consider affiliation to be so essential to the success of their educational programme. Per-

haps the Hindus have begun to think otherwise. They are the best judges of their own needs; and, considering the views of the Hindu leaders and the Hindu Press, they seem already inclined to accept the advice that Mrs. Besant solemnly offers them at Bankipore. It would not at all be a matter for surprise if they do. Hindu society is not homogeneous in character nor is it held together by the force of common ideals. The existing State universities have hitherto supplied all their educational needs. The only criticism that they have ever advanced against these universities has been confined to the degree of their own share in their direction and management. That share is daily growing and the influence of Hindu opinion is being increasingly felt in the organisation of public education in this country. With so many State universities practically their own, it need create no wonder if the Hindu community finally elects to accept the Hindu University on the conditions laid down by the Secretary of State.

WE HAVE received a copy of the letter which Mr. C. Arnold, Editor of the *Burma Critic*, has addressed to one of the wealthiest Mohammedans in Rangoon and which he proposes to send to several other Mussalmans. The letter,

A High School for Burma Moslems.

after briefly outlining the existing state of Moslem education in Burma, sets forth a tentative suggestion for the establishment of a Moslem High School in Rangoon and appeals for the necessary funds to bring the proposal to fruition. Moslem education in Burma is in a lamentably backward condition indeed. At a meeting of the Burma Moslem Society, Mr. Arnold learnt the fact with regret that the Moslem boys suffer under very considerable difficulties in regard to education. He felt that the existing state of affairs is highly discreditable to the whole Moslem community. As he rightly observes, "this community reckons among its members some of the richest residents in Burma, and it seems to me that, unless these people are willing to be considered lacking in all public spirit and devotion to Islam, they must bestir themselves in the interests of the growing generation." With characteristic zeal and sympathy for a good cause, he has since been taking active interest in the matter, and has put himself in communication unofficially with the educational authorities. After carefully considering the needs of the Mussalmans, he has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to start a High School with hostels attached to it, which would prepare boys for the Rangoon College and afford them residential accommodation. The number of Moslem boys receiving collegiate education is, at present, very small, owing mainly to the want of a suitable hostel for the boys. The proposed High School will provide secondary education for the Mussalmans according to their own needs as well as maintain a number of hostels for those who pass on to the College. "This scheme," says Mr. Arnold, "seems to me eminently practicable and it only needs the earnest co-operation of all the rich Mohammedans in Burma. No money could be so wisely spent as that given to advance education and to enable Mohammedans, who in another generation will be the representatives here of a great Indian community, worthily to hold their place in the forward movements of all Asia." We trust Mr. Arnold's appeal will meet with a hearty response from the Moslem community. The Mussalmans of Burma owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Arnold for his active sympathy and interest in the matter and we are sure they can repay it in no other way than by co-operating with him with whole-hearted enthusiasm in order that his efforts to create a Moslem High School in Rangoon may be crowned with a full measure of success.

THE promoters of the scheme which aims at the creation of a college for the study and development of the Vedic and Unani system of Medicine deserve all needed help and encouragement from the people. It represents a useful and patriotic effort to preserve what is best in the ancient arts of healing as practised in India, to co-ordinate them with the established principles and discoveries of the modern European system and to make them living sciences capable of growth through systematic research and experience. The immense strides that modern surgery has made is obvious enough; and the results of unrelenting labours of a devoted army of modern scientists are profoundly affecting the theory and practice of Medicine throughout the world. It does not, however, mean that the Unani and Vedic systems have grown totally obsolete and defunct. They still possess considerable vitality and are extensively practised in India. Empirical, no doubt, in many cases, they are nevertheless the genuine products of Indian climate, psychology and temperament. To rescue them from the quack and raise them to the dignity of useful and progressive sciences ought, therefore, to be a subject of serious consideration for the Indian communities. The movement that has been recently set on foot to establish a Unani-Vedic College

at Delhi is a welcome indication of the desire of the promoters of the scheme to make some effort in that direction. The scheme is as yet in its preliminary stage. We understand that H. E. the Viceroy is taking a sympathetic interest in its development and has consented to lay the foundation stone of the proposed College when the requisite amount of subscriptions has been raised and a suitable site definitely allotted. We trust the scheme will, through the generosity of the public, and the energy of the Haziq-ul-Mulk, bear practical fruit.

THE forthcoming Lucknow session of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference will have to deal with great educational issues, and its deliberations will have a far-reaching effect on the character and scope of higher education amongst the Mussalmans. The Hon. Joint Secretary of the Conference requests us to draw the attention of the Moslem public to the importance of the session. Apart, however, from the general questions affecting the educational ideals and programme of the community as a whole, the Conference has also to deal with the local needs of the Mussalmans in various parts of the country. The Hon. Joint Secretary, therefore, requests the Moslem leaders and well-wishers in every province to send, as soon as possible, resolutions embodying the requirements of their respective localities to the Central Office of the Conference at Aligarh. All such resolutions should reach the Office at an early date if the programme for the annual session is to be prepared and issued in time.

IT SEEMS to have been rumoured in some quarters that the Burma Moslem League has been rendering financial assistance to the Editor of the *Burma Critic* in the defence he is conducting against the charge of defamation that was

The McCormick Case.

some time ago brought against him by Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner of Mergui. We learn from our contemporary:—"We have heard from time to time, since this case has been before the public, that reports are current that the Burma Moslem League has taken a leading part in the matter, and that it has collected large sums towards the defence expenses, according to one rumour as much as Rs. 25,000. We think it well to state that all such reports are false. Nothing whatever has so far been done by the League. We hope this statement will put a stop to these tales, and we shall be glad if the Indian papers will publish this contradiction of them." Perhaps our readers are aware that this case is now being tried by the Burma Chief Court. A brief summary of the first two hearings is published elsewhere. We had been reproducing in complete detail the proceedings of the case in the committing Magistrate's Court as far as the limited space at our disposal allowed. But the proceedings were so lengthy that we were not able to reproduce them in full before the hearings in the Chief Court commenced. We have, therefore, decided to stop further reproduction of the same, especially as the trial now proceeding in the Chief Court will be much more interesting, and of which we will, of course, try to give an account in ample detail.

REITER informs us that Lord Denman, Governor-General of the Commonwealth, was given a great ovation on leaving for Melbourne, "because the New South Wales Government has appropriated Government House for administrative purposes." We further learn that "the route to the station was lined by cheering crowds", and that the Lord Mayor, in an address, expressed indignation at the circumstances in which Lord Denman left, "as an unparalleled outrage on national hospitality." We can well imagine a Governor-General, turned adrift on the streets, exciting the pity of the crowds and deriving comfort from their cheers. A decrees Lord Mayor could not but mourn aloud the inhospitable freak of the irreverent gods of democracy. Here, in India, however, we have quite a different spectacle—the homeless Legislative Councillors seeking shelter in the palaces of the Governor-General. And what makes their plight all the more galling and bitter is that they have none of the consolations that sustained the Governor-General of the Commonwealth in his grief—no "ovations" of pitying crowds and no addresses of indignant municipalities. But, however ill or well the Councillors may fare, it is some relief to think that the Indian Viceroy is beyond the reach of the fate that has overtaken his Australian confrere. Could the world dare look like itself again if through some freak of circumstance a Viceroy found himself wandering in quest of a home, amid the hurrahs of Delhi street boys and the sad, respectful sighs of the City Fathers! *Abait omen!*

Vedic-Unani Tibbi College.

WE HAVE received the following letter from Mr. Shankat Ali, which we hope will be read with considerable interest by our Moslem readers:—"May I beg for a little space in your esteemed paper to make an earnest appeal to Moslems in India to organize a Volunteer Corps to fight against the filibustering gang of dacoits in the Balkans? There is no doubt about the feeling of the Mussalmans all over the country; but I think we should give a more practical proof of our strong sympathy. A few thousand young men could easily be found in the country willing to fight for a great and glorious cause. I know many Mussalmans are anxious to go out to help their co-religionists if some one takes upon himself to organise a Volunteer Corps. I would have gladly taken this duty upon myself, but unfortunately I have many things on my hands just now. However, I would be proud to be one of the Volunteers and will pay my own expenses. It would do the Mussalmans—specially those of us who have not always lived up to its high ideals—no end of good if we learn to die for our great faith. Surely, we in India have not forgotten our past traditions. A glorious death in fighting for Islam is a thousand times better than the kind of life many of us are leading. Our Government, I am happy to say, is on the side of truth and righteousness, and would not like to see Turkey swallowed up by her unneighbourly neighbours. I am sure that the Government of India will help us in fulfilling the desire of every true Moslem's heart." We need hardly say that Mr. Shankat Ali's appeal to his Moslem brethren is simple, direct and sincere; and those who know his over-flowing optimism know as well that it is at times very infectious. But, will his appeal succeed in evoking what he calls "a practical proof of our strong sympathy"? We rather take it as a challenge to the Mussalmans, and we confess we are curious to learn the way in which the challenge will be received. Many things tempt us to revise our estimate of the Indian Mussalman of to-day. We may be wrong. They may not be pigeon-livered, nor lacking in gall to make disappointments bitter. All we do know is that they possess an enormous fund of wordy sympathy. Is action reserved for a final effort in the last ditch? We would rather wait and see. The cup of Turkey's troubles is now full to the brim. If Turkey is to perish, better far it should perish sword in hand. That awful catastrophe may not come. But if it ever comes, will it find many or few among the Mussalmans in this country who would not wish to be on the side of their brethren fighting for their honour, faith and fatherland. The present crisis is full of grave possibilities; and while every Indian Moslem will, we trust, send material help for the wounded soldiers and widows and orphans of the heroes who may fall in battle, we should like to see if there will be many whose one desire would be to go and share with their Turkish brethren the privilege of defending Islam or the glory of death in a righteous cause. As regards the attitude of our Government, we are happy to think that the British Foreign Office has taken a leading part in trying to curb the bellicose tendencies of the Balkan States. The situation has, however, grown out of the control of European diplomacy. A big struggle, with immense potentialities for becoming world-wide is imminent. Under the circumstances the Indian Government, we are sure, will not feel the slightest objection against the Indian Mussalmans going out to fight for Turkey. Volunteering for a good cause has been the privilege of the individual in every civilised State. We know of scores of brave and generous hearted Englishmen who have fought in defence of right, freedom and justice in foreign lands. Lord Minto fought as a volunteer on the side of Turkey in the last Russo-Turkish War. As long as the requirements of neutrality are scrupulously satisfied, the Indian Moslems will, we trust, experience no difficulties in going on as volunteers to Turkey. The Bulgarian Premier is reported to have said that "the impending war is the appalling ransom we are going to pay for our Christian brethren thrust back by iniquitous men into the godless pandemonium branded by Gladstone's immortal words." Here is another direct challenge to the whole world of Islam. Is the sense of honour and shame of the Indian Moslem quick enough to realize what this challenge means?

The Moslem University Voting Paper.

As we had intimated in the last issue of the *Comrade* published from Calcutta, we do not intend to publish the Moslem University Voting Paper any longer. The results have been frankly disappointing, though there is not the least doubt that of those who have an opinion to offer, or—shall we say?—those who have an opinion at all, are by a very large majority against the acceptance of the terms sought to be imposed on the Mussalmans by the Secretary of State. But as we had clearly stated, the effect of this majority would be much lessened by the fact that hardly a third of the number of our Moslem subscribers have voted at all. If we know the abstainers at all—and we think we know them pretty well—their abstention

has been due to the political lethargy that has overtaken the community after the sudden and fairly sustained activity displayed during the Separate Electorates controversy. Since then the Mussalmans have been resting on their oars, and the numbers of those who have voted on the question of the University is as good an index as any other of the practical energy and effort that the Mussalmans can put forth when they cannot secure what they want at the very first endeavour. Much as we feel that in the regime of Lord Minto the Mussalmans got only what was rightly their due, and that too only in one direction, their success was a little too easy as political successes go in the world. Is the community capable to-day of a millionth part of the sustained effort put forth by the Irish Nationalists to obtain Home Rule which will at last be the head and crown of one of the most prolonged political struggles? Nearer home, are they capable of putting forth a quarter of the sustained effort which compelled the Government to unsettle the most settled of facts in Bengal? Resolutions are occasionally passed by the League, its Council and its various branches. Brave words are used in displaying righteous indignation against Italy and Russia, and wily words in finessing as regards the criticism of the policy of Great Britain. Much sympathy is showered on the Turks, the Arabs and the Persians, and by way of change Mr. Montagu is denounced in glowing periods for doubting the solidarity of Islam. But is the force worth the acting? What is the net result of all this? "Words, words, words", as Hamlet would say. The contributions of Indian Mussalmans to the relief of the war sufferers in Tripoli could not have exceeded ten lakhs, even if they ever reached that figure. Italy and Russia have not been put in mortal fear of the military prowess of these sturdy sons of Islam, and we doubt if our own Government takes them more seriously than to keep the C. I. D. eye a little more carefully on a few scribblers and blabbers. We are ourselves none too valorous to expect or desire anything beyond a Jihad of the jaw and the shedding of many ink-bottles in the cause of Islam abroad.

*Irāhī thā ye nālon kā hiliān rūb-i-mashūn ko,
Majar, ap hamaqas, dil kī thakan kuchh aur kahī hai.*

But the cause of Islam at home was expected to have produced something more practical. After the high feeling noticeable at Lucknow just two months ago, we expected that the Mussalmans would convince the Secretary of State that they were in earnest by contributing lavishly to the University Fund, or at least paying up what they had promised towards it before the "final" decisions were announced. We at least expected that a few thousand meetings would be held in the country to pray the Government of India to make yet one more effort to convince the Secretary of State that the "Man on the Spot" could be trusted to deal safely with the question of affiliation. But there is neither money nor meetings, and one or two honourable gentlemen are riding astride the situation with the proposal that the University may be accepted on the Secretary of State's terms, but—for 15 lakhs of rupees! If ever a Mussalman possessed the soul of a bazaar haggler it must be the author of this stupid suggestion. Has the community come down so low as to be satisfied with a Banya's bargain? "What's the use of these bitter words", one may say. We admit the bitterness with our poet, philosopher and friend:

*Rakhyo, Ghulib, angulī is talukh masodī men mūf,
A) kuchh dard mere dil men swāi hotā hai.*

Ours has mainly been an educational ideal, and we would any day prefer to be a pedagogue rather than a demagogue. Ours has not been the cult of the bomb, but of books, and in so peaceful a cause the opposition of the Secretary of State has taken us completely by surprise. But our keenest disappointment is that the educated members of the Moslem community, who had talked of nothing but education for forty years, should appear so impractical and lifeless. It is easy to run down the "leaders" and it is impossible for any honest individual to admire the splendid isolation of some of the greatest of them at a time when their place is here by the side of their people. But what of the people themselves? We accuse the rank-and-file even more than the General, for armies have sometimes won the day even after the death of the General, but a General can only surrender or die when the army has been worn down or fled. The following is the final muster of the Moslem subscribers of the *Comrade*, and it will show that out of every three two have preferred silence, and shall we add? secrecy.

For the acceptance of the University on Government's terms . . . 51
Against the acceptance of the University on the Government's terms . . . 795

Total . . . 846

The Comrade.

The Last Fight of The Turk.

With the Montenegrin attack on Turkey, the ruthless and open conflict of race and creed, which had been the nightmare of European diplomacy for more than a generation past, has at last begun. The stake is the Empire of the Turk in Europe. The issues are the most momentous and fateful that have ever been submitted to the arbitrament of the sword. Within the compass of a small peninsula Nature and History have combined to pack all the forces that divide men—the elemental hunger of the savage, the lawless passions of the tribe, the hate and scorn of race, the remorseless bigotry of the priest, the pride of tradition, the vindictive fury of the weak, the lust for power and dominion—over which broods the spirit of the crusader. When the Turk forged his way into Europe, the petty Kingdoms of the Balkans were swept away and the entire territory as far as the gates of Vienna became an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. But conquest was nowhere accompanied by the least attempt to "Turkify" the conquered races. The spirit of racial individuality remained to fester in the heart of the Bulgar, the Albanian and the Serb. The sense of political inferiority was soon sharpened into undying hatred and murderous desire for revenge. Had the great soldiers who carved the magnificent Ottoman empire in Europe been as astute as the consolidators of Holy Russia, the course of modern history would have been entirely different. But the perfect, almost incredible toleration enjoyed by various nationalities under Turkish rule effectually barred the way to the unification of the Empire. As soon as the central authority grew slack and untoward political events divided the attention and impaired the will and the energy of the ruling race, the subject races began to nurse schemes for independent sovereign existence. The great European Powers, that had their own territorial designs to serve, stood forth as champions of "historic nationalities" struggling to be free. One by one the most important provinces of Turkey in Europe either rose into separate kingdoms or were absorbed by the neighbouring European States through successful intrigue, diplomacy or war. A most convenient fiction was set up at this stage and the Turk was reported abroad from the European Chancelleries as a "Sick Man" in the throes of political dissolution. Fierce contests, plottings and counter-plottings have been going on amongst the prospective "heirs" since then; and the so-called Near Eastern Question is in reality the hopeless tangle into which the rival claimants have landed the diplomacy of Europe. The petty Balkan States are but mere pawns in the game. They have, no doubt, their own schemes of territorial aggrandisement and cherish grandiose dreams of empire. But it is only because of their utility as instruments in the hands of Austria and Russia that they exist at all as toy kingdoms for the spoilt savages of Europe. Turkey is strong enough to deal with these turbulent and fanatical brigands at her frontiers. If the war becomes general, as is probable, her army may be trusted to carry the Ottoman flag and plant it once again in the heart of Athens, Sofia and Belgrade. It is not, however, the military issue of the struggle of Turkey wroth against the combined forces of the new-born "Confederacy"—that constitutes the menace of the situation. The real danger lies in the future developments of the diplomatic moves that have called this "Confederacy" into being. The very idea of Montenegro challenging Turkey to battle is ludicrous. She has dared to step forth into the arena in obedience to a concerted and well-planned scheme of action. The Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek Cabinets, too, have a correct measure of their military strength and would not indulge in tall talks and bellicose attitudes—the delirious war mobs notwithstanding—if they had not based their calculations on the strength of very definite assurances from other quarters. European diplomacy may stand aghast at their audacity, but not even a tyro can mistake the fingers of some of the agents of that diplomacy pulling the strings from behind the scenes. The issues of the present struggle are, therefore, big with fate. They involve the question of life and death for the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

Perhaps the day has, at last, arrived when the Turks, with their backs to the wall, should fight the last fight for their existence. The fight will be against heavy odds, against treason within, implacable foes without and, above all, against the active hostility of their bigger neighbours who have been nourishing vast political ambitions to share the "Sick Man's" Heritage. All this, however, seems to be inevitable. The time has, perhaps, passed when the question could be considered on the basis of right and justice. Modern Europe has ruled "the Turk" out of the pale of international morality. The question has been reduced to a simple, stark physical issue. Is Turkey strong enough to live? The sword of the Ottomans has now to give

the answer. Reports from Constantinople declare that Turkey is determined "to finish with her troublesome neighbours once and for all." To a nation jealous of its traditions and honour, no other determination could be possible. The present crisis has moved absolutely out of the region of compromise. The ostensible demand for an autonomous Macedonia is the thinnest of the thin disguises. The demand is, in naked fact, that the Turks should clear out of Europe. If they elect to retire into Asia of their own free choice, even then the troubles of the Turks would not cease. The pressure of outside aggression would increase rather than diminish and the woes of a whole nation in retreat will end only when it has found a safe refuge in the waters of the Persian Gulf. The end of Turkey in Europe will be the beginning of the end of Turkey in Asia. There need, therefore, be no illusion about the challenge of the "Confederacy" with which Turkey is face to face to-day. That challenge has been cheerfully accepted. There is not a Turk who does not feel that the supreme crisis of his national destiny has arrived; and he is awaiting the future with the calm fortitude characteristic of the race. There is something impressive in the spectacle of a valiant people, hemmed in on all sides by unscrupulous and determined foes, quietly pulling themselves together for a final effort to conquer or to die. Nature did not fashion the Turk on the model of hereditary bondsmen. He has been a born ruler of history—an aristocrat among nations. If, however, his rule is destined to close, it is far better he, too, should perish with his rule than live to bear the bondage of his slaves.

It is impossible at present to calculate the dimensions that the present crisis may reach. It contains all the elements of a big European catastrophe. The single-handed struggle of Montenegro will not take a month to decide. It is, however, exceedingly unlikely that Montenegro will be left alone to her fate. The Bulgarian and Serbian war-dogs, that have been straining mightily at the leash, may be let loose at any moment. Within the next week the crisis is bound to take a decisive turn; and Turkey may have to deal with the combined assault of the "Confederacy." If the crisis develops no further, Turkey may confidently look forward to the issue of the impending struggle. It is, however, when she has decided the military issue and finds her insolent enemies lying helplessly at her feet, that the real question of the Balkan settlement will arise. Will she be allowed to enjoy the hard-earned fruits of her victories? Sir Edward Grey is reported to have said that, in case war breaks out in the Balkans, every effort will be made to preserve unity of purpose amongst the Powers. Will he also endeavour to make sure, when the day of reckoning comes and the war is over, that Turkey is allowed to settle her account with her neighbours without interference or "friendly" advice from the Powers? Let the "Confederacy" have war, by all means, if it so desires—with all its consequences. If it succeeds in beating the Turks out of Europe, it is welcome to retain the spoils and divide them amongst its members. But if the Turks win and their generals hold "parades at Sofia" and other centres of the "Confederacy," then no sentimental charlatans or interested schemers will, we trust, be allowed to interfere on behalf of "struggling nationalities." Will the European Concert be capable of this degree of self-restraint and fairplay? All history teaches us to be sceptical. Russia will not allow her protégés, the little "Tsar of Bulgaria" and the King of Serbia to be driven into exile. Austria-Hungary has her own treaty obligations to discharge by saving Montenegro. Greece—the ancient Hellas, the land of Plato and Aristotle, the sacred haunt of the Muses—can not of course be left to the tender mercies of the Turk. The result of the struggle would be that Turkey, after immense expenditure of blood and treasure, will be left where she was to begin the struggle over again before another decade is over.

The sparks that might kindle a general European conflagration are not absent from the elements that constitute the present crisis. Austria has her own designs on Salonica; and Russia has never ceased to scheme for a territorial expansion in the direction of Constantinople. Austrian and Russian ambitions are, therefore, hostile in aim and their diplomatic manoeuvrings often come into sharp antagonism. Into this complex texture of the Balkan problem is wrought the web of multi-coloured motives and desires that move the petty Balkan nationalities. There are diverse commercial interests and colonising ambitions, political and diplomatic calculations, faddist plans and sentimental inanities. All these factors—popularly summed up as "the Near Eastern Question"—severally exert a powerful influence on the policy of every important European State. The two main European camps, into which diplomacy is organised at present, are directly interested in the Balkan developments. Efforts are being made to keep Europe united in dealing with the situation. But the curious though ineffectual rattling made by the Berchtold proposals and the recent activity of the Russian Foreign Minister serve to indicate the difficulties of Russia and Austria pulling together. The hasty bulletins that are being issued from Paris, assuming the world that all is well with the European Concert,

only bring into clearer relief the enormous task of diplomacy to keep the Concert in being. When once the Balkans are ablaze, the Concert will be shattered into its elements. That this contingency is fully present in the minds of the Russian and the Austrian Cabinets is manifest from the prompt measures they are respectively taking to mobilise their military forces. There exists, therefore, a grave possibility of the Balkan crisis developing into a European conflict. England had shown every desire to respect the susceptibilities of Turkey in "the exchange of views" that took place between the Powers before the forces of diplomacy could be mobilised. We trust she will play an honourable part in settling the grave issues now confronting Europe. In the event of a European war she will find the Turks her most useful allies, while the Moslem fellow-subjects of the British nation can feel no greater honour than to fight for their sovereign as well as for their brethren in faith.

The combined aggression of the Balkan States against Turkey is bound to create a profound impression throughout the Islamic world. If the Montenegrin attack brings about a general war, every Moslem will feel an irresistible call of duty to help those who will have to carry on a life and death struggle in defence of their honour and their rights. The feeling would be as strong and natural as the spiritual and moral ties that unite the followers of Islam. Some mischief-mongers have often tried to read into this feeling an aggressive political ambition or a burning hatred of Christendom. It is nothing of the kind. The Mussalmans desire nothing more than that their brethren should be allowed to live in peace and freedom from the aggression of the racial and religious bigots in Europe. If ever a nation possessed the right to defend its home and liberties, the Turks possess it to-day in full measure. In trying to crush the forces of anarchy, organised revolt and militant "confederacies" they would be striving to preserve the birth-rights of their nationality. No Mussalman, in whose breast there exists the least fraternal feeling that has been the glory of his creed can see unmoved the struggle of his fellow-Moslems in a just and noble cause. He would regard it as a great privilege if he can share actively the stress and burden of that struggle. If, however, that privilege is denied him, he would never cease to pray to his God, Who has ever exalted righteousness and hated iniquity, that Right may triumph and Wrong may be trampled underfoot.

The Aligarh Budget.

True to traditions the Budget of the Aligarh College came up for discussion before the Trustees on the 25th September, i. e., fully six months after the commencement of the year. Complaints have been made for the last 7 or 8 years that the Budget Meeting of the Trustees is never held in time; and those responsible for the delay have, it appears, exhausted their ingenuity in discovering fresh excuses for their dilatory methods. This year no excuse was put forward, though the authorities did not admit that they had no excuse to offer. It is methods like this that give a handle to those who would not allow the Mussalmans, on some pretext or other, to manage their educational affairs themselves. And if they are to be silenced, the community will have to haul over the shoals of those Trustees who provide them with such pretexts.

The outstanding feature of the year's Budget is that expenditure has outrun revenue by more than 20 thousand. It is true that the conditions this year are abnormal, for the College has not been able to put forth any efforts for enlarging its resources as all such efforts have been dedicated to the University during the last two years. All the same, the problem is a serious one, and must be faced immediately if progress of the one flourishing institution of the community is to keep pace with its increasing requirements. The estimate of revenue is Rs. 2,30,109-2-0, and of expenditure Rs. 2,50,641-4-2. To meet the deficit it was proposed that money should be borrowed from the University Fund out of its normal interest. But Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, wisely opposed this, as it was possible that suspicions may arise as to the opinions and methods of the Trustees in dealing with the University problem and the University Fund. The Trustees present at the meeting, therefore, decided to appeal to the community at large, and before doing so they promised to contribute their mite towards the deficit. A fairly large sum was promised at the meeting itself, and it is expected that the total amount contributed by the Trustees themselves would reach the total of Rs. 10,000.

The actual figures of the preceding year showed a revenue of Rs. 2,30,048-10-7, while the expenditure was Rs. 2,26,551-1-7, giving a very modest surplus of Rs. 3,497-6-0. This shows that while the revenue is expected to remain practically stationary, expenditure is likely to go up by about Rs. 21,000. The increase in expenditure is chiefly due to increase under Salaries, which exceeds Rs. 15,500, and under the Prince of Wales Science School, which exceeds Rs. 5,000. There is a new contribution to the

Mathematical Apparatus Fund and to Mathematical Books aggregating Rs. 1,250. The *Institute Gazette* claims its full income from the College, where it has been accumulating in recent times, and particularly since Mr. Muqtada Khan Sherwani, an Old Boy of Aligarh who belongs to the well-known family of Sherwanis of the district, took up the charge of the paper. This accounts for another thousand rupees, and the same amount is shared equally by the increased contribution to the Furniture Fund and by a welcome addition to the head of expenditure viz., contribution to the Cricket Club for the improvement of its grounds. Furniture is certainly badly needed, but it is a very costly economy when cheap rubbish is purchased one year to replace the cheap rubbish that was purchased the year before. The furniture in the College is most unworthy of such an institution, and, what is more, in the long run it costs more than good solid furniture purchased at double the price. As for the cricket ground, it is only right and just that the College which uses it for many social functions should contribute something towards its upkeep. As a matter of fact, the grounds should be maintained by the College itself, the various clubs only contributing towards the purchase of sporting gear.

As for Salaries, the College staff is responsible for an increase of more than Rs. 8,000, while the School gets an additional Rs. 1,300. The Honorary Secretary's staff is going to cost Rs. 1,000 more in salaries. There has been in recent years a recurring increase year after year in the establishment charges of this office, and the present figure, which is Rs. 8,155, requires a lot of explaining. The Accounts office has an addition of Rs. 600 in salaries. But the largest proportion of increase is in the salaries of the Religious Instruction Staff. The actual expenditure last year was Rs. 2,965, but the estimate for 1912-13 goes up to Rs. 5,787, or nearly an increase of cent per cent. This is due to the appointment of four additional Theology teachers, 5 Pesh Imams and four Muezzins. We do not grudge this expenditure, but we hope the teachers of Theology would be men of ability capable of soothing the doubts and satisfying the needs of educated young Mussalmans. The extra Muezzins and Pesh Imams are, however, forced on the College by the absence of a central mosque spacious enough to hold at least 1,500 men. It is against the spirit of Islam to multiply small mosques, and we trust there is no dearth of the pious in the community who would contribute at least five lakhs of rupees for the erection of a large central mosque, where a single Muezzin, such as the dear old man the College possessed not so very long ago, would be able to call the Faithful to prayer and to salvation.

What Aligarh needs is a town-planning scheme, and a man who has some knowledge of method and a lot more imagination than those who have been in charge of the building department after the days of Sir Syed Ahmed have possessed. They have spread the College over too large an area, and if this spider's web goes on expanding at this rate, we shall require a railway to run through the College territory to bring the students to the lecture-rooms and the mosque. The additional Muezzins and Pesh Imams are the first fruit of the craze for expansion and the earth hunger which has been assailing the Aligarh builders, and before very long we shall have a loose confederacy there instead of a college. For, a tendency towards disintegration is already visible in the Minto Circle Reading-room and Debating Society.

That white elephant of a Science School is getting larger and larger, and its expenditure has gone up from Rs. 25,846 during last year to Rs. 30,998 in the estimates for 1912. The increase of more than five thousand is mostly accounted for by an increase in salaries amounting to Rs. 3,200. We trust the successes in the examinations would follow in the wake of the increasing expenditure and the increasing pretensions of some of the Science Professors, and not stop at a solitary graduate every year.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Khun Bahadur Syed Jafar Husain, Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja, and Mr. Haji Mohamed Swaleh Khan were elected members of the Syndicate.

After the business on the agenda was over, Mr. Mohamed Ali drew the attention of the Trustees present to a letter signed by "An Aligarh Trustee" which had appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 17th September on the subject of the Moslem University. The Trustees present expressed disapproval of the contents of the letter, and every one present, including the Chairman of the meeting, K. B. Qazi Azizuddin Ahmed, disclaimed the authorship of the letter. An enquiry has already been set on foot, and the Trustees are being asked whether any of them has written the letter in question at all. It was the unanimous opinion of the Trustees present that no Trustee should write to the Press on the subject of the College unless he signed the letter or article. We hope this reasonable opinion would be embodied in the rules of the College.

Madges & Mauds.



THE CONQUERING HERO (leading "Madge's Own Hyphens"):
"For King and—no, *not* the Country!"

Verse.

Imperial Delhi.

Imperial City, crowned with sovereign grace !
To thy renascent glory still there clings
The splendid tragedy of ancient things,
The regal woe of many a vanquished race,
And memory's tears are cold upon thy face,
E'en while thy heart's returning gladness rings
Loud on the sleep of thy forgotten kings—
The silent lovers in thy sweet embrace.
Thy changing kings and kingdoms pass away,
The gorgeous legend of a bygone day,
But thou dost still immutably remain,
Unwearied symbol of great histories,
Unaging priestess of high mysteries,
Before whose shrine the spells of death are vain.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

Hyderabad.

Salve Regina !

Bursts from her ashes, when the phoenix dies,
Her form revived, more beauteous than the last;
So from the relics of thy storied past
Again, O Time-enthroned Queen! arise,
Robed in the light that gilds the western skies,
More proudly fair, more glorious than thou wast;
Freed from the gloom of years that overcast
And hid thy visage from expectant eyes.
Chosen of him to whom all sovereign power
Is but the guardian of man's sacred dower
Of Truth and Right. All hail ! thy gorgeous train
We follow, as the smiling heavens impart
Auspicious omens that not all in vain
We voice the yearnings of a people's heart !

NIZAMAT JUNG.



Pan-Islamism in India.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT IN INDIA.)

It has been the fashion in the past to scoff at the dangers of the Pan-Islamic propaganda. Doubtless there has been at times a tendency to exaggerate the importance of the movement. The dismal prophecies of pessimistic writers on the subject have never yet fully materialized. Hence there has been a proneness on the part of the average man to write down the whole thing as sensationalism and scaremongering. The movement has, nevertheless, steadily progressed until now, under the influence of recent events, it has undoubtedly attained to a power, an importance, and a cohesion such as has never previously been the case. The mainsprings of Pan-Islamism lie in Europe, and chiefly, perhaps, in Paris, where Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, and Persians congregate in considerable numbers. It is from Paris that instructions are sent out to trusted emissaries in all the Mohamedan countries, but the actual work of gathering recruits naturally takes place amongst the people of those countries. It would take too long to consider the progress made in various parts of the Moslem world. It will suffice to consider the question as it affects India and the immediately surrounding countries, since it is there that our interests are specially affected.

Since the deposition of the Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey and of the Shah Mohamed Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan has come to regard himself as the champion of the Moslem world. In some respects, indeed, he has good reasons for his claim. The Monarch who reigns in Constantinople, like the child in Teheran, is known to be little but a puppet in the hands of a party, whilst the Sultan of Morocco is in the hands of the French, even as the Khedive of Egypt is in those of the British. These facts are widely proclaimed in Kabul, and the Amir is encouraged by his brother Nasrullah, and by all the mullah faction, to regard himself as the sole remaining hope of Islam. The extensive employment of Turks in Afghanistan, principally as military instructors, which has been such a feature of recent years, has brought about close and frequent relations between Kabul and Constantinople. The Amir also maintains permanent representatives at the holy places of Mecca and Medina, at Baghdad, which in some ways may be regarded as the metropolis of the Middle East, and, through subjects of that faith, is kept in close touch with Kербela and Nejed, the centres of the Shiah world. The result of all

this scheming, coupled with wire-pulling from Europe, has been a remarkable recrudescence of Pan-Islamic feeling. Morocco, Tripoli, Persia, are all taken as evidence, which is really believed by otherwise perfectly loyal and well-disposed Indian Mohamedan subjects, of a conspiracy on the part of the Christian Powers of Europe to destroy the few remaining Mohamedan States and annex their territories. This is regularly preached, with fair show of reason, throughout India, the frontier districts, and Afghanistan. To the more ignorant it is also explained that forcible conversion to Christianity would follow annexation. It would be difficult to find arguments more likely to inflame the fanaticism of the Moslem world, and it is owing to the way in which these beliefs have spread that the revival of Pan-Islamism is now so formidable.

It must be remembered that nowadays the Mohamedans of India and neighbouring countries follow the course of events in the distant countries of their faith with sedulous care. The news may take weeks to reach them, and its digestion may take time, but it is assimilated in due course. Affairs in Morocco aroused an interest which was extraordinary considering how remote from India that country is. But the Tripoli business has occasioned something like a ferment. Not only has it involved war with the Khalifate—a thing which invariably causes the greatest excitement throughout the Mohamedan world, as we experienced in 1897, the risings of which year were to some extent the reflex action of the Græco-Turkish war—but it introduces the Senussi element, which, whatever may be its real importance, undoubtedly exercises an extraordinary influence amongst the Mohamedans of every country. Many pious believers are convinced that it is from out of the heart of Africa that the Mahdi, who is to reconquer the world on behalf of the faith, is to arise, and that possibly even now he is amongst the mysterious Sennssi, who have their agents everywhere. It must be remembered that, despite their generally backward condition educationally, nothing is easier than to propagate in the widest possible fashion any new movements amongst Mohamedans. To the holy cities of the Hedjaz come pilgrims from every country. A few trusty agents there and word is carried broadcast by returning hajjis. It is in this manner that the news of Tripoli has spread to the remotest parts, and has occasioned a tenseness of feeling in the Moslem world which is almost unexampled.

Then there is Persia. The British in India can appreciate to some extent the difficulties of Sir Edward Grey in this matter. It is realized that in view of the situation in Europe it is most desirable to maintain intact the entente with Russia, but it is doubted whether it was really necessary to go to such lengths of complaisance as Sir Edward Grey has gone in this matter. The people of India, on the other hand, at first bewildered by the extraordinary manner in which we obeyed every demand of Russia, and with minds since poisoned by the whisperings of Pan-Islamic newspapers and preachers, are inclined altogether to doubt our good faith. The most intelligent of them will tell you that they decline to believe that the great British Empire would willingly consent to be made a cat's paw of by Russia, whilst the latter consummated her ambitions in Persia, unless there was something more in it than has yet been announced. Here again the story of the conspiracy amongst the Christian Powers to suppress the Mohamedan States is widely believed, and is, indeed, given colouring by our actions. It is no exaggeration to say that our subservience to Russia in Persia has created the worst possible impression amongst even the loyal Mohamedans of India, and the fact that we have so palpably been playing second fiddle has been most harmful to our prestige. Feelings were much embittered by the action of Russia in Meshed and its neighbourhood, particulars of which have only recently begun to trickle through to India by means of returning pilgrims. The bombardment of the shrine, which is held in peculiar veneration, is universally execrated. The unfortunate part of it is that in this, as in all the other actions of Russia in Persia, the common belief is that the British were involved.

The result of all this has been to give to Pan-Islamism in India and neighbouring countries an extraordinary impetus—one, indeed, which may well become dangerous. It is difficult to take up any Indian Mohamedan paper without seeing that the wrongs of Mohamedans in other countries, the conspiracy of the Christian Powers against Mohamedan States, the necessity of subscribing largely to the Turkish war funds, and the obligation lying on all Mohamedans to be ready to act together in defence of the faith form practically the sole topics for discussion. It is interesting to note, too, that the more extreme Hindu papers take pleasure in impressing on their Mohamedan fellow-subjects that they have been abandoned by the Government, as witness the case of Eastern Bengal; whilst the remarks of Mr. Montagu regarding the non-homogeneous character of Indian Mohamedans have made the worst possible impression coming at such a time. Meanwhile, those acquainted with the native life of great cities such as Delhi, Lahore, Peshawar, and Lucknow, have remarked the coming and going of many mysterious Turks

and Arabs during the last few months. It is noteworthy, too, that the celebrated shrines of Gulbarga, Ajmere, and Sirhind, which are crowded with Mohamedan pilgrims from the frontier and Afghanistan, have similarly been visited by strangers from Baghdad, the Hedjaz, and Constantinople, who have been very active. In fact, any police officer in Northern India would probably say that never in his experience have there been so many travelling Turks and Arabs in India as has been the case this spring.

All this may mean much or little. It is too early yet to say. But those closest in touch with Mohamedan feeling seem unanimous in considering that never before within their recollection has that feeling been so stirred by events outside India, and never has so great a strain been placed on the loyalty of what we have always regarded as perhaps the most loyal community. The writer has discussed the matter with men whom he has known for years, and who are undoubtedly most loyal and sincere subjects of the King-Emperor. Explanations and arguments are of no avail. They are convinced that not only have their co-religionists elsewhere been abominably ill-treated—and in Persia with the active connivance of Great Britain—but that all this has been done by a previously arranged agreement amongst the Powers, and that soon there would be no independent Mohamedan State left. As a result of this widespread belief all eyes are turned to Afghanistan, as being the last of the really independent Mohamedan States. Turk and Arab emissaries visit Kabul. The Moslem Press speaks of the Amir in terms of extravagant laudation. Herein lies serious danger. His Majesty of Kabul has long held views as to his own importance entirely disproportionate to the actual facts. When he finds himself courted and praised to such an extent his conceit, coupled as it is with an unquenchable desire to be ever in the full glare of the limelight, may overcome his discretion, which, surrounded as he is by bigoted Pan-Islamists, is almost the sole restraining influence to which he is subjected. His Court and advisers would, for the most part, desire nothing better than the proclamation of a holy war. Already the Afghans are adopting an aggressive attitude towards Persia. The danger which threatens in the immediate future is that the Amir, intoxicated by petty successes, inflated with pride, and desirous of standing forth before all the world as the champion of Islam, may one day proclaim that *jihad* which his mullahs have been constantly preaching for years past. It would be difficult to say how far such a conflagration might spread. Obviously it would involve very great issues indeed.

The air in India and its borderland is charged, therefore, with electricity of a particularly dangerous kind. The loyal Mohamedan community is greatly disturbed by the course of British policy. It does not read Blue-books, and cannot understand the intricacies of European politics. In this frame of mind it has been approached by the emissaries of Pan-Islamism with results which are most unfortunate from our point of view. It seems eminently desirable that, so far from anything further being done in Persia or elsewhere, which would increase the tension, something should immediately be done to relieve it.

The Danger from Pan-Islamism.

THIS article we print upon the revival of Pan-Islamism is from the pen of a correspondent who has long had special opportunities of watching the undercurrents of political and religious feeling in India and the Middle East. We have no reason to doubt the broad accuracy of his conclusions. Those whose business it is to keep their fingers upon the less manifest pulsations of life and thought in the East have noticed for some time that a renaissance of Pan-Islamism was quietly making headway. But, so far as we can judge, the new Pan-Islamism differs from the old. In the earlier days of the movement it had its headquarters in Constantinople, and found its chief encouragement in the interested benedictions of the ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid. The latest phase of the movement is more spontaneous; it is certainly more widespread; and we should be inclined to say that it is now less carefully organised for specific purposes. Pan-Islamism to-day may be defined as a movement which expresses the resentment of the whole Mohamedan world at the growing pressure exerted by Christian Powers upon kingdoms and States which have long been regarded as bulwarks of Islam. It has a certain solidarity, because the feelings of which it is the expression are everywhere identical. Although the tendencies which produce it are political, its own character is essentially religious, because to those it animates it seems to be the outcome of the ancient conflict between the Crescent and the Cross. Its aspirations are practical, because they are represented by the yearning hope that the ranks of Islam may some day throw up a new and militant deliverer of the faithful. The chief change in Pan-Islamism in its revived form is found in the enlargement of its areas. Its exponents are moving alike in the north-west provinces of China and

in the interior of Morocco. Nowhere is the spread of the spirit it symbolizes more visible than in India. Our correspondent is quite correct when he says that the war between Turkey and Greece in 1897 deeply stirred Mohamedans in India and Afghanistan. But the excitement of those days was not true Pan-Islamism as it is now understood. The Moslems in the great cities of India merely rejoiced that the Khalifa—for so they still regarded him—had vindicated, as it seemed to them, the prowess of Islam. The Ameer Abdur Rahman, in an unwonted fit of religious fervour, emulated the Monarch of Constantinople by issuing addresses about *jihad*, which helped to stir up the tribes of the north-west frontier of India to rebellion. These were half-unconscious expressions of the spirit of Pan-Islamism, and were not the outcome of a world-wide movement. But to-day the Moslems of India consciously share the growing apprehensions of their brethren throughout the world at the menace which seems to threaten the lands where the Crescent is still nominally paramount. Their attitude cannot now be lightly disregarded, as we were able to disregard it fifteen years ago.

In some respects the views of our correspondent require, in our opinion, considerable modification. We do not endorse his estimate of the possible attitude of the present ruler of Afghanistan. The Ameer Habibullah is an intelligent and capable, but not a great, man, as those who know him best can testify. He has never given evidence of possessing the qualities necessary in the leader of a Holy War. His audible vanity finds expression in ambitious speeches rather than in deeds. The wholesome lesson of the Khost rebellion has greatly chastened his conception of his military strength. On the other hand, it must be admitted that recent events in Afghanistan have greatly reinforced the power of the priesthood, and turbulent fanaticism is more rife in that kingdom than it has been for a decade. If the Ameer ever gives rein to the aspirations ascribed to him, it will only be because he is carried away on the crest of a wave which he has been unable to control. The outcome of any activity into which he may be led can be contemplated by the British in India without much alarm; and we do not think the possibility is very near. Again, we think that our correspondent confers too much importance upon the Senussi movement in Africa, of which the vast bulk of Islam is almost unaware. That the Mohamedan Press of India bitterly denounces British policy in Persia, and dislikes the association of Great Britain and Russia in the Middle East, is common knowledge. That Indian Moslems deduce therefrom the fantastic notion that Great Britain is engaged with other Powers in a conspiracy for the overthrow of Islam is one of those wild beliefs which no argument can shatter. When once an idea runs through the East no denials can ever overtake it. We agree with our correspondent that these beliefs exist, but we are unable to assent to the suggestion that any action now taken would destroy them.

The essence of our correspondent's article is the implied proposal that we should alter the whole trend of our foreign policy in order to meet the new danger which he believes to be arising. He would have us part company with Russia, and thereby undermine the basis of our international relationships, simply to evade a menace which is still vague and intangible. It has yet to be proved that Pan-Islamism is to-day, or is ever likely to be, as formidable as he seems to regard it. Even if his alarm were fully justified, there would still be many reassuring factors. It is true that Pan-Islamism is everywhere identical in its views, but it has little practical cohesion, and its militant capacity is comparatively limited. In all matters of foreign policy we can never find absolute safety. Foreign policy generally resolves itself, when the moment for decision arrives, into a choice of risks. The duty of the statesmen who frame our foreign policy is to choose the least risks, when our national honour is not immediately involved. We are bound to say that we cannot regard Pan-Islamism as a risk of the first magnitude, nor do we think it is ever likely to become so. We cannot reconstruct our foreign policy to meet the changing aspects of every ebullition of religious feeling in the Orient. We sympathize deeply with the anxious interest of the Moslems of India in the welfare of Islam in other lands; but we are compelled to remember that their interest is still a very young and tender plant, which has grown only with the broadening of India's outlook. For centuries there was little community of interest between Islam at Delhi and Islam at Constantinople. Indian Mohamedans remained unperturbed even when a Russian army emerged on the shores of the Sea of Marmora. Mohamedans in India enjoy ample protection for their religion, and equality of opportunity in the public services. Their anxieties about foreign affairs must be respected, their apprehensions constantly watched, their desires met whenever conditions permit; but they cannot expect to dictate the whole foreign policy of Great Britain. If they looked deeper, they would, perhaps, realize that Great Britain in India is to-day the strongest bulwark that Islam possesses.—*The Times*.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

Agents of British, American and Hungarian Companies at Cavalla have received threatening letters demanding large subscriptions to the funds of the Bulgarian revolutionary organisation.

During the fighting in the Derna District, the Italian artillery and rifles decimated strong bands of the enemy. The Italian casualties were three killed and ten wounded. It is reported in Constantinople that the unofficial peace negotiations which have been recently in progress in Switzerland have been broken off.

The Cabinet has decided to suppress the state of siege in Constantinople, to extend the concessions granted to the Albanians to the remainder of the Empire, and to appoint six British advisers to the Departments of Police, Posts, Telegraphs and Statistics.

The journal "Geneve" states that Turco-Italian delegates are surprised at the report of negotiations and declare that conversations are still going on.

The "Giornale d'Italia" says that Signor Bertolini, who is conducting the semi-official negotiations regarding the war, arrived from Onchy and conferred with Signor Giolitti, the Premier, and Marquis di San Giuliano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. He returns to Switzerland shortly.

The Geneva correspondent of the "Temps" declares that an acceptable basis for peace has been found. The principal point is a loan of twenty millions sterling to enable Turkey to reorganise her finances and administration.

The fundamental question of the "fait accompli" in Tripoli has been settled to Italy's satisfaction, and it is even stated that plenipotentiaries to sign the treaty have been nominated.

The newspapers offer cordial congratulations to the Sultan on the occasion of the feast of Bairam. King George has also sent a message of congratulations. In a similar message to Kamil Pasha, Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey added his wish for the success of the Government's policy.

It is officially denied that Italy is negotiating for a loan with a view to handing Turkey twenty millions sterling.

Reuter wires from Rome:—Fierce Arab attacks and counter-attacks near Derna on the 17th September were repulsed. The Italians had 61 killed and 180 wounded. Arab losses are estimated at a thousand dead and a proportionate number of wounded. The Italians took 41 prisoners.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—An extraordinary Cabinet Council discussed the Malissori rising. Ten battalions are proceeding to Scutari.

Fighting in the past three days has resulted in Turkish casualties of 25 killed and 65 wounded. The Malissori had 118 killed and 97 wounded, while many of them were taken prisoners.

Reuter learns that though the reports of the Alliance of the Balkan States are not confirmed, the Balkan Legations in London have admitted that a rapprochement exists and that the situation is grave, unless public excitement is allayed by reforms in the European provinces of Turkey.

The position of the Italians at one stage of the battle of Zanzur was apparently most critical. After six hours' fierce fighting the combat appeared to be slackening and troops started an attempt to entrench themselves on some difficult ground amid loose sandhills, when an airship and an aeroplane reported that a fresh strong column of the enemy was advancing.

The Italian reserves hastily advanced but were not in time to prevent a desperate hand to hand encounter in which even the artillerymen were compelled to charge with fixed bayonets. The enemy was finally repulsed.

After the battle of Derna on the 17th September the Italians buried 1,184 bodies of the enemy which had been killed.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—A Circular issued by the Sheikh-ul-Islam to Moslem ecclesiastics in the Armenian provinces attributed the attack on Armenians to instigators anxious

to sow enmity between Moslems and Christians. The Circular points out that the Sheriat imposes the obligation of protection and security for non-Moslems as for Moslems, and urges ecclesiastics to inculcate this with the object of prevention of further outrages.

A further cause of friction in the Balkans is the stoppage by the Turkish authorities at Salonika and Uskub of a consignment of artillery and ammunition destined for Serbia, Turkey demanding assurances as to Serbia's attitude in Balkans before releasing the consignment.

Reuter wires from Vienna:—Emperor Francis Joseph in his speech from the Throne expressed sincere sympathy with the efforts of Turkey and Italy in the direction of peace. He pointed out that Austria's suggestion for exchange of views had resulted in an unanimous wish to see tranquillity and the *status quo* maintained in the Balkans. Referring to the development of the Austro-Hungarian navy, the Emperor said it would place the fleet in a better position to satisfy the needs of the protection of economic interests.

Reuter wires from Vienna:—Count Von Berchtold, Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressing the Hungarian Delegation said he welcomed private negotiations for peace between Turkey and Italy. The removal of foreign complications would facilitate the settlement of Turkey's domestic crisis. The fact that all the Cabinets had agreed to his proposals for an exchange of views on the subject had secured a valuable pledge for the prevention of a violent solution. Russia was especially earnest in her endeavours to ensure the maintenance of peace but it would be a serious mistake to regard the dangers in the Balkans as averted. Statesmen in the countries adjacent to Turkey had a heavy task to check the irresponsible elements. His information justified the assumption that the present Government at Constantinople was diligently endeavouring to provide guarantees for the reasonable requirements of the nationalities. In conclusion Count Berchtold said that the display of sheet lightning in the Balkans was in no wise reassuring and diplomacy was on the alert to stifle at the outset a possible conflagration. Austria-Hungary had great interests at stake and only when she was armed on sea and land could she look to the future with an easy mind.

The Russian Press comments on the visit of M. Sazonoff are devoted mainly to the Balkan question, the peaceful settlement of which, they say, can only be obtained by the vigorous initiative of Russia and common action with Britain.

Reuter wires from Rome:—It is believed that at the fight at Zanzur nearly all the enemy's forces were engaged. The Italians faced between twelve and fifteen thousand men advancing on all sides. The enemy's losses are believed to be at least two thousand.

Reuter wires from Paris:—A telegram from Smyrna states that 350 Cretans have landed at Samos and are marching on Vathy, where there is an Ottoman garrison. An immediate attack is probable. France is sending the cruiser "Bruix" from Canca.

Reuter wires from Rome:—The Italians have occupied the oasis of Zanzur in Tripoli, after a ten hours fierce engagement. The Italian losses were two hundred killed and wounded.

Reuter wires from Rome:—Lieutenant-General Caneva has been promoted to the rank of General.

Reuter wires from Rome:—The anniversary of the entry of the Italian troops into Rome has been celebrated universally with unusual manifestations of patriotism.

Signor Colajanni, Republican Deputy, speaking at Palermo, said that he had formerly opposed war, but he now recognised the great benefits arising from it.

Replying to the congratulations of the Mayor of Rome, King Victor Emmanuel said that the overflowing energy of the country was a presage of Roman glory.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The shooting of fourteen mountaineer prisoners by the Turks on the ground that they attempted to escape has led to a fresh revolt of the Malissori who are

threatening Scutari. The Porte hopes that the trouble will be rapidly allayed and is granting the same concessions to the discontented tribes as to the Northern Albanians.

No future developments are expected in connection with Count Von Berchtold's proposal which, after Austria-Hungary's explanation to Turkey and the Powers that Austria-Hungary did not contemplate a scheme of reforms, is considered closed.

Reuter wires from Belgrade:—Owing to rumours of impending war between Turkey and Serbia paralysing business, a deputation of merchants waited on the Premier when they were assured that the Government's intentions were absolutely peaceful and that there was no reason whatsoever for excitement. The Premier deprecated their believing sensational reports.

At Socialist meetings held in Sofia and other towns of Bulgaria demand has been made for a Balkan Federated Republic in which Turkey should be included.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—A communication has been issued extending to all the provinces concessions recently granted to the Albanians including military service for recruits in their own districts.

Reuter wires from Smyrna:—Nine Italian warships entered the Gulf of Smyrna and searched the vessels. They withdrew in the afternoon.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The landing of Cretans on Samos occurred during the temporary absence of the British and French warships stationed at Samos. They were led by a Samian, named Sofulis. An engagement with the Turkish troops ensued but the result is unknown. A battalion of Turks has been despatched from Smyrna to reinforce the garrison of the island. The warships have now returned.

Apparently Russia, at the instance of Bulgaria, has been taking strong and independent action in pressing upon Turkey the urgency of effective reforms. It is noteworthy that the preamble to the communication extending to all the provinces concessions recently granted to the Albanians states that the Cabinet's decision was due to steps taken by certain Ambassadors and to the communications made by M. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, to the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg. According to one Turkish account M. Sazonoff intimated to the Ambassador that, unless the reforms were promptly introduced the powers would be compelled to intervene though an authoritative Russian *communiqué* denies the use of these words.

The Cabinet has conceded to the Malissori a number of concessions which go beyond those granted to the Albanians.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The Government has decided to hold grand manoeuvres in the Adrianople province at the beginning of October.

The resolve is viewed with apprehension by diplomatists as the nearness of the venue to the frontier may be a pretext for Bulgaria to mobilise or may endanger the position of the Bulgarian Cabinet, which is peacefully inclined.

Turkey's partial mobilization under the guise of manoeuvres has added to the almost gloomy tone of Count Von Berchtold's recent speech and has deepened the gravity with which the Balkan situation is viewed, though it is generally believed in most capitals that the efforts of the Powers will succeed in preventing a conflagration.

The Porte's orders involve the massing of four army corps around Adrianople and these will be reinforced by the whole of the second line of Redifs of the four Vilayets. The action is justified in Constantinople on the ground that the chief argument of the Bulgarian Chauvinists is that Turkey is not prepared and disorganised. The disillusionment of the Chauvinists will strengthen the interests of peace.

Austria has warned Turkey that unless the promised reforms are carried out it will become difficult for the Powers to exercise restraining influence on the Balkan States.

Reuter wires from Athens:—Owing to the Turks firing on the Greek mail steamer off Samos, the Government has made a vigorous protest to the Porte demanding an apology and punishment of offenders and compensation for damage to the ship and passengers' luggage.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—Sharp fighting has occurred between the Turks and the insurgents on the Island of Samos. British and French cruisers have landed men to protect the Consulates and foreigners.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—A hundred battalions of the Redifs have been called out for exercises, of which four divisions will take part in the manoeuvres in Adrianople. The remainder will replace the disbanded and time-expired troops, maintaining a total effective force in European Turkey of 300,000.

Reuter wired from Sofia:—The Government has remonstrated to the Porte in connection with Turks firing on Bulgarian outposts on the frontier.

The resignation of the Armenian Patriarch and the Lay Assembly, as the result of unpunished murders of Armenians by Kurds, has stirred the Porte to activity, and it has ordered the pursuit of the Kurds.

The only result hitherto is the ambushing of a detachment of Turkish troops by brigands near Van, in which ten Turks were killed and two wounded.

Reuter wired from Vienna:—It is stated in Vienna that Austria, backed by Russia, has warned Bulgaria that if she breaks the peace she must bear the risk and responsibility alone.

Turkey has ordered the release of the twenty car loads of ammunition, detained for Serbia, which she had caused to be detained at Uskub. Hitherto no action has been taken as regards the ammunition detained at Salonika.

Turkey has revoked the permit for forwarding Serbian war material on the ground of the unsatisfactory attitude of Serbia.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—Reshid Pasha, Minister of Mines, who has left for Switzerland, will, it is believed, meet the Marquis di San Giuliano, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, somewhere in Italy, probably near Milan.

Replying to the delegates who urged that Austria should adopt a programme in the Balkans for the Balkan peoples, Count Von Berchtold said that the friendliest and most confidential pourparlers were in progress between the Powers with the object of finding a middle course, which would respect the susceptibilities of the Porte and simultaneously give the Ottoman Nationalities a positive reason to remain quiet. He emphasised, in conclusion, that Austro-Hungary's policy was a conservative one.

Pressure in the Balkan situation is apparently increasing the anxiety of the Porte to arrange peace with Italy. Reshid Pasha, Minister of Mines, has left Constantinople for Switzerland the bearer, it is believed, of proposals which, it is hoped, will hasten negotiations.

The Convention between Greece, Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria for common action is regarded as accomplished.

It is believed that the Bulgarians have asked Serbia to supply fifty thousand men and there is a report that the Serbian Reservists are being quietly called out and sent to the frontier in small batches. On the other hand, feeling in Constantinople is optimistic and the opinion is growing in diplomatic circles there that peace will be maintained.

It is stated authoritatively that Turkey has abandoned the manoeuvres in Adrianople and will substitute separate exercises in each military district. It is hoped that this will calm feeling in Bulgaria.

The Russian Ambassador in Constantinople, in a long interview with the Foreign Minister, emphasised the necessity for prompt application of reforms to Macedonia in order to facilitate the pacific efforts of the Powers.

Confidence in Constantinople is reflected in the announcement that the Special Mission which is going to investigate the grievances of the Malissori leaves via Serbia and Montenegro instead of travelling by the sea as originally arranged.

Reuter wires from Rome:—The enemy attacked the Italian positions but were repulsed with heavy losses. The Italians lost three killed and seventeen wounded.

It is semi-officially reported that an Italian vessel tried to prevent the landing of the Turks at Samos but the commander of the French cruiser told him that he had no right to interfere in the affairs of Samos. Other Greek reports speak of Turkish outrages in Epirus and Samos including the violation of Greek women.

The Serbian Government has detained eighteen car loads of Turkish ammunition at Belgrade.

A sensation has been caused at Warsaw by the sudden and unexpected mobilisation of seven army corps in Poland. It is officially described as a test mobilisation.

Reuter wires from Sofia:—It is officially stated that in view of the reports of the concentration of considerable Turkish forces in Adrianople and on the frontier, Bulgaria has been compelled to issue a mobilization order to meet eventualities.

Reuter wires from Belgrade:—A general mobilization order has been signed and the Skupstina has been summoned for an extraordinary session on October 3rd. War preparations are proceeding with feverish haste. The Police have prohibited the reporting of military movements. It is reported that the Servian Minister has already left Constantinople.

A message to the "Daily Mail" from Sofia says that the dismissal of Reservists has been postponed till October 14th. Cavalry are now entraining for the frontier amid cheers of the inhabitants of Sofia.

Reuter wires from Athens:—In pursuance of the agreement with the Balkan States, the mobilisation of Greek forces by land and sea was ordered on the ground that Turkey may seek an issue from her domestic differences by a move against her neighbours.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—As the result of the Porte insisting upon Servia giving a declaration of amity, the Servian Minister issued an ultimatum demanding the passage of war material which has been detained, or the return of the same to France within forty-eight hours.

All vessels flying the Greek flag have been recalled from Turkish waters.

Reuter wires from Vienna:—Count Von Berchtold, Minister for Foreign Affairs, questioned with reference to the mobilisations in the Balkans said there was a weighty decision to be taken between ordering the mobilisation and beginning the hostilities. The Powers were striving to maintain peace.

Count Von Berchtold's statement is regarded as reassuring.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Foreign Minister declares that no ultimatum has been received by Turkey from Bulgaria or from Bulgaria and Servia jointly.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—A definite issue of peace negotiations is expected in a few days as Reshid Pasha is bearing to Switzerland Turkey's final conditions, the non-acceptance of which, it is believed, will entail the rupture of negotiations.

Montenegro has apologised for the attack on the Turkish ammunition convoy near Lake Skutari and has promised the punishment of the aggressors.

Reuter wires from Athens:—The Porte has expressed regret for the firing by the Turks on the Greek mail steamer recently and had promised that the guilty shall be punished after the matter has been investigated.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The British and French Naval Commanders at Samos have arranged with the insurgents for five days' truce to disengage the situation.

Reuter wires from Rome:—It is understood that the agreement between the Balkan States aims at obliging Turkey to settle the Macedonian question definitely by granting an autonomous regime with a responsible Governor of Macedonia.

Reuter wires from Cetinje:—The mobilisation at Belgrade and Sofia has aroused a warlike spirit. The King has summoned a War Council and it is expected that the Council will decide to mobilise.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Chief of the General Staff who had just left the Council of Ministers stated that mobilisation had been decided upon.

Reuter wires from Athens:—The order for mobilisation of the Greek forces is greeted with enthusiasm.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The railways have been ordered not to accept goods destined to Bulgaria.

Montenegro has ordered mobilisation.

Reuter wires from Belgrade:—Military trains were proceeding all through the night in the direction of the frontier. Business is suspended and the employees are joining their regiments. Owners of motor-cars have been ordered immediately to surrender their cars to the military.

M. Sazonoff, Russia's Foreign Minister, has made urgent categorical representations to Sofia and Belgrade in favour of

peace. The Powers are in complete accord to prevent outbreak of hostilities. The representatives of the Powers at Constantinople are likewise enjoining on the Porte the urgent necessity for reforms.

The Turkish Cabinet has rejected the Servian ultimatum demanding the passage of war material. The latter is being detained and the Turkish Cabinet has ordered the mobilisation of practically the whole army. It was also decided to commandeer all Greek vessels in Turkish waters and use them as transports.

A semi-official article published in Sofia declares that this is the moment for the effective intervention of the Powers with a view to securing the real autonomy of Macedonia, while safeguarding the sovereignty of the Sultan.

It appears that Bulgaria tried to raise a loan in Paris first asking for twenty million francs, then fifteen, ten and finally five millions. The French Banks, on the advice of the Government, refused to make the loan.

A dangerous point in the situation is the irritation of the population concerned. The Ottoman Government despite the warning of the Foreign Consuls has decided to join Greece.

The anger of the population in Constantinople is growing and the opinion is expressed that this is the time to finish with Turkey's troublesome neighbours, once and for all.

Hitherto there has been no indication of the attitude of Rumania, but the visit of the Rumanian Minister to the Porte on 1st October is regarded as most significant in Constantinople.

As regards the Balkans, Britain and Russia were acting and would continue to act in concert with the other Powers who so far hold exactly the same view. The Powers are most anxious not to make the work of the Porte more difficult by applying anything in the nature of pressure.

The Porte has promised to refer the question of commandeered ships to competent quarter. At present fifty Greek ships are bottled up in the Black Sea and a hundred in the Straits of Marmora.

Reuter wires from Sofia:—The Sobranje has been summoned for the 5th instant to sanction the declaration of Martial Law and also the expenses of mobilisation.

Reuter wires from Vienna:—The Emperor Francis Joseph visited the King of Greece to-day, who is passing through Vienna hurrying to Athens from Copenhagen. Their Majesties conferred for three-quarters of an hour.

Bulgaria and Servia have stopped all railway traffic with Turkey.

Passengers from Constantinople who travelled by the last train allowed to pass heard sharp firing at the frontier station of Mustapha Pasha.

It is announced that Bulgaria has engaged the services of a prominent English aviator. It is understood that similar commissions are being arranged.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Turkish press unanimously supports the Government in the face of foreign foes and declares that the swords of heroes sharpened in glorious battles of six centuries joyfully accept the challenge.

The Powers are not relaxing in their efforts to induce the Balkan States to arrest mobilisation and to effect compromise between them and Turkey on the subject of the reforms in Macedonia.

M. Poincare, French Premier, at the diplomatic reception in Paris, spoke in strongest terms to the representatives of the Balkan States present.

Count Von Berchtold, Austrian Foreign Minister, conferred with the King of Greece for an hour.

Italy is also counselling moderation to the capitals of the Confederacy. The attitude of the latter is evidenced by a semi-official pronouncement at Belgrade, declaring that the Confederacy does not seek territorial extension but merely the carrying out of reforms which the Powers themselves undertook.

Meanwhile, the war fever is spreading in Turkey and people are clamouring for war. All classes are eager to contribute to war funds.

They are infuriated at the publication of despatches alleging that Moslems had been maltreated at Philippopolis.

The Committee of Union and Progress has published a manifesto promising Government its support and whole influence.

Cabmen in Constantinople who went on strike on Sunday last have resumed work because the Fatherland is threatened.

Representatives of thirty thousand Albanians have telegraphed their readiness to fight for the Fatherland.

Greek warships stopped and took off the crews of two Greek Steamers between the Zee and Constantinople.

Semi-official statements, published in Berlin, declare that the Powers have long considered the possibility of this outbreak and that Germany is not concerned at it, as the Government is confident that the trouble will be localised.

The statements rebuke the German Bourses for their panic, which they say gives a false idea of Germany's economic position.

Renter wires from Constantinople:—An trade published on the 4th instant orders a general mobilization.

The trains packed with troops were leaving Belgrade all the day amid the enthusiasm of the crowds.

Renter wires from Cetinje:—There was a great war demonstration here during which the King and Crown Prince received an ovation. The King exhorted the people to be patient, pointing out that the mobilisation did not mean war. It was the duty of patriots to obey the King and military authorities.

Argentina has consented to the sale of four destroyers, just being completed in England. The Greek flag was hoisted on them.

Renter wires from Belgrade:—The Serb inhabitants of Uskub, Kumanovo and other districts have revolted and are attacking the Turks with axes, picks and hayforks.

The French Government has requested bankers to refuse all assistance to Bulgaria or Serbia.

Renter wired from Constantinople on the 4th instant:—A most enthusiastic war meeting was held here, the people interrupting the speakers and cursing the Balkan States. A demonstration was held outside the palace, the spokesmen assuring the Sultan that the people were ready to take arms. His Majesty replied that he was proud of such subjects. Volunteers are coming in thousands.

Bulgaria officially denies the reports of attacks on Turkish Frontier posts.

The difficulty of the European "steam roller" getting to work is shown by an inspired statement issued in Paris on the 3rd instant, which, though couched in re-assuring terms, declaring that the Powers are agreed with a view to pacific intervention in the Balkans, nevertheless admits that Austria has not yet notified her adhesion to the scheme, and that M. Poincare, the Premier, seconded by the Cabinets in London and Berlin, has been striving from the first to smooth the Austro-Russian divergences, and that the reports of the progress of Bulgarian mobilisation and excitement are regarded as serious symptoms.

Regarding the Balkans the Emperor Francis Joseph is credited with summing up the situation confidently, and expressing the hope that peace is possible, as diplomatists sometimes work miracles. But a telegram from Constantinople, received in Paris, states that a detachment of Bulgarian troops has invaded Turkey northward of Kosehatz.

The report that the Rumanian army has mobilised is denied. The army is merely beginning manoeuvres and the Government is watching events.

The Turkish Government is receiving reports of the persecution of Moslems at Philippopolis and elsewhere since the crisis has arisen. Over thirty Moslems have been murdered in the streets of different places. It is stated that Turkey has circularised Powers protesting against these massacres.

The steamer *Macedonia* was on the point of sailing for the Piræus when she was commandeered by the Greek Consul. Passengers and baggage were landed and the *Macedonia* proceeds to Philadelphia for a cargo of ammunition. She will then return to New York and embark reservists.

It is estimated that there are a hundred thousand subjects of the Confederacy in the United States available for service.

According to a telegram received from Constantinople, it is authoritatively stated that the Cabinet has decided to accept the last Italian proposals and that preliminaries of peace will be signed on arrival at Ouchy of a special emissary, leaving Constantinople on the 4th.

Reports from Turkish sources of the practical conclusion of peace between Turkey and Italy continue to be denied in Rome,

the semi-official *Tribune* declaring that Italy, in view of continued Turkish tergiversation, has fixed the exact date for Turkey's acceptance or refusal of the Italian conditions. The departure from Ouchy of the two peace delegates, Signor Bertolini for Italy, and Reshid Pasha for Turkey, is believed to indicate that peace is imminent.

Reuter wires from Constantinople:—The Government has prohibited the export of cereals from European Turkey.

M. Sazonoff had lunch with President Fallieres. Much is expected from the Paris conference with regard to the Balkans.

Renter states that it is declared in the highest quarters that despite the rumours of Austro-Russian rivalry preventing collective action by the Powers, complete accord prevails among the Powers on the subject of representations which they are making to the Balkan States and at Constantinople. International conversations are now proceeding at Paris.

Renter wires from Vienna:—The King of Greece received the Italian, French and Russian Ambassadors in collective audience.

The belief is expressed in many quarters that the outbreak of hostilities in the Balkans would lead to immediate peace between Turkey and Italy. This would free the Turkish Fleet and facilitate Turkish operations in several directions.

Concerning the question of peace or war it is pointed out that the difference between the demand of the Confederacy for an autonomous Macedonia and Turkey's reform projects is immense and almost irreconcilable. The Powers are making strong representations to Turkey but are far from suggesting the ideas of the Confederacy.

Greek and Bulgarian grain vessels destined for various continental ports are detained by Turkey and the exporters and bankers of Rostoff have telegraphed to the Russian Premier urging that measures be taken to induce Turkey to release the ships.

Reports of the 3rd October include rumours of a Turkish attack on the Montenegrin Frontier and stoppage of Turkish aeroplanes and munitions by Serbia. It is stated that Rumania will remain neutral.

Hope is growing in Paris where M. Poincare and M. Sazonoff are conferring, that an agreement between the Powers will shortly be reached with a view to common action in the Balkans. The nature of the intervention will be formulated when Austria whose attitude is still undefined announces her decision.

Warlike demonstrations continue in Constantinople where the crowds indulged in "Maflicking" on the 2nd instant, the British Embassy being the scene of pro-British demonstrations. The Bulgarian Legation is guarded by troops in consequence of its having been stoned.

It is stated that the Porte is protesting to the Powers against the alleged massacres of Moslems in Bulgaria.

Nazim Pasha, Turkish Minister for War, has been appointed Turkish Generalissimo.

There are rumours in Constantinople that skirmishing has occurred on the frontier, notably at Djumbala and Temroch where it is reported the Bulgarians attacked a blockhouse but were defeated after the fight lasting two and a half hours.

It is expected that the ultimatum from the Confederacy demanding autonomy for Macedonia will be delivered on October 7th.

A Republic has been proclaimed at Samos and M. Sophoulis elected President. The barracks at Canea are overflowing with Militia, clamouring to be sent to Macedonia.

The war mob in Constantinople on the 6th smashed the windows of the Italian Embassy and the Greek Consulate. The mob was dispersed by gendarmes.

The railway services between western Europe and the Balkans are completely suspended, the trains not running beyond Semlin on the Austro-Servian Frontier.

Austria has replied to the proposals, suggesting slight modifications. M. Poincare and M. Sazonoff have accepted the suggestion, and submitted it to the other Powers. M. Sazonoff's close co-operation with M. Poincare and the propinquity of Paris have made that city the centre of negotiations from which proposals emanate, and to which replies go. It appears that Britain has made rather a point of her suggestion regarding strong Austro-Russian representations to the Balkan States, and afterwards collective action in Constantinople with a view to reforms in Macedonia.

The Vienna Press prophesies the Government's acceptance of the proposal, which, however, it guardedly describes as corresponding in the main with the Austro-Hungarian policy. The semi-official *Fremdenblatt* declares that Austria-Hungary, to whom the maintenance of the *status quo* and the preservation of peace is equally important will welcome any action likely to secure speedy success.

The Bulgarian Government submitted to Parliament a Bill providing an extraordinary army credit of seventy-two million francs. Another Bill authorises the Minister of Finance to reduce expenditure in other directions.

The prices of grain have fallen, and freights are rising sharply.

The imminence of peace between Italy and Turkey is causing uneasiness among the Balkan Confederacy, especially in Greece, where it is declared that peace is unjustifiable.

The *Tribuna* hints that a prominent representative of one of the Balkan States has been to Rome endeavouring to persuade Italy that it is not in her interest to conclude peace at present. His efforts, apparently, met with a cool reception.

The official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says that since it is clear that the Powers will localise any eventual conflict in the Balkans, Germany is very indirectly interested in the question and can calmly await the united decisions of the two Powers most concerned, namely, Austria and Russia.

Telegrams from Paris and Berlin mention that Britain is hanging back out of consideration for Turkey from the collective action of the Powers at Constantinople.

Despatches from Vienna record much activity in the Austrian navy in preparation for emergencies.

Reuter wired from Constantinople:—The Porte has withdrawn its troops from Samos.

Speaking at Ladybank on the 5th instant, Mr. Asquith said it was a long time since the International horizon had been so threatening. Still he had not lost all hope that the unspeakable calamity of war would be averted. The powers were co-operating carefully and loyally in the direction of peace.

Reuter wired from Nikolaioff:—The Greek Consul here has been instructed to prevent the departure of Greek steamers. Merchants of Nikolaioff and Taganrog have joined in the request of the bankers and merchants of Rostoff, who recently telegraphed to the Russian Premier urging that measures be taken to induce Turkey to release the ships.

That war between the Balkan States and Turkey is certain appears to be indicated by despatches from Constantinople declaring that the Porte is resolved to submit to nothing but armed intervention by the Powers, and to listen to no proposals for reform nor reduce its forces till the Confederacy demobilises.

The "Journal de Geneve" says that the arrangement established absolute Italian sovereignty in Tripoli without Turkey formally recognising it; also the restoration of the Aegean Isles to Turkey and the liquidation of the Ottoman debt in relation to Tripoli by Italy; otherwise neither belligerent will pay indemnity.

War preparations are proceeding most actively in Constantinople. The streets are full of reservists headed by bands hastening to join the colours. Talaat Bey and Djavid Bey, both of them ex-Ministers, and the "Young Turks" have volunteered for the front although they have paid exemption taxes.

The Sultan, in a speech to the demonstrators said God would not allow the fatherland to be trampled underfoot.

It is reported that hostilities have begun on the Montenegrin frontier, the Turks repulsing the Montenegrins at Berane.

The Porte on the 4th instant circularised the Powers, stating that as it is anticipated that vigorous verbal representations by the Powers to the Confederacy had not had the desired effect, it was of opinion that the popular excitement in these States could only be subdued by forcible measures on the part of the Powers. The Ottoman people and the Army, continued the circular, were exasperated by years of criminal agitation, and were ready to accept the latest challenge. The situation, therefore, was most grave. If the Powers were too long in agreeing upon forcible measures in the Balkans, hostilities might be precipitated. The Porte urges the Powers to meet the danger without a moment's delay.

Austria's reply is still awaited in Paris, but it is expected that it will be favourable to the action on which the other Powers, on British initiative, have decided, namely, strong Austro-

Russian representations to the Balkan States, and afterwards collective action in Constantinople with a view to the Powers undertaking reforms in Macedonia. It is hoped that the first step will be taken at the latest, on Monday the 7th instant.

There were scenes of enthusiasm at Sofia and Belgrade at the opening of the special sessions of the *Sobranje* and the *Skupstina*, on which occasions King Ferdinand and King Peter made warlike speeches.

The steamer *Macedonia*, which was commandeered by the Greek Consul at New York has left for the Piræus with munitions and four hundred reservists on board. Another steamer followed with a thousand reservists on board, while a third will sail conveying further seven hundred reservists.

The state of siege has been proclaimed in Constantinople, where the feeling prevails that the announcement of reforms under the Vilayets' Law will not pacify the Confederacy. The opinion is expressed that matters have gone too far for war to be prevented.

A local agency learns from an official source that the Porte has resolved to apply to the European vilayets the reforms contained in the Vilayets' Law, elaborated in 1880 by the Ottoman Delegates in agreement with the international Eastern Rumelia Commission with a view to the carrying out of reforms provided for in Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin. The law which was thus approved by the Powers has since slumbered in departmental pigeon-holes and has never been applied.

Reuter learns that, instead of Great Britain delaying her answer to the proposals for European action in regard to the Balkans, Sir Edward Grey acted with the greatest promptitude. He only received the proposals on last Saturday and Sunday, and accepted them forthwith. In conveying to M. Poincaré, the Premier, the British assent to the proposals regarding the Balkans, Sir Francis Botic, British Ambassador, indicated the preference of the Foreign Office for individual rather than collective representations, on the ground that the latter being unusual, had the aspect of a threat, which ought to be avoided.

The House of Commons re-assembled on the afternoon of the 7th. There was a large attendance. Sir Edward Grey, replying to Mr. Bonar Law, said that at present he could only make a statement of a general character. The House was aware that a very critical state of affairs existed in the Balkans, which was arousing great apprehension. The Powers were taking what steps they could to prevent a breach of the peace. They especially expressed strong disapproval of a breach of the peace. Sir Edward said there was need for the realization of reforms in European Turkey. This was already admitted by Turkey. The application of effective reforms, said the Foreign Minister, ought to secure Turkey peaceful possession of her provinces in Europe. The difficulty was for Turkey to proceed with reforms in face of the mobilisation of the Balkan States, and at the same time to convince the States that the reforms would be effective in securing the welfare of the Macedonians. Definite steps, he continued, were made yesterday for collective steps of the Powers to overcome these difficulties by representations to the Balkan States and Constantinople, and Britain agreed thereto, as the strongest desire between the Powers was to see peace preserved. He trusted that this was a guarantee that if peace were broken none of the Powers would be involved in war.

Sir Edward Grey, answering a question whether, if the present action failed, the Powers would have recourse to Hague arbitration, said he would rather not contemplate failure. If however, the action of the Powers did fail, Great Britain would do her utmost to preserve the unity of the Powers and would not make any proposal likely to impair the unity.

Austria's modification of the Powers' agreement referred to a clause in the Note to be presented to the Confederacy, the Governments declaring the determination of the Powers to maintain the territorial *status quo* in the Balkans. Austria asked for the addition of words making it clear that the Powers were determined to secure respect for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Only Great Britain's assent to the amendment remains to complete the understanding between the Powers. Action by Russia and Austria in the capitals of the Confederacy will follow immediately on receipt of Britain's reply.

Collective action by the Powers in Constantinople will take place a little later, probably in the middle of the week. Newspapers state that Britain objected to a phrase in the Note announcing the resolve of the Powers to take in hand the realisation of reforms, as incompatible with Turkey's independence, and an unnecessary affront; but the outcome of the objection is not mentioned.

While diplomacy is extremely active it is difficult to follow the intertwining threads of the negotiations very exactly. It appears, however, that all the Powers have agreed without difficulty in principle upon the course of action, but the form of words to be used in approaching both sides seems to have occasioned considerable telegraphing backwards and forwards between Vienna, London, and Paris. So far as can be learned everything is now settled, and the European "Steam-Roller" will begin to move to-morrow. The Balkan States are already sufficiently acquainted with the views of the Powers, for M. Sazonoff and M. Poincaré summoned representatives of those States to their presence and conferred with them for a full hour. This procedure on the part of the Russian and French Ministers is described as unprecedented in the annals of diplomacy.

Great Britain's reply to the Austrian suggestion has been received. The agreement of the Powers is now complete.

The Sobranje has passed by acclamation the special military estimates and other measures necessitated by mobilisation. In political circles it is declared that if the Powers can collectively guarantee real reforms in European Turkey then war will be averted.

The Court-Martial dealing with the Kochana massacre has condemned one Moslem to death, another to penal servitude, and several others to minor terms of imprisonment.

Two collisions on the Turco-Greek frontier between guards are reported.

The English papers regard the Vilayets' Law decision as the most promising indication of a break in the clouds up to the present.

The Parliaments at Belgrade and Sofia have adopted with acclamation the addresses approving the Speeches from the Throne, and expressing confidence that the united action of the Balkan States will secure lasting peace. The troops of the Confederacy continue to move towards the frontiers amid scenes of enthusiasm.

H. M. cruisers *Weymouth* and *Hampshire* have sailed for Crete. They will maintain neutrality in the event of war.

The Italian troops yesterday landed at Bombah, 40 miles east of Derna. The Turks offered no resistance.

The active war propaganda of the Union and Progress party is arousing apprehension. It is feared that any moderate action by Government will be regarded as weakness and will thus multiply the chances of war with the Balkan States.

Montenegro has declared war on Turkey.

The Austrian and Russian Ministers to-day delivered to the Bulgarian and other Balkan Governments their representations of the Powers in favour of peace.

Montenegro has ordered its representative in Constantinople to quit that city, and has handed his passports to the Turkish representative in Cetinje. The Montenegrin *Charge d'Affaires* of Constantinople informed the port on the 8th that Montenegro had declared war on Turkey. There was heavy fighting on the 7th, nine battalions of Turks being opposed to Malissoria at Tuzi on the Montenegrin frontier.

Reuter states that despatches from Cetinje announcing the declaration of war have produced a profound sensation in London, where neither the Foreign Office nor any Embassy has received the news. Montenegro forestalled the action of the Powers by a few hours. The decision was evidently precipitated by the fighting on the borders of Montenegro.

Fighting is still in progress at Tuzi.

The Turkish Government is anxious to allay misinterpretations of reforms in connection with the proposed execution of the "Vilayets' Law." It announces that there is no question of autonomy for Macedonia or the appointment of a Christian Governor-General.

The Austro-Hungarian Government has resolved to ask the delegations for a supplementary credit of £11,000,000 sterling for the purchase of howitzers, mountain guns, aeroplanes and war material.

The Foreign Office received confirmation of the outbreak of war on the afternoon of the 8th. Replying to Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe regretted to say that the Government had received news of fighting on the frontier as a sequel to the declaration of war.

A Belgrade message says that Parliament has voted an extra credit of two million sterling. The Russian Red Cross Society is

sending three hundred beds, seven doctors and forty-five nurses. Merchants are making large donations to war funds and the community is providing for families of soldiers.

A Cetinje message says that King Nicholas and Prince Mirko started for army headquarters at Podgoritzia amid booming of guns and pealing of bells. The Queen and Princesses and Ministers of the other members of the Confederacy bade the King and Prince farewell. They were given a frantic ovation by the crowd. Prior to his departure the King received the Austrian and Russian Ministers, who made a last vigorous effort on behalf of peace.

Constantinople news of the 8th instant says that up to 6 o'clock that evening the Bulgarian, Servian and Greek Ministers had received no instructions, but no doubt is entertained that their Governments will follow Montenegro's lead.

Berlin news says that M. Sazonoff occupied the whole day in diplomatic conferences including interviews with the Bulgarian and Greek Ministers.

Reuter wires from London on the 10th October that a message from Podgoritzia, the Montenegrin headquarters, at 5 o'clock that evening says that King Nicholas, Prince Mirko and staff rode out early that morning to an adjacent mountain amid the cheers of the inhabitants. Punctually at 8 o'clock Captain Prince Peter, youngest son of King Nicholas, fired the first shot in war at the Turkish positions on the hills opposite, the band meanwhile playing the royal hymn. An artillery duel ensued along the whole line. In twenty one minutes the Turks were compelled to retreat from the first position on Mount Planinitzac and by noon the whole mountain was evacuated. The Montenegrin troops, covered by their guns, advanced to attack a strongly fortified mountain at Detchitch commanding the road to Scutari.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Turks landed troops on the shore of lake Scutari near the frontier. A battle ensued along an extensive front.

Crown Prince Danilo, who is Commander-in-Chief, and Prince Peter, have just returned from the battlefield to consult with King Nicholas.

The five ambassadors at Constantinople are still deliberating over the text of the communication to be addressed to the Porte.

Bulgarian peasants and soldiers attacked and drove out the garrison of the block-house at Kalova on the 7th instant.

At a meeting held at Moscow to testify sympathy with Serbia 8,000 volunteered for service.

As the German and Austrian Press has been voicing suspicions with regard to Russian mobilisation it is officially declared at St. Petersburg that the test mobilisation recently ordered has been finished and that the reservists are being disbanded.

King Nicholas in a proclamation to the people calls on Montenegrins to help their brethren who are being massacred in Old Serbia. They were assured, he said, of the sympathy of the world, and they would be assisted by Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece.

The general outbreak of war still hangs in the balance, though the news mostly points to war.

The Bulgarian Premier announces that the decision will not long be delayed, but that he has not despaired of yet attaining peace, even at the last moment.

On the arrival of the King of Greece at Athens enormous crowds gave His Majesty an ovation. The King made a speech in which he thanked the people for their greetings. His Majesty said their calm manly bearing was worthy of the Hellenic people. Afterwards M. Venezelos, the Premier, addressing the crowd, said he still hoped peace would be maintained since their neighbours and friends did not desire conquests and what they demanded was indispensable to the peaceful co-existence both of the Balkan States and Turkey.

During the speeches cheers were given for war. The Premier asked for silence, and repeated that he still hoped for peace.

The *Journal des Débats* regrets the entanglement of France in Morocco in view of the inevitable European crisis, whatever the issue of the Balkan war.

Thirty French aeroplanes have reached Innsbruck on their way to the Balkan States.

Count Von Berchtold, addressing the Hungarian Delegation at Vienna, dwelt on the efforts being made towards peace. He concluded: "Our policy is not conquest; but that does not mean that we are not interested in the Balkans. We have vital interests there and are determined to defend them."

Prince Vahid-ud-Din, brother of the Sultan, and Prince Abdur Rahim, nephew of the Sultan, are volunteering to go to the front in case of war.

Sir Edward Grey, replying to Mr. Noel Buxton, said "we preferred an identical note to collective representations at Constantinople but agreed to the latter in deference to other Powers."

Sir Edward Grey announced that the Ambassador in Constantinople had been instructed to point out that the retention of Greek vessels was not justified by international law, and so far as the interests of British subjects were concerned, we must strictly observe all rights.

The Greek Crown Prince leaves Athens for the Thessalian frontier on Saturday.

A message from Podgoritzza states that the Montenegrins captured Detchitch to day. The Turkish commander with his officers and most of the troops surrendered. Four guns were captured.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, September 10.

For several days past an active correspondence has been going on between the Italian military authorities at Zanzur and an influential Arab leader, who stated that he wished to surrender with 400 men. When invited to come to Zanzur he refused, saying that he was afraid of the Italian guns, but he suggested that the Italians should meet him. Yesterday a regiment of infantry proceeded to meet the Arab chief, but after they had gone a few miles they were attacked by musketry fire. The Italians succeeded in withdrawing without loss. The Arabs seem now to be about to adopt a plan of treacherous guerilla warfare.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Tuesday.

According to an official telegram several chiefs in Asir have surrendered to the authorities, and communication between Abha and Kunfuda has been re-established.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

The "Agence Stefani" says with reference to the reports of a basis for peace negotiation, that it is authorized to declare that these reports are absolutely false and that they can only be looked upon as regrettable manoeuvres.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Rome, August 31.

I have just been informed that the authorities here have suppressed a telegram which I sent you on August 26 informing you that the Italian Premier, Signor Giolitti, had met at the Hotel Boulogne in Milan the Deputies Signor Bertolini and Signor Fusinato and Commandatore Volpi, who had come from Switzerland to talk over with him the present state of the negotiations for peace with Turkey.

I can only confirm my telegram, and add that people here, including many in official and semi-official positions, are convinced that negotiations for peace are now being conducted in Switzerland between the three gentlemen whose names I have mentioned and two Turkish delegates.

Salonika, September 4.

The Ottoman Government has formally notified the Albanian chiefs that it accepts 12 of the 14 demands put forward by them. It is unable, however, to impeach the Cabinets of Haski Pasha and Said Pasha before the High Court, such action being the exclusive right of Parliament. The Government also rejects the demand that the military service of Albanians should be made only in Turkey in Europe, on the ground that such a concession would unavoidably provoke an agitation to gain similar treatment on the part of other nationalities and thereby create an impossible situation.

It is impossible to foresee the result of this declaration, since the rebels were undoubtedly given to understand that their entire programme had been accepted. A people, however, which help itself to Government arms, open prisons, and refuses to pay taxes is hardly likely in actual practice voluntarily to agree to supply conscripts under unacceptable conditions.

Salonika, September 4.

The Government having demanded from Ibrahim Pasha an explanation of the acts of brigandage reported in the European Press, he has replied that, although the Albanians on quitting Uskub committed many blameworthy acts and the authorities have many difficulties to surmount, the situation is rapidly becoming normal. At present he is engaged in seeking acceptable officials, and hopes that satisfactory results will follow the appointment of capable men.

Constantinople, September 5.

The Armenian Patriarch, accompanied by the Bishop of Pers and members of the Ecclesiastical Council, visited the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the Ministers of War and Justice, and the Grand Vizier to-day. During his interview with Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha, Mgr. Arsharuni spoke with great freedom regarding the pitiable situation of the Armenians in Kurdistan and Anatolia, and urged the Government to take immediate steps to protect their lives and property. Should the Government fail to do so, he would close the Patriarchates and hand the keys to the Government.

The Grand Vizier assured the Patriarch, who was much moved, that the necessary steps would be taken.

Nazim Pasha informed the Patriarch that the recent attacks on Armenians were due to foreign and internal intrigues, designed to embarrass the Government.

The Vali of Van has been dismissed, and the military commandant has received orders to find and arrest within 49 hours the Kurdish brigands responsible for the murders which have lately occurred there.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Sept. 10.

Yesterday Turkish police, accompanied by an Egyptian official, searched the Nadi el Misriyin Club at Kadikeni, which was founded and is frequented by Young Egyptians. Some 200 documents were discovered there. They next searched the house of Dr. Ahmed Fuad at Kadikeni, where they discovered 34 copies of a seditious pamphlet written by Mahomed Farid Bey and other documents. Further searches were carried out in the houses of Ahmed Sultan and Yusuf Salam, both Egyptian students at the School of Medicine at Haidar Pasha, where a few papers and two photographs of Wardani, the assassin of Butros Pasha, were found. All the documents discovered will be handed over to the Egyptian authorities.

Constantinople, Sept. 12.

An official communication has been issued to the Press replying to the criticisms made regarding the extradition of Sheikh Shawish. It says:—

Egypt is an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, and the prisoner, an Ottoman subject, is accused of participation in a conspiracy to murder Egyptian dignitaries. Sheikh Shawish is sent to Egypt in consequence of the legal demand of the Public Prosecutor at Alexandria, the orders of the tribunals of Egypt and Turkey being always mutually recognized and carried into execution.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

The Milan correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle," telegraphing yesterday, says—"Il Secolo," of Milan, and other organs of the Italian press publish reports from their correspondents in Alexandria stating that diplomatic negotiations are in progress for the transformation of Egypt into a kingdom under the protectorate of Great Britain on the termination of the Italo-Turkish War. The correspondent of the "Corriere d'Italia" there professes to state on authority that Great Britain has already secured the formal adhesion of France and also of Italy in favour of abolishing the Capitulatory regime. England, it is stated, offers Turkey an indemnity of 20 millions sterling, and proposes to retain the actual Khedive in power with the title of King of Egypt. These reports add that England's move has cleverly tickled the national pride of the Egyptians, and that it will further tend to consolidate the British military position there.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

The *Ikdam* says that about twenty years ago an exchange of views took place between the Sublime Porte and the Powers on the modification of certain articles of the Capitulations in the application of which difficulties often arose. The Ottoman Government had at the time prepared the documents which were to serve as a basis for the negotiations which were, however, ultimately suspended, an agreement not having been reached between the Powers. The articles it was proposed to modify related to commercial and fiscal questions.

The *Ikdam* learns from a reliable source that the Sublime Porte has again taken steps in view of the modifications of the articles in question. Our contemporary adds that the Minister for Foreign affairs has sounded the European Cabinets on the matter and has ascertained that the present moment is opportune for the opening of new negotiations.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Aug. 30.

The *Takrim-i-Vekai* (Official Journal) has just published the text of the law imposing special war taxation on the country, which

was voted by both Houses of Parliament in July. The following are its principal features. The *tenette* (professional tax) and the tax on house property are increased by 25 per cent. The military exemption tax is raised from £T. 50 to £T. 60 in the case of the Nizam (Active Army) and from £T. 30 to £T. 40 in the case of the Ikhtiat (First Reserve) and Redif (Territorial Army). A tax of 8 per cent. will be levied on all official salaries and pensions, and 5 per cent. deducted from the travelling expenses of officials receiving from £T. 15 to £T. 80 a month. This deduction will be increased to 10 per cent. in the case of officials receiving higher rates of pay. The price of salt, a Government monopoly ceded to the Public Debt Administration, is raised from 32 paras (1½d.) (ordinary official price) to 42 paras per kilogramme, except in the provinces of Baghdad, Basra, Hedjaz, Mosul, Tripoli, and Benghazi, where the salt sold by the Government at a lower rate than the ordinary official price is exempted from the operation of the law. The price of the mineral salt supplied by the State from some of its salt works is raised from 24 paras to 26 paras. The duty on manufactured "ruks" is doubled.

Except for the increase in the price of salt, which the Government may abolish whenever it thinks fit, after giving two months' notice to the vendors and other interested parties, the above increases in taxation and the new tax on official salaries will be levied for a term to be fixed by the Government, which shall not in any case exceed three years. In this connexion it may be noted that the receipts of the Ministry of Finance for the first four months of the present financial year (March 14-July 11, N.S.) show an increase of £T. 984,211 on the corresponding period in 1911.

Salonica, September 9.

Suleiman Pasha, whom I saw on his return from Pristina to-day, while admitting that the present situation in Albania leaves much to be desired, is optimistic concerning the future. He feels that the lawlessness will gradually subside until normal conditions are re-established. He holds that any criticism to be of value must recognize the gravity of the situation inherited by the new Ministry, which is due to the ill-considered policy of the Young Turks. In his opinion, however, the time has now arrived when the Government must deal more firmly with the lawbreakers, and that Ibrahim Pasha should be invested with large powers in this respect. Concerning the arms looted from various depôts, he expressed confidence that they would be returned by the chiefs to the mixed civil and military commission which is now visiting the various centres, and which is charged with the redistribution of the rifles according to the Government plan.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

The Court Martial gave judgement in the case of Hussain Djahid Bey, ex-Deputy and proprietor of the *Tanin*, Djavid Bey, ex-Minister of Finance and Public Works, and responsible editor of the *Semir*, and Talaat Orhan Bey, ex-Deputy and responsible editor of the *Tanin*. The Commander of the First Army Corps brought an action against them for having published an article entitled "We are in need of a Government", and for having reproduced and commented on a report of the Commander of the Gendarmerie at Monastir in which it is stated that Turkish officers and soldiers had only been insulted in Albania because they were Turks.

Hussain Djahid Bey was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and Djavid Bey and Talaat Orhan Bey to twenty day's imprisonment.

The Berchtold Proposals.

The Grand Vizier's View.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, August 27.

DETAILS of the recent conversation between the Grand Vizier and the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador concerning Count Berchtold's proposals became known to-day. While expressing the thanks of his Government for the friendly intentions manifested by the Dual Monarchy towards Turkey and remarking that the Austro-Hungarian proposal might be regarded, as far as the question of Ottoman internal policy was concerned, as being in partial conformity with the present Turkish Government, the Grand Vizier said that his Government could not admit foreign interference in such internal questions, and would therefore be compelled to decline to consider the proposal if it were communicated to it.

No other reply was to be expected in the present condition of the Empire and the position of the Cabinet. Even if the present Government contemplated far-reaching measures of decentralization, which

is not the case, it could not afford to give its opponents of the Committee an opportunity of accusing it of dismembering the Empire at the bidding of a foreign Power or Powers. Those who remember the thrill of rage which ran like an electric current through the Committee benches in the Chamber early in 1909 when the word "decentralization" was first heard in Parliament, or who follow the fierce campaign which the *Tanin* is now waging against an Albanian settlement, can understand the risks the Cabinet would run did it assume an attitude of expectant deference towards the proposal.

Constantinople, August 28.

The Porte has addressed instructions to its representatives in the capitals of the Powers containing the views of the Government with reference to Count Berchtold's communication to the Powers, and outlining the language that the Ottoman representatives should employ in the event of their being approached on the subject by the Governments to which they are accredited. This reply is substantially that the Porte cannot listen to proposals of the Powers affecting the internal policy of Turkey.

Statement by the Turkish Minister.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

THE Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs—Gabriel Effendi Noradunghian—has made the following pronouncement regarding the threatening attitude of the Balkan Governments and the proposed intervention of Europe in Macedonia on the basis of the proposal of Count Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister:—"We cannot for a moment admit the right of the Balkan Governments to interfere with our action in Macedonia. The internal affairs of Turkey are nobody's concern but ours; and just in the same way that we do not mix ourselves up in the internal affairs of any other country, we shall never permit them to interfere with our internal affairs. We are preparing a scheme of reforms for the vilayets in Europe based on complete justice and equity and respecting the rights of the population." This declaration may be placed side by side with the recent statement of the Grand Vizier that the "Porte will accept all friendly counsel, but will ignore absolutely all propositions, conceding even the semblance of the autonomy or independence of Turkish territory in Europe or Asia. The Porte will introduce reforms, but will not permit the intervention of any third party."

The "Times".

THE Buchlau meeting has come and gone, but an interested and puzzled world is not much nearer than it was before to an understanding of the latest display of Austro-Hungarian diplomatic energy. We say "not much nearer", because the Austrian Press, including the usual organ of the Ballplatz, has suddenly dropped the figment that the visit of the German Chancellor to the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs has no particular importance of a political kind. Some sanction is now given to the belief, which Europe has insisted throughout on entertaining, that, even although the meeting of the two statesmen may have been arranged before Count Berchtold made his original proposal to the Powers, it is not intended merely to keep up the tradition of an occasional exchange of views about things in general between the two allies. It is even acknowledged that the condition of the Balkans may have occupied a prominent place in the two conversations, which took place in the very room in which Count Aehrenthal and M. Isvolsky adopted the "watchword" of "a benevolent and waiting attitude" towards Turkey four years ago. The *Fremdenblatt* affirms, indeed, that nothing could well be more auspicious for Turkey than these conversations, because both statesmen are united in the endeavour to "conserve the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan *status quo*". But our Constantinople message hardly encourages the hope that the Turks will so regard them. They seem to be under the misapprehension that, if any Power or group of Powers declines to support the Austro-Hungarian proposals, Austria-Hungary in certain eventualities might take independent action. The warning in the *Reichspost* which we quoted the other day may perhaps be the chief foundation for their fears. It was to the effect, our readers will remember, that, if the conversations do not lead to joint measures, Austria-Hungary will be able to decline responsibility for eventual consequences, and that she will have to pursue a policy protective of her interests alone, without further regard for foreign susceptibilities. At all events, the Turks are alarmed, and we doubt whether the more recent comments of the Vienna newspapers will be able to reassure them.

The truth is that, if the Austro-Hungarian proposals are intended to be so innocuous as we have been told, rather too much energy has been displayed in announcing them. Even if Count Berchtold means nothing more than to remind everybody of the legitimate claims of the Dual Monarchy to

play a prominent part in the affairs of the Near East, he has acted with a vigour which seems to be superfluous. The diplomatic machinery put in motion has been of the most impressive kind. The activity exhibited has been not merely conspicuous, but well-nigh ostentatious. The effect produced upon opinion, whether designedly or not, is that the apparatus employed is altogether out of proportion to the objects professed. If there is to be no intervention in the old sense of the term, no proposal to the Porte of special reforms, and no marking out of special spheres of interest in the Balkans—nothing, in short, but “organized European encouragement” to the Turks, and organized good advice to the lesser Balkan States—why is it necessary to make such an exhibition of diplomatic agitation? We are quite ready to believe that the nervousness of thoughtful Turks has no real foundation so far as Austria-Hungary is concerned. But it is not unnatural. The Turks, as we have again and again pointed out, have grave troubles on their hands in many parts of the Empire. The *Fremdenblatt* cautiously intimates that the reports of an impending arrangement with Italy may not be unfounded, and argues that freedom from the cares of the Italian war would allow Turkey to exert her full strength in the work of internal reform. It would, of course, set both Italy and Turkey free for a variety of purposes, but even were it an accomplished fact, the Turks would still have enough grounds for anxiety left to make the idea of any sort of intervention by a Great Power particularly alarming to them. The menace from Bulgaria may have abated for the moment, but our information agrees with that of our Constantinople Correspondent and of the *Reichspost*, that it has not passed away. There can be no doubt that the Bulgarian Army and a very great part of the Bulgarian people are eager for war. If the Powers can strengthen the hands of the Government, who have deserved well of Europe by their remarkable self-control, in restraining popular passion, the “conversations” will indeed have borne good fruit. But will formal discussion by the Great Powers tend to promote this object, or any of the other good objects Count Berchtold has in view? Discussions of the kind have been known to fan such passions rather than to calm them.

A French Opinion.

THE *Journal des Débats* quotes with approval the views expressed by the *Times* this morning as to the unnecessary energy shown in announcing Count Berchtold's proposals. If, it adds, the Buchlau meeting is followed by a more definite *communiqué* affirming the wish of the two Powers to maintain the principle of the *status quo* in the Balkans, a useful effort will have been made with a view to the maintenance of peace. All the Powers can pronounce in turn in favour of the *status quo* without thereby preventing the Chancelleries of Europe from studying in common the position of Turkey in accordance with Count Berchtold's desire. The *Débats* goes on to say:—

The confirmation of the *status quo* would have the effect of discouraging the unreasonable aspirations of warlike circles in Sofia and of putting an end to the slight *malaise* which the superfluous vigour, as the *Times* says, of the Austrian initiative has caused in Europe.

A Turkish View.

“A *strong* personage in Constantinople,” whose position makes it impossible to mention him by name, has set out to a representative of the “*Temps*” the views held in the Turkish capital on the subject of Count Berchtold's proposal. According to this anonymous informant (who may well be the Minister for Foreign Affairs), a section of Turkish public opinion regards Count Berchtold's action as really prompted by friendly sentiments towards the Porte. The Ottoman Government having initiated a policy of decentralisation, Austria fears lest the nationalities, encouraged by the concession and supported by the neighbouring minor States, should demand more and thereby raise fresh complications. Hence Count Berchtold's admonitions to those States. Unfortunately there is another side. Count Berchtold's action deprives the Turkish Government, which has declared itself in favour of a policy of decentralisation, of the benefit of its initiative, and risks the compromising of its prestige among the Moslem population. The concessions which the Government may make will seem to have been imposed by foreigners, and when one recalls the fact that it was foreign intervention which provoked the Young Turkish revolution, one cannot deny that Count Berchtold's step contains a serious element of danger.

The majority, to which the informant apparently belongs himself, is inclined to go further and ascribe to Count Berchtold something more than merely “friendly” sentiments towards the Porte. If, it is argued, such sentiments were the real reason which prompted Count Berchtold in his action, there would have been no need for him to parade them publicly. He could have communicated both his well-wishes to Turkey and his warning to the minor Balkan States privately. The Count's aim is something totally different, “it is obviously to court his Balkan *clientèle*, to remind it that if from St. Petersburg come good words it is from Vienna that practical results are to be expected. His aim is to check Russian prestige and to prepare the future.”—*Manchester Guardian*.

The Sentence on Djavid Bey.

THE result of the trial of Husein Djavid Bey, the real editor of the “*Tanin*” and its successor “*Djenin*,” and of Talaat Orkhan (who must not be mixed up with Talaat Bey, ex-Minister of the Interior) and Djavid Bey, ex-Minister of Finance, the “responsible” editors of the two papers respectively, has, as might have been expected, created a profound commotion in Young Turkish quarters. According to the “*Senin*” (the successor of the “*Tanin*” and “*Djenin*”), Djavid Bey pleaded with the Court not to condemn Djavid Bey, who really did not know what appeared in the “*Djenin*” on the solitary day of its existence, as he was away at Salonika. The Court, however, did not listen to the plea, and immediately on the pronouncement of the verdict all the three, including the ex-Minister, were incarcerated in an underground cell of the prison of the Ministry of War, where they found a number of persons undergoing punishment in a state of semi-nakedness covered with vermin. Afterwards they were transferred to the central prison at Stamboul. The “*Senin*” adds that during the deliberations of the court-martial Nazim Pasha, Minister of War, summoned a member of the court, and it was immediately after the return of the officer that the sentence was pronounced.

The “*Journal des Débats*,” commenting upon this singular trial, says:—“Since the resignation of Hilmi Pasha, who tried to keep the action of the Government within legal bounds, the reprisals against the Committee of Union and Progress, against the leaders and the officials of the Young Turkish régime, have been pursued with vigour. The Cabinet of Mukhtar Pasha seems, under the influence of Kiamil Pasha and his party, to have adopted a policy with which its predecessor was so much reproached and which caused its fall. In its turn it is now imprisoning members of the Opposition who appear to it embarrassing.”

(FROM THE “TIMES” OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Sept. 16.

Djavid and Djavid Beys, who are at present lodged in the old prison at the Hippodrome, assure us that they have no complaint to make of their treatment; in fact they have better opportunities of seeing their friends and sympathizers, who are visiting them by hundreds daily, than would otherwise be the case. Their own rooms are comfortable and they are allowed to use that of the Governor of the prison, which commands an excellent view.

The Committee.

(FROM THE “TIMES” OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Sept. 5.

THE decision taken by the Committee of Union and Progress Congress yesterday to participate in the elections was generally anticipated, and only 14 “stalwarts,” headed by Dr. Nazim, voted for abstention. The language used by most of the leaders appears to have been moderate.

The delegates of the Committee of Union and Progress yesterday voted by a large majority in favour of its transformation from a political secret society with a Parliamentary wing into a political party. The election of the president of the party, the executive bureau, and the secretariat takes place to-morrow.

The Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress to-day decided to accept the modifications of Articles 7 and 85 of the Constitution, by virtue of which the Sultan is empowered to dissolve Parliament in certain contingencies, and by which the Government profited to dissolve the late Parliament. It then proceeded to elect a Secretary-General, a Central Committee,

and a Central Bureau. Prince Said Halim of Egypt was first chosen Secretary-General in place of Hadji Adil Bey.

The twenty members of the Central Committee were then elected. They include three Senators—namely, Musa Kiazim, ex-Sheikh-ul-Islam, Sherief Djaffer Bey, and Suleiman Bostani Effendi, and with Musa Kiazim no less than eight ex-Ministers, the others elected being Hadji Adil, Haidi Ismail Hakki Babanzadeh, Djavid and Talaat Beys, and Emrullah and Haladjian Effendis. Hussein Kiazim, Ali Munif, and Ismail Hakki Beys are ex-Valis of Salonika, Monastir, and Van respectively, Hussein Djahid, Midhat, and Zia Beys, Abdullah Sabri, Ahmed Nessimi, Kyuh Sabri, and Dr. Nazim are the remaining members. Of these Talaat, Ismail Hakki, ex-Vali of Van, Zia and Midhat Beys and Abdullah Sabri were elected to constitute the Central Bureau.

The *Senin*, formerly the *Tanin*, having continued, in spite of several warnings, to attack the Albanian policy of the Government, the editor, Hussein Djahid Bey, was to-day sentenced to one month's imprisonment by the Court-martial, which also inflicted sentences of three weeks' imprisonment upon Orkhan Bey, the manager of the newspaper, and Djavid Bey, ex-Minister of Finance, whose criticisms of the authorities in recent issues of the *Tanin* and its successors it considered calculated to provoke disturbances of the public peace.

Constantinople, Sept. 11.

The new head of the Committee of Union and Progress is the Egyptian Prince Said Halim, an active, wealthy, well-educated man of middle age, who has been a strong supporter of the Committee both before and since the revolution of 1908. In that year he settled permanently in Constantinople, but, though often consulted by the Committee's leaders and nominated a senator by the Sultan, by their advice he never appeared in the political foreground till early in the present year, when the diplomatic skill with which he prevailed upon many of his wavering colleagues of the Upper House to accept the modification of Article 35 of the Constitution led to his being appointed President of the Council of State with the rank of Minister in Said Pasha's Cabinet. At the end of June he was chosen, whether by Said Pasha or by the Committee is immaterial, to represent Turkey in the preliminary *pourparlers* with the Italian delegates, Signor Volpi and Signor Fusinato, at Evian-les-Bains, but was recalled after the fall of the Committee's Ministry on July 17. His knowledge both of Europe and of European politics is believed to be greater than that of any of his predecessors, but he has had no chance of making a first-hand study of the internal problems of the empire. His future relations with his relative the Khedive afford interesting matter for speculation.

The remainder of the members of the central Committee and of the bureau are well-known. With the exception of Omar Nadj and Rahmi Beys, all the members of the old governing group have been elected or re-elected to important positions on the Committee's hierarchy, and Talaat Bey is probably the dominating personality of the central bureau. Only two Christians, the Armenian Haladjian and the Syrian Suleiman Bostani, the learned translator of Homer into Arabic verse, have been elected, with one Donmeh, but there are no Jews, though the so-called Musonic lodges are well represented.

As for the further policy of the Committee, the choice of leaders made to-day would appear to indicate that the extremist element remains in the ascendant, more than half the central Committee belonging to the Left, though little or nothing is known as to the political tendencies of the Secretary-General, who is invested with considerable authority, which he may desire to exercise. Meanwhile, the central Committee has unfortunately been compelled to open its electoral campaign without a full complement of members.

The Peace Negotiations.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, September 14.

During the last few days rumours of peace have been in the air and reports from well-informed sources indicate that the latest proposals made by Nabi Bey and Fahreddin Bey, the Turkish delegates, are regarded as containing the elements of a settlement. It may be that this belief is over-optimistic, and that the Italian decree of annexation will still stand in the way of peace, but there can be no doubt that the present difficulties, both financial and political, of Turkey have rendered her statesmen, with the exception, perhaps, of Kiamil Pasha—who continues to utter the formula, "Peace when the Italians have conquered Turkish Africa,

but not till then"—more ready to come to terms, with their Italian opponents. The report is current, and may be well founded, that the latest Turkish proposals involve the surrender of the entire administration, civil and military, of Tripoli to the Italians, provided that the latter agree to recognise the suzerainty of the Sultan and the appointment of a "Vekil" (representative) of his Majesty by Imperial firman, who will be titular Governor-General of the country. His position will resemble that of the present Bey of Tunis if he is some ordinary Arab notable or old Turkish functionary; but if, as has been suggested, the Sheikh es Senussi becomes the Padishah's representative, the "Khedive of Tripoli" will have to be reckoned with by Italians as well as Turks.

Commenting on a statement that recently appeared in the *Temps*, the *Near East* says:—

The way leading to peace was revealed by the Italian Premier when he announced that by annexation was meant not that Libya became thereby an integral part of the kingdom of Italy, but that Italy proclaimed her sovereign rights over the two Turkish provinces in question. These sovereign rights, we are to infer from the alleged basis of peace, will be retained by the agreement to be ratified between Italy and Turkey, although the latter will not be called upon to record her recognition of the annexation. Libya, like Egypt and Tunis, will pass into other hands without any formal acquiescence on the part of Turkey. A second clause, it is stated, will leave to Turkey a port at one end or the other of Libya, in order that the Turkish Government may have a means of communication with the interior. Tobruk has been mentioned in this connection, but here is one of those points that in the opinion of one party or the other requires further consideration. Turkey at this stage would seem also to have expressed the desire to have a base on the Red Sea ceded to her, but Italy is understood to have demurred to the surrender of Massowah, the port indicated. For the rest the Turks' religious susceptibilities, in accordance with an undertaking that the Italian Government has always expressed its readiness to grant, will be safeguarded by the maintenance by the Sultan of a spiritual connection with his Mussulman subjects in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and the Arab population is to be won over to the Italian protectorate by "a considerable contribution ostensibly for religious and philanthropic purposes". The delimitation of the Italian zone in north Africa is to be left for friendly settlement between the two countries at a later date. No treaty is complete without a financial clause, and in the present instance Italy is prepared to make good the annual income that the Ottoman Debt receives from Tripoli and Cyrenaica. But the more important arrangements bearing on this subject are said to have been reserved for separate negotiation. A semi-official statement issued in Rome denies, it is true, the report that the Italian Government is negotiating with foreign banking groups with a view to obtaining a loan of £24,000,000 for Turkey. The fact, however, remains that financial stringency is a prominent feature in the situation in Turkey, and that the declaration of peace will be robbed of some of its advantages, if the Porte is not speedily placed in a position to obtain money for administrative purposes and in order to reorganise its finances. The Italian Government has frequently announced that it bears Turkey no ill-will, and it will not have a better opportunity of proving the truth of this declaration than by assisting the Porte in its next loan.

The "Tanzimat," the organ of the Entente Libérale, gives some interesting details as to the course of the unofficial peace negotiations between Turkey and Italy, the existence of which is now no longer denied. The initiator of the scheme seems to have been the frequently mentioned Signor Volpi, an Italian financier who had for some years past been associated with the father of the ex-Minister of Public Works, Haladjian Effendi, in the exploitation of coal mines at Heraclea. Signor Volpi came to Constantinople about three months ago, and after prolonged negotiations succeeded in inducing Said Pasha, the then Grand Vizier, to send a delegate to Switzerland with a view to the provisional discussion of terms of peace. It was Said Halim Pasha who went on the mission, on the pretext of a cure. With him was soon associated Hussein Djahid Bey, the editor of the *Tanin* (who it will be remembered, went to "Norway" for his holidays), while the Italian side was represented by Count Rusinato (a former Italian Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs), Signor Bertoni (a former Minister of Public Instruction), and also Signor Nogaro. The "Tanzimat" asserts that the *pourparlers* were already so far advanced that a provisional protocol was about to be initialled when the Said Cabinet fell. The journal refuses to disclose the terms which were then agreed upon. As one of

them, however, it mentions an undertaking on the part of the Italian Government to provide the Young Turkish Committee with a considerable sum of money for the maintenance at Tripoli of Young Turkish Schools, the payment of which, however, was to be effected not by the Government, but through some intermediary bank, like the Banco di Roma. The interrupted negotiations have now been resumed at Lausanne (or at Caux, as others report).

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" announces that Signor Luzzatti has now joined the Italian negotiators in Switzerland.

The War in Tripoli.

THE correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* with the Turks in Tripoli sends an account of queer pieces of luck "which sound like fairy tales, and yet are sober truth."

In the first bombardment of the Turkish camp by the big guns of the Italian navy a shell fell into a Badoin's tent and there burst. Luckily the inmates of the tent were mostly out in the open: the man was fighting in the ranks, and the women were busy washing some twenty paces away. But the only child, a pretty little baby a few weeks old, was sleeping peacefully in its cradle, a round basket of plaited cane. Anyone who knows the destruction wrought by a large shell will have no doubts as to the fate of the tent and its small inhabitant. The stuff composing the tent was mostly burnt, and the rest of it was torn into minute fragments and in company with the furniture, also broken into atoms, was whirled far away and scattered over a large area. On the site once occupied by the tent was now to be seen only a deep hole, and round it a heap of earth burnt black by the explosion. Three or four steps from this hole lay the overturned cradle, and from beneath it came loud wailings from the Badoin's little girl, who was quite safe and sound. Swept out of the tent by the rush of air she had been protected by the basket from the flying splinters.

The shells seem to have a vein of humour. They seldom live up to their gruesome reputation, and often their only effect is to terrify people out of their wits. In the first days of the last bombardment an Arab family gathered round the cooking-pot were amusing themselves with small witticisms over the detonation. One of the shells flying around must have heard their insulting remarks, for it suddenly plunged plump with a loud roar into the middle of the party, sent them all flying head over heels, hurled some handfuls of sand in their faces, and sent the cooking-pot in a highly dismembered condition flying away on the blast. When the party collected their senses they found the site of their pleasant dinner now occupied by a black smudge, and so the mockers had that day at any rate to go dinnerless and suffer the pangs of hunger, unless the excitement had robbed them of appetite.

A strange piece of mingled good and bad luck fell to the lot of a Turkish officer on the last day of the cannonade. There had been a pause of several hours in the firing and the officer had seized the opportunity to have a mid-day siesta, from which he was rudely awakened by the first shot of the second chapter in the bombardment. The shell plunged right into his tent, tore it to pieces, and scattered the fragments far and wide. He told me afterwards that the fiery heat of the explosion gave him a feeling as if his legs had been torn off or burnt. Some time elapsed before he had sufficiently recovered himself to see whether he could still move his legs. The experiment succeeded beyond his wildest hopes, and then he crept mechanically out of the chaos of debris round him and stood up on his feet. Then at last it dawned upon him that he had passed almost scatheless through the ordeal. The only injury was to the drum of one ear, but he will not lose his hearing. Two days after his adventure he showed me the trousers and shirt which he was wearing at the time. The trousers were cut to shreds and as black as coal: most of the shirt was burnt. Of his handkerchief only a blackened fragment remained. His box was smashed to smithereens, and the clothes were reduced to the condition of sieves and badly scorched. A pair of new boots were found fifty yards away, with all their uppers gone. Near them lay all that had survived of his stockings, the worked monogram of their owner. The brave man was delighted to find this relic, which he intends to take home with him to his wife. But he nourishes a bitter grudge against the Italians for disturbing his siesta so discourteously.

Enver Bey himself at the very beginning of his time at the scene of hostilities had another experience of mingled good and

bad luck. According to the habit he has of scoring cover of any shape or kind, he stood upright in the middle of a storm of shells, his face turned towards the enemy, and gave his orders. After the lapse of some time a noise to his right made him turn in that direction to see what was the matter. At that moment a splinter from a shell tore away the clasp of his sword-belt, cut his coat into ribbons, and slightly grazed his skin. Had it come a second earlier it would have buried itself in his body.

The Arrest of Sheikh Shawish.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Sept. 4.

THE *Tanin* reappears to-day under the name of *Djenin*, and enters a long protest against the action of the Government in surrendering Sheikh Shawish to the Egyptian Government "merely to oblige the English." The Sheikh, according to the *Djenin*, is an honest Arab *savant* of high literary fame, who will have no difficulty in proving his innocence of the charges brought against him, but it is scandalous that the Turkish Government should show such readiness to hand over such a man to the Khedivial Government, which refused to surrender the notorious Izzet Pasha in compliance with the Turkish request.

The *Yeni Gazete*, on the other hand, describes Shawish as one of those refugees from other Moslem lands who on arriving in Turkey became *plus royalistes que le roi* in their support of the Committee of Union and Progress. His newspaper, the *Hilal-i-Osmanieh*, which combined Egyptian Nationalism with a vigorous defence of the Committee régime, received financial support amounting to £11,500 from certain personages whose names are not made public. Shawish, adds the *Yeni Gazete*, is considered in many quarters to be a dangerous adventurer.

Sheikh Shawish has had so many apologists among his academic admirers elsewhere that it is not surprising to find the *Djenin* taking up the cudgels on his behalf, though, seeing that he is a person strongly suspected of having conspired against the vassal prince who ranks in the Turkish official hierarchy as the first of the Governors-General of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the description of him as a good Ottoman by this newspaper seems hardly justifiable. It may also be remarked that, while no warrant for the arrest of Izzet Pasha was ever issued by the Turkish Courts, the Khedivial Government did consent to expel the Liberal journalist Mevlan Zadeh, who had conducted a bitter anti-Committee campaign from Cairo.

The documents seized at the office of the *Hilal-i-Osmanieh* and at Shawish's house have been handed over to the Egyptian authorities by the Government, which has also given orders that the monthly subsidy which its predecessor, in spite of the pro-British professions of several of its members, paid to the journal in question from funds at the disposal of the Minister of the Interior, shall be discontinued immediately.

(FROM "THE NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cairo, September 11.

The appeal lodged by Imami Wakid, Mahmoud Taher El Arabi, and Mohammed Abdel Salam against the sentence of fifteen years' imprisonment passed on them by the Assize Court for their complicity in the recent conspiracy, came before the Cassation Court on Sunday. The grounds for the appeal were: That the proceedings were not in reality public, as only the police and the Press were admitted; that the inquiry was not carried out in the period fixed by the law; and that in the judgment, the offence was not clearly proved or the case exposed in accordance with the requirements of the law. The Cassation Court, over which Yehia Pasha Ibrahim, the President of the Native Court of Appeal, presided, made short work of the case, and after hearing the Government's representative dismissed the appeal. This result was quite expected; for the grounds, raised in the "recours", were obviously untenable and only given as a matter of form.

The sensation of the week has been the arrival under police escort from Constantinople of Sheikh Abdel Aziz Shawish, who had been arrested by the Turkish authorities at the request of the Egyptian Government. The Khedivial Mail S.S. "Saidieh," by which the celebrated Extremist Nationalist was travelling, was due to arrive in Alexandria at about nine o'clock on Sunday morning. The authorities feared that some sort of demonstration would be organised, and so the most elaborate precautions had been taken, and a special detachment of police had been drawn up at the landing quay. By nine o'clock an unusually large crowd had foregather-

ed, including a very fair sprinkling of better-class Egyptians, but time went on and no "Saidieh" appeared, so gradually the people moved away. Even those whose patience had triumphed were doomed to disappointment, for when the "Saidieh" eventually steamed in and stopped at her moorings no Sheikh Shawish disembarked from her. The authorities, fearing possible trouble, had stolen a march on the crowd. The steamer stopped, as usual, in the outer harbour. Immediately Bimbaishi Ingram, the head of the Alexandria Public Security, and Bimbaishi Giovannini, the Chief of the Secret Police, accompanied by some police officers, went on board in a motor-launch, and took charge of the Sheikh and the documents which had been seized at his hodge and offices by the Turkish Government. The party then proceeded in the launch to the quarantine station at Gabbari, where the Sheikh was landed, and was conveyed in a motor-car, which had been held in readiness, to the central prison. The Sheikh was subjected to a formal interrogatory, but the inquiry proper did not commence until yesterday. The authorities evidently attach supreme importance to the case against the Extremist arch-plotter and seditionary: for Abdel Khalek Pasha Sarwat, the Procureur-General, who had sought in Cyprus a well-earned rest after the strain of the conspiracy inquiry, was urgently recalled from leave as soon as it was known that the Sheikh had been arrested. He arrived on Monday, and immediately took charge of the dossier and the inquiry.

The authorities have been quite right to insist on the Procureur-General conducting the inquiry. The documents seized by the Turkish Government are exceedingly important—they will most probably lead to more arrests at Constantinople—and they undoubtedly throw further light on past political incidents, in which the hand of the talented Sheikh has been suspected. Since Sarwat Pasha has either conducted or had to advise the Government in most of those inquiries, he is, quite apart from his ability, unquestionably the man to handle the present case and tackle the chief accused who is as astute as he is eloquent.

Meanwhile seditious posters have been raining thick on the land. On Saturday the police discovered placards affixed on the walls of the Governor's house, the Mudiria, the Wakfs' offices, and other Government buildings in Tantah. The posters were headed, "A Holy War", and were signed "La Mano Nerr." In them the populace was called upon to rise and avenge Sheikh Shawish. Similar placards were found on Monday on the principal buildings at Mansurah. The police are making great efforts to trace the authors, but although extensive searches have been made, so far they have not been successful in securing any clues. There is a theory that these posters are the work either of practical jokers or maniacs; but no matter who is responsible for them, these incidents must be regarded as serious, for they constitute, to say the least of it, a flouting of the Government before the eyes of the ignorant masses, and for that reason alone stern reprisals must be made. The three youths, who were retained in custody out of the five that were arrested at Boulac last week, have been set free, as there was not sufficient evidence against them. The authors of the Cairo posters are, therefore, still undiscovered. In addition, Hamed El Moligui, who was re-arrested on suspicion of having affixed the inflammatory poster close to the British Headquarters in Alexandria, has been released for a similar reason. Only four men remain in custody now, Ahmed Mukhtar, who brought the circulars over from Constantinople; Mohammed Abdel Shaffar Metwalli and Hussein Effendi Ali Mortada, students—on both of whom lists containing the names of other students chosen to carry into effect the projects mentioned in the circulars were found—and lastly Sheikh Shawish. It is expected that the inquiry and the case will very shortly be transferred to Cairo.

The Sheikh's Career.

THE Sheikh is, comparatively speaking, a young man. Born in 1874, he passed through El Azhar University, and became Arabic Lecturer at Oxford. After that he was appointed Inspector in the Egyptian Ministry of Education, and in 1904 was sent as Egyptian delegate to the Oriental Congress at Algiers. About 1908 he was appointed editor of *El Leua*, and later on, when the split in the party came, he joined the *Alam* in the same capacity on its foundation. Always an enthusiastic Nationalist, and a fluent and powerful writer, Shawish at once gave an impetus to the movement, and caused it to develop into a violent Extremist, anti-Christian and anti-English one. He is a Tunisian, but repudiated by the French authorities, as he found out to his cost, when he invoked the Capitulations as a protection against prosecution by the Egyptian Government for his seditious writings. Twice he has had to undergo imprisonment for libellous and seditious acts. The first time on August 24, 1909, when he was prosecuted for a defamatory article in the *Leua* directed at Boutros Pasha Ghali and Fathy Pasha Zaghlul, and the second

on August 6, 1910, for the preface he wrote to the seditious book of poems written by Sheikh El Ghaiyati. In January last he fled to Constantinople to escape prosecution for the breach of neutrality which he committed by organising a large convoy of arms for the Turks in Tripoli.—*The Near East*.

Mr. Blunt's Letter.

THE following letter appeared in the "Daily News" and "Manchester Guardian" of September 11th:—

Sir,—
"Two voices are there; one is of the Sea,
One of the Mountains; each a mighty voice:
In both from age to age thou didst rejoice.
They were thy chosen music, Liberty!"

All cultured Englishmen have read these majestic lines with pride. They were written a hundred and ten years ago by our great national poet, Wordsworth, at a moment when, in face of the growing despotism of Europe, England and Switzerland, the one guarded by her seas, the other by her mountains, were standing out almost alone against imperial tyranny, freedom's last traditional homes giving asylum to the weak. The poet's lament, the cause of his alarm, was lest these two should be overwhelmed with the rest and disappear, and he foresaw in such a disaster the final death of European Liberty.

I wonder what Wordsworth would have said to-day if he could have read of the demand of extradition just now being made on Switzerland by our good English Liberal Foreign Secretary that she should surrender the leader of the Egyptian National Party, who was condemned by a packed tribunal to hard labour six months ago at Cairo for a political speech made by him against his Government, and who has since found asylum at Geneva.

We are becoming hardened, doubtless, here in England to the truculent necessities of Empire indulged in by our Foreign and India Offices in their dealings with political refugees opposed to their Imperial plans. But it is surely a startling collocation of memories to find the elder sister of the two free nations thus nobly praised by Wordsworth seeking to debauch the younger to so despicable a betrayal of a third and yet younger nation's rights. Will Switzerland refuse? Or are we, indeed, to lament the end of freedom in a weary world?

"What sorrow would it be
That Mountain floods should thunder as before,
And Ocean bellow from his rocky shore,
And neither awful voice be heard by Thee!"

Can you do nothing, sir, to help us here in the way of protest?—Yours faithfully,

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

September 10th, 1912.

A French View.

COMMENTING in the "Siècle" on the reported application of the Egyptian Government to the Swiss authorities for the extradition of Mohammed Farid Bey, the leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party, M. Jean Herbetie refuses to believe, from his personal knowledge of the man, that he could be guilty of any offence against the common law. He recalls Farid Bey's condemnation to six months' hard labour for an "inoffensive preface to a volume of verse", and declares that "the sole reproach which the authorities could level at him is that he refuses to be bought by them as others have been. But this is a crime", M. Herbetie continues, "for which it is not the custom to grant extradition." He concludes by saying: "How could the British Government, the heir to those who give hospitality to so many proscribed persons, respectable and otherwise, think of pursuing an exile with so much energy when so many other affairs demand its attention at the present moment? No: to believe that England is bent on hunting down Farid Bey is to do wrong both to the British character and British common-sense. And it would also mean to forget that at the moment when the Pan-Germans assembled at Erfurt are coolly discussing a landing in Egypt, Lord Kitchener has something better to do than to read police reports and create a native peril by trying to suppress it."

The "Nation."

GREAT BRITAIN is traditionally the country of political asylum, but our Foreign Office delights to break with every tradition of freedom. The most distressing feature of the week's foreign policy is the demand that has been made on Switzerland for the extradition of Farid Bey, the President of the Egyptian Nationalists, now a refugee at Geneva, who was condemned six months ago by a packed jury in Cairo for a speech attacking the Egyptian authorities.

In a powerful letter to the "Daily News and Leader" Mr. W. Scawen Blunt quotes Wordsworth's great sonnet:—

"Two voices are there; one is of the Sea,
One of the Mountains; each a mighty voice,"
and continues:—

"It is surely a startling collocation of memories to find the elder sister of the two free nations, thus nobly praised by Wordsworth, seeking to debauch the other to so despicable a betrayal of a third and yet younger nation's rights."

Sir E. Grey, we believe, is an ardent Wordsworthian; Mr. Blunt's letter should at least be piquant reading to him, however painful it is to British Liberals, who will, we hope, petition the Swiss Government in force not to surrender Farid Bey. Meanwhile Sheikh Shawish, another Nationalist leader, has been complacently handed over to the Egyptian police by the Turkish Government, without trial, and on an unspecified charge. The Constantinople correspondent of the "Morning Post" rightly points out that there is another side to this proceeding:—

"The Egyptian Government has hitherto refused to hand over political offenders to the Turkish Government, and before the revival of the Constitution great numbers of Young Turks took refuge in Egypt, where they were not molested."

The "Jeune Turc" of Constantinople drives the matter home to British Liberals when it says:—

"It is not by such proceedings that we shall ever gain the sympathy of Great Britain and particularly of British public opinion. The English well know the meaning of the words 'honour' and 'hospitality'; they afford shelter to the revolutionaries of the entire world, and never in the history of England has any Government given up a political refugee."

Certainly, this used to be our tradition. It is reserved for a Liberal Government to destroy it.

The Suppression of the "Lewa".

THE latest of the long list of despotic acts in Egypt is the suppression of the "Lewa", Moustapha Kamel's old organ, and certainly at one time the most influential newspaper in the Arabic-speaking world. The cause of its suppression is a purely technical offence. Under the Press Law, promulgated in 1903, a newspaper must notify the Ministry of the Interior of any change of editor. By some oversight, or otherwise, the "Lewa" neglected to fulfil this condition, Mohammed el Mahdi having been made "responsible editor" without the fact being at once communicated to the proper Government official. In any country with a semblance of decent government such an omission would have been at once rectified without trouble. The number of people in England who commit such technical breaches of regulations is legion. But, of course, in Egypt the Government is quite as much a despotism as Russia, and could not forego the chance of striking at a Nationalist paper in this way. As, according to the Press Law, three "warnings" by the Ministry to a paper involve suppression, and as the "Lewa" had been twice "warned" before, this means that the journal cannot be published any more. Though, as we go to press, we learn that Ali Bey Kamel is appealing to the Mixed Courts against the suppression on the ground that it is illegal.

The "Lewa" was founded by the late Moustapha Pasha Kamel in 1899 and soon attained a position of great influence in Egypt. It circulated throughout the country, going into the smallest villages, and everywhere stimulating a national spirit amongst the people. The energy and dash of its founder permeated it, and it soon became a very formidable enemy of Lord Cromer's rule. At that time the Khedive was in friendly relations with the nationalist leader, and the "Lewa" enjoyed an unrivalled position. It is noteworthy that whilst the Cromerites and Imperialist scribblers generally had not a good word to say for Moustapha Kamel whilst he was alive, now that he is dead he has become fairly respectable and even a "worthy young man," beside whom the present Nationalist leaders are quite wicked and worthless. Just as Arabi was a mutineer and rebel until twenty-five years had passed, and then Lord Cromer discovered that he was fairly to be called a patriot. The "Lewa" has gone through many vicissitudes during the last two or three years and has been the subject of a good deal of litigation on the part of those who were financially interested in it. Recently Ali Bey Kamel, the brother of Moustapha Kamel, was legally appointed official guardian of the journal, and it was as such that he was sentenced to three months imprisonment because the "Lewa" published Farid Bey's speech last February. For some time the "Alam" has been the official organ of the Nationalist Party, but since Ali Bey Kamel's guardianship of the "Lewa" it also was a party organ.—*Egypt.*

Persia.

News of the Week.

Reuter wired from Tehran:—News from Russian sources indicates that Salar-Ed-Dowleh, with a numerous force, is marching on Kirmanshah.

It is expected that Firman Firma's troops will take refuge in the British and Russian Consulates.

Official intimation has been received by the Persian Consul-General at Simla that Prince Firman Firma, who was touring in Kohistan when the Custom House was seized by Salar-ed-Dowleh and Yar Mahomed Khan, is proceeding with a large number of troops towards Kirmanshah, composed of Bakhtiari, Mujaheds and Armenians. It is believed that his presence at Kirmanshah, when he arrives there, will have a salutary effect in restoring order and peace.

The Governor-General of Fars, who was on a tour of inspection in the neighbourhood of Shiraz, is proceeding to Ispahan.

The Persian Consul-General has received official communication to effect that Amir Mofakham, Governor-General of Kirman, while returning to Kirman, met a large number of Baharlou brigands with whom he had a sharp fight. About one hundred brigands were killed and a large quantity of stolen goods recovered.

According to a Moscow paper the services of a Dutch officer have been applied for by the Tehran Government to re-organise the Persian Army.

M. Sazonoff, the Russian Minister, arrived at Victoria station on the 20th September and was received by the Russian Ambassador and representatives of Sir Edward Grey and the Foreign Office.

At the moment of arrival a man rushed towards the carriage flourishing a placard, and shouting "Clear out of Persia", "Down with Russia". The man was seized by detectives.

The man who made a demonstration on the arrival of M. Sazonoff has been released as a harmless crank.

M. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, conferred with Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office on the 21st September. They journeyed together to Balmoral afterwards, where there was a series of conversations, to which the papers attach great importance anticipating that they will result in an amplification of the "entente," chiefly affecting Persia.

The "Times" urged the revision of the Convention relating to Persia in order to give Great Britain a freedom in the South similar to that exercised by Russia in the North.

The "Daily News" denounces the "Times" for what it describes as its incoherent and cynical proposal to share the spoils. The journal says that Liberals have too long been loyal to the Government in this respect, and must insist upon the fulfilment of the agreement, making Russia's withdrawal of troops a condition of retaining British co-operation.

The "Daily Chronicle" says that however unwilling Sir Edward Grey may be to extend our responsibilities in Persia, circumstances may be too strong, and definite action must be taken to prevent complete anarchy.

The "Times", assuming that M. Sazonoff's visit to England is mainly connected with Persia, insists that freedom of action similar to that exercised by Russia in the North will become essential to us in the South. The paper says that a frank and friendly exchange of views should result in a much more precise definition of the policy of the two Powers in Persia. If the whole fabric of Persian sovereignty is not to collapse, says the "Times", each must assume more direct responsibility than hitherto for the administration of the Northern and the Southern provinces. This means revision or amplification of the Anglo-Russian Convention. Difficulties in the way are not unaccountable if the Governments are prepared as in 1907 to subordinate contentious questions of secondary importance to the larger interests of the Powers in common.

The papers comment on the presence of Mr. Bonar Law at Balmoral. Conjectures vary, associating the visit with the desire of the King and Sir Edward Grey that the Opposition Leader should attend the final exchange of views with Mr. Sazonoff.

London papers continue to give prominence to M. Sazonoff's visit but there is a general disposition to refrain from definite comment before tangible results are available of the meeting at Balmoral which is at present the political centre of the world.

While in London M. Sazonoff interviewed the Turkish Ambassador and the Serbian and Bulgarian Ministers.

The French Press dwells upon the importance of the Balmoral Conference and hopes that the result will be a fresh proof of the stability of the Triple Entente.

Reuter wired from Teheran:—The conference between Sir Edward Grey and M. Sazonoff at Balmoral is causing general uneasiness, and the apprehensions of the Persian Government of the restoration of the ex-Shah are only partially allayed by Sir Edward Grey's oft quoted declaration that Great Britain will never recognise him.

The Persian Minister in Paris has been specially commissioned to interview the Regent who is now in Switzerland and to urge him to return to Persia.

Representatives of the various recognised parties have also telegraphed a similar request to His Highness whose attitude is uncertain.

The Cabinet has received telegrams from Tabriz demanding the restoration of the ex-Shah. It regards them as the result of conspiracy of the reactionaries to create the impression that the ex-Shah has become popular. Similar telegrams are expected from other centres.

The small force of Indian Cavalry which was stationed for some time at Isfahan has been withdrawn. The British Minister recently communicated to the Persian Government his renewed desire to withdraw the force from Shiraz so soon as Consul Smart's aggressors had been captured and punished.

Reports from Shiraz show that the forces of disorder are again making headway, the number of robberies being greatly on the increase.

Reuter is officially informed that in their conversations at Balmoral recently, M. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, and Sir Edward Grey both found themselves in complete accord in desiring to work for peace and co-operating in any diplomatic action favourable thereto.

No new political agreement affecting Persia was discussed. Neither Power desires the partition of Persia. Both are carefully considering how best to assist in the strengthening of the Persian Government to enable that Government to re-establish order, secure the safety of trade routes and expedite the withdrawal of foreign troops.

With reference to the conversations between M. Sazonoff and Sir Edward Grey at Balmoral on the subject of Persia and subsequently Lord Crowe, Reuter learns that that while Persia occupied a prominent place in the conversations, not only was the question of possible partition never discussed, but neither was there any intention on the part of Russia to urge Great Britain to adopt a more vigorous policy there. On the contrary, the settled policy of both Governments is to do all in their power to enable the Persian Government to maintain order. This is a matter of great importance to both Powers, but it was pointed out that Russia suffers even more than Britain from the continuance of disorder which does great damage to her trade.

Russia is only too ready to help Persia financially but does not desire to see money wasted. Russia wants to ensure its expenditure by a Government which will see it devoted to things most needed. Russia, indeed, has no ulterior motives in Persia and troops are only despatched there when any other course is impossible.

The linking up of the Russian and Indian Railways by means of the Trans-Persian Railway was also discussed. Each Government is fully cognisant of the interests of the other. At present, however, the matter remains one rather for bankers and financiers. Consideration of the details by the Governments can be reserved for the future. Neither Government has any objection to the question becoming the subject of study, each Government being free when the question has passed this stage and the results of investigation are ripe for execution to express its own views.

As regards the report that Britain intended to despatch an explanatory Mission to Tibet, it may be stated that the question of a Mission was not discussed. Tibet was only dealt with in very general terms, and no change whatever was effected in the policy established by the Anglo-Russian Agreement.

Reuter wires from Teheran:—With reference to conversations at Balmoral between the British and Russian Foreign Ministers, the Persian Foreign Minister intends to express regret to the Russian and British Ministers that Persia was not invited to take part in a conference closely affecting the interests of Persia, and to suggest the propriety of Persian participation in any negotiations arising subsequently. The British demand for concession for a railway from the Gulf to Khoramshah is under consideration by the Committee sitting at the Foreign Office.

The Russian project for a Julfa-Tabriz Railway does not appear to be making much progress, while the representatives of the Enzeli-Teheran Road Companies have been in Teheran for a fortnight endeavouring to come to terms with the Persian Government.

Treasurer General's Report.

Reuter's Teheran correspondent telegraphs that, according to a report on the financial situation of Persia drawn up by the Treasurer General, the Persian Customs revenue alone would provide adequate security for

a loan of £5,000,000. He states that Persia would with this sum be enabled to pay off her floating debts and the claims of the foreign legations, and still have at her disposal for the execution of urgent reforms a balance of about £2,500,000.

The present Treasurer General, it may be remembered, is the Belgian, M. Mornard, who is generally regarded as a partisan of Russia.

The difficulty of helping Persia financially has always been explained as due to the want of security. Russia and Great Britain made a joint advance to Persia some four months ago after great difficulties from Russia, who reduced the amount from the £400,000 originally proposed to £200,000, and Persia had agreed to various demands, and Great Britain, apparently tired of waiting for Russia, independently lent a further £100,000 three weeks ago. Russia has demanded, before she will make a further advance, that Persia should give her consent to the increase of the Persian Cossack brigade under Russian officers at Tabriz, which has already been done, and that Persia should grant a concession for a railway from Julfa to Tabriz.

A British Policy in Persia.

We have now no policy in Persia; but we have helped to create a situation in Persia, and the forces which we either set in motion there, or allowed to be set in motion there, are not ceasing to work because we have ceased to think or to act. For everything that happens in Persia now, we are, with Russia, jointly responsible. There is no Persian Government, except the Russian and British Legations. We assisted Russia in dismissing Mr. Shuster and in dissolving the Mejlis. The constitution is gone, the patriots are gone, the sympathetic foreign statesmen are gone. The Persian Cabinet remains, a mere machine for registering the decrees of Russia and Great Britain. Throughout Persia there is no independent institution, except it be the sanctuary at Nedjef, which can voice the will of Persia. And the subjection of Persia is the most miserable of all forms of subjection. It is real but informal. The foreign masters of Persia exercise power, but acknowledge no responsibility; they claim rights, but admit no duties. Russia and Great Britain have not substituted a foreign government for a native government; they have simply denied the Persians all possibility of governing themselves. They have imposed a veto upon government, and established anarchy. Only two kinds of things may the Persian Cabinet do. It may make concessions to Russia and Great Britain, and it may accept petty loans on monstrously onerous terms from Russia and Great Britain. A country may live and even prosper under native government or under foreign government; but no country can live under such a mixture as we have assisted in thrusting upon Persia, and, in point of fact, Persia is visibly dying. The North is a Russian province, occupied by Russian soldiers, and enjoys the blessings of Russian martial law. The tribes of the South know no lordship. It is not so much that there is active lawlessness or civil war; of these there is relatively little. Nor is it that trade is impossible, for both in the North and the South trade has increased. It is the crumbling of all authority, the disappearance of all cohesion. Persia threatens to dissolve into a chaos of molecules, unless the Powers that have reduced her to this state bethink themselves.

There are, roughly, three possible policies for this country to adopt. We can say that the utter dissolution of Persia is inevitable, and that we must act accordingly. We can say that Persia's misfortunes are largely the work of Russia and ourselves, and that if these two Powers restore Persia her freedom, there is nothing to prevent the complete recovery of Persia. We can say that the disease has gone so far that some kind of surgical operation cannot be avoided, and that we should concentrate our energies on saving so much as can be saved. The first of these views would seem to be the one favored by the "Times". Put plainly, it amounts to this: Northern Persia must be recognised as a Russian province, and, in compensation, we should occupy Southern Persia. The neutral zones should remain as a nominal buffer between the Russian and the British Empires, with a nominal Persian Government, convenient for the granting of concessions in the neutral zone, such as the Russo-Indian Railway. The objections to this scheme are of the gravest kind. The fragmentary vessel Persia that would be left between the Russian and British Empires would be an entirely unreal barrier. It would have no strength of its own; it would fall at the first stroke from either of its powerful neighbors. The two Empires would, therefore, in effect, be continuous for hundreds of miles, and the whole military and strategical problem of Great Britain and of India would be revolutionised. From being an "island" Power, owing to the enduring barrier of sea, or desert, or mountain, we should become doubly a Continental Power. Our outposts would be facing the Russian outposts along the whole length of Southern Persia, and the Russo-Indian Railway could at any moment pour a Russian army into India from the North-west. We should be driven to maintain an army on a Continental scale, and to face the prospect of settling the fate of India by a campaign fought in Persia, in which all the advantages of supplies, nearness to base, communications, and numbers would be on the side of Russia. The finances of India

would collapse under the strain; conscription, and conscription for foreign service, to which no foreign people is subjected, would be imposed upon the people of these islands; and at the end of it all, the safety of India and the peace of the world would be infinitely less secure than they are to-day. A strong Persia as a buffer state is an elementary necessity of British policy.

The strongest Persia would be a Persia co-extensive with its nominal boundaries. That would imply that Russia should withdraw her troops from the North. Some excellent friends of Persia think that the time has gone by when we can expect so much. Russia, in their opinion, is so firmly entrenched in the North that there is no possibility of her withdrawing. We should be slow to accept any such conclusion. The Russian Government has formally pledged itself to withdraw from Northern Persia, and that pledge is worth precisely as much as the British Government insists upon making it worth. It has to be proved that if the British Government cannot assert its rights with regard to this matter, it can assert its rights with regard to any other matter in Persia, and that it is easier to rescue a half of Persia from Russia than the whole. But if it be assumed that Northern Persia must be written off as lost, as a bribe thrown to Russia for the salvation of the rest of Persia, then the course of British Policy is clear. We must not occupy Southern Persia; that is no compensation, it is simply a terrible burden. Territorially, Southern Persia in British possession is of no value to us; strategically, it would thrust upon us all the military burdens of a Continental Power. Our interest is, first, to keep Southern Persia out of the hands of Russia, and, secondly, to keep it in the hands of a strong neutral State. Southern Persia, together with the whole of Persia outside the Russian sphere of interest, and so much of Northern Persia as is not in Russian occupation, should be made into a strong independent Persian State. There need be no difficulty in effecting this, and it would cost this country nothing. All that is necessary would be for Russia and Great Britain to withdraw their veto from Persian affairs. They would not need even to advance money. The Anglo-Russian veto upon independent loans to Persia has been the chief cause of Persia's financial difficulties, and were that veto withdrawn, Persia could raise the money she needs for her regeneration. It is vital to such a scheme that the projected Russo-Indian Railway should be abandoned, at any rate, for a period of years. A strong, prosperous Persia might conceivably bear such a railway with equanimity, and under the control of such a State it might be aborn of many of its perils to India; but imposed upon a weak and broken Persia, the Russo-Indian Railway would render financial health impossible, and would be as fatal to Persian sovereignty throughout the region it traversed as the Manchurian Railway has proved to Chinese sovereignty. It cannot be said that there is anything moral or impracticable about this scheme. It allows Russia a substantial price; it reconstitutes a maimed but nevertheless compact Persia; it casts into being once more a real buffer State between the Russian and British Empires; and it requires from Sir Edward Grey nothing but an exercise of will which, if it be determined, Russia has not the force to resist. There are sufficient signs that the strength—naval, military, and diplomatic—of Russian autocracy is all facade, and a threat on our part to co-operate with Germany against her in Asia and the Near East would infuse into Russian statesmen some glimmering of loyalty to treaty obligations. —*The Nation*.

The End of Persia.

(FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.)

London, Sept. 13.

ACCORDING to a telegram from St. Petersburg, the appointment of M. Klenin to succeed M. Poklewski Koziell as Russian Minister in Persia is regarded as symptomatic of the slow but certain transformation of the Russian attitude towards Persian affairs, due to the disillusion produced by the pseudo-constitutional regime and the Russophobic propaganda in Teheran and London. The *Noroe Vremya* declares that it is high time to abandon the constitutional farce and establish a strong central power invariably friendly towards Russia and England. This organ does not hesitate to say that Russia has been all too subservient in carrying out English experiments, the failure of which is manifest. On the other hand, Mr. George Douglas Turner, who has just returned to London from Persia, declares that the Russians in that country openly make the boast "Iran mal i Russ ast"—"Persia belongs to Russia." There are others, however, says Mr. Turner, who aver that Russia has no intention of annexing Northern Persia, for the simple reason that she is getting more out of the country under existing conditions than she could if

Persia were a Russian province, and that her policy is to keep Persia in its present unsettled condition, and herself free of responsibility for its government. Many leading commercial men in the country, adds Mr. Turner, believe that this state of things will go on until Persia is squeezed dry. "There are all kinds of people wandering about Northern Persia trying to get concessions for gold mines and oil wells and copper mines. I myself was suspected of having designs in this direction. At present the Russians practically occupy the whole of Northern Persia—Tabriz, Enzeli, Resht, Kazvin, Azerbaijan, and Meshed. They have forces all the way down to Hamadan, which they threaten to occupy, and I heard there that they were proposing to proceed to Kermanshah, a town near the border towards Bagdad. They have a very large force also at Khoi on the Turkish frontier. The Persians are powerless, and recognise that their only hope lies in some action on the part of Great Britain. With the exception of the few Persians who are actually employed in Russian Consulates and elsewhere by Russians, there is not a Persian who does not absolutely loathe and despise the Russians. To quote the exact words of a British resident whose opinion, if I were at liberty to mention his name, would carry great weight, the Russian policy of terrorising the population has raised up a permanent barrier of hatred and distrust. The Russians will very soon have in Northern Persia as many soldiers as we have British troops in India. If that is not occupation, it is difficult to say what it is. And the Persian army is now practically non-existent."—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Persia.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE NATION".

SIR,—I have often been struck by the fact that there are thousands of people who think exactly as you do in regard to Persia and other questions; but that there is so much atmosphere between them that they never seem to materialise. In your current edition, there are three gentlemen who write from different parts of the country, but who are yet in hearty accord with you in regard to Persia. One of them suggests a Committee, with Professor Brewin at the head of it. Another thinks the Almighty may be about to visit England with His displeasure, and laments that in the Foreign Office there appears to be no copy of the Bible. A third cannot read Mr. Shuster's book "without a feeling of shame and indignation at the part which England has been made to play."

He affirms that "many Liberals would gladly welcome any steps," etc.

All this is good—and indicates a beginning of shame in the national mind.

Let us see what we can do. We can, of course, purchase (I do not say "buy" in such a connection) a Bible, mark it at some passage to be determined on later—say, the defeat of Chedorlaomer—dedicate it to Sir Edward Grey, and despatch it to the Foreign Office, leaving to the recipient the charge of paying the messenger boy. This might disarm the wrath of the Almighty; but I am not sure if it would assist Persia.

There may be Liberals who cannot read Mr. Shuster's book without a feeling of shame and indignation, but I doubt whether their shame and indignation makes as enduring an effect upon their moral and political organisation as would, say, a prolonged toothache. Again, they are Liberals (although shamefaced and indignant), and it is a Liberal Government that is responsible for the present state of affairs in Persia. One wonders how far their shame and indignation would lead them.

If they could be stirred up to show their shame and indignation by any active measure, either by heckling Sir Edward Grey when he speaks in public, or by abstaining from voting for any candidates not pledged to a more equitable position in regard to the Persian question, much might be achieved.

If not, they had better allow their shame and indignation to remain in their blood, even at the risk of a cutaneous eruption of moral principles. Let us have the Committee, and at once, with not only the names mentioned by your correspondent, but those of every section of advanced thought. You have done your share, and it is for the Committee to do the rest.

At present the public is in leading strings to Sir Edward Grey who is dominated by his overpowering fear of Germany.

As I heard Mr. Morgan Shuster say at Waterloo Station, when I was bidding him good-bye, and a lady passed leading a dog, "There is nothing I despise so much as toting round a dog on a rope."—Yours faithfully,

R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM.

September 8rd, 1912.

HAVE YOU READ?

"ITALIAN WARFARE IN TRIPOLI AND MOSLEM FEELING IN INDIA"

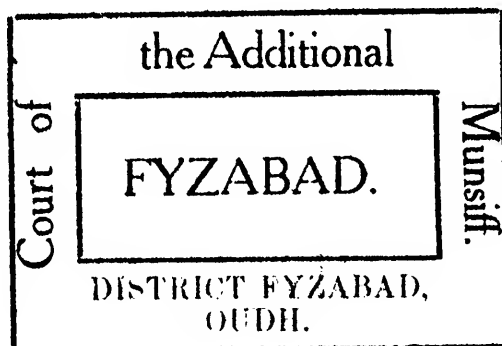
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SUMMONS FOR DISPOSAL OF SUIT.

(Order V, rules 1 and 5, of Act V of 1908.)

SUIT NO. 515 OF 1912.

IN THE COURT OF ADDITIONAL MUNSIFF FYZABAD.

Radh. Srin

Plaintiff

Versus

Defendant.

To

Name Jalpa son of Badri resident of Mubarakpore Atrol, Pargana Pachhaurath District Fyzabad.
WHEREAS Plaintiff has instituted a suit against you for Rs 52 As 12.

You are hereby summoned to appear in this Court in person, or by a pleader, duly instructed and able to answer all material question relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 25th day of october 1912, at 10 o'clock in the fore noon, to answer the claim; and as the day fixed for your appearance is appointed for the final disposal of the suit, you must be prepared to produce on that day all the witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. Take notice that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this 19 day of September 1912.

Sd.

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of
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Stand upright, speak thy thought, declare
The truth thou hast, that all may share.
Be bold, proclaim it everywhere.
They only live who dare!

—Morris.

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The Week.

Home Rule.

SPEAKING at Ladybank on the 5th instant Mr. Asquith said he would remind the Tories of the mistake they made in regard to the Budget of 1909. They were now on the verge of a capital mistake, and he would warn them again. It was needless to say he referred to Ulster. Neither he nor his colleagues ever underrated the importance, and ever spoke with respect, of the motives inspiring the rank and file of those opposing Home Rule. Their apprehensions, however, were ill-founded. The safeguards were adequate and ample. The Unionists' claim was the negation of the root and principal of democratic Government. The obligation to obey inconvenient and objectionable laws was not the prerogative of Ulster Protestants. If the long cherished aspirations of the Irishmen were not granted, they might turn against the law. "We will take the law into our own hands." Mr. Asquith said that it was the Government's intention to place Home Rule on the Statute Book.

The House of Commons was crowded when Mr. Asquith moved the Guillotine Resolution allotting 32 days for the passage of the Home Rule Bill through the Commons. He said the object of the Government was not only to pass the Bill in the present Parliament (Cheers and Counter-cheers), but to pass it with provisions so carefully criticised and revised as to make it a really workable measure. The time available was ample and generous. The object of the Opposition was to destroy not to amend the Bill. Without the Guillotine, they would consume time and prevent the Bill passing and becoming law.

Mr. Bonar Law, moving his amendment to Mr. Asquith's motion, said the Government was compelled to pass a measure which they knew was never approved by the people. Referring to Ulster, he said he fully recognised his responsibility in the matter. They were told that this was an adoption of lawlessness, but there must be a limit somewhere. People in resisting James II. and Robespierre resisted Constitutional authorities. The Government knew that the sense of injustice under which the people of Ulster were suffering was such that outbreaks were possible which would mean massacres. They had only been restrained by the wise leadership of Sir Edward Carson (Prolonged Liberal Laughter), and by the belief that there must be an appeal to the people.

Mr. Bonar Law affirmed that Ulster at present was like a powder magazine. He asked: Had the Government no sense of responsibility? If the Government meant, without an election, to carry Home Rule at the point of bayonet, then Heaven help them. If not, as he believed was the case, then the Government was a body of Micawbers. They were incurring a terrible responsibility. If bloodshed came, then the blood guiltiness would be theirs. (Opposition cheers).

Mr. Lloyd George asked whether Mr. Bonar Law meant massacres of Protestants or Catholics. He commented upon the statement of Mr. Bonar Law that he would support Ulster in any action it took, as a remarkable doctrine for a Constitutional party.

Mr. Bonar Law here interposed that what he said was that if the Government attempted, without first appealing to the country, to impose the Bill on Ulster by force, he would support Ulster to any length in resisting the attempt. He did not reply to the query about massacres.

Mr. Lloyd George, continuing, said that the bye-elections were not fought on Home Rule. The Times, immediately after the signing of the Covenant, declared that the next election would be fought on the Insurance Act, yet the country was supposed to be seething with wrath against the Home Rule Bill.

Mr. Bonar Law's amendment was rejected by 323 votes to 232, and the debate was adjourned.

Instead of violence, which was anticipated in the House of Commons on the night of the 10th October, the debate was punctuated by laughter and cheers, and a cross-fire of personalities. Sir Edward Carson explained that though he loathed the Bill, he, and his friends, would not lose their temper, preferring to remain in full force

rather than be expelled from the House. Referring to Ministerial laughter, he said he would not envy any man who went to Belfast to laugh at them. He had been waiting to hear about his lawlessness, about the necessity for prosecuting him and all that ridiculous rot, but the Government was afraid.

Mr. Churchill, who followed, was interrupted by Sir Edward Carson taunting him with change of convictions. Mr. Churchill reminded Sir Edward Carson that he was formerly a member of the National Liberal Club.

In the House of Commons, Mr. King asked whether the speeches of certain Privy Counsellors, also the Covenant signed at Belfast, would be referred to the law officers of the Crown, so that the latter might report whether they constituted a breach of the Oath of Allegiance. Mr. Asquith replied that he was aware of the speeches, and the matter was being considered. (Liberal cheers).

The House of Commons, by 203 votes to 100, has adopted a resolution applying the guillotine to the Home Rule debate.

The House also, by 197 votes to 92, adopted a motion to suspend the eleven o'clock rule and the five o'clock rule on Fridays for the remainder of the session.

Mr. Roosevelt.

A TELEGRAM from Milwaukee stated that Mr. Roosevelt had been shot by a Socialist in the street near his hotel. The wound is not serious. A later telegram from Milwaukee stated that Mr. Roosevelt was not hurt. He was proceeding to address a meeting when the outrage occurred, and the crowd in the street was with difficulty restrained from lynching the assailant, whom the police seized. Mr. Roosevelt asked the man might be brought before him, and he then asked why the man had fired the shot. No reply was given. Mr. Roosevelt afterwards addressed the meeting.

It appears that Mr. Roosevelt was shot, but would not allow the doctors to examine him. He went to the meeting and spoke for over an hour, though weak from loss of blood. He was then examined, and, though there was no immediate danger, he was removed to an emergency hospital where six doctors were unable to locate the bullet which is in the breast. They have decided to take an X-rays photograph.

Afghanistan.

News from the frontier confirms the report that a fresh trouble has arisen in the Khost Valley. The local tribesmen after their rebellion in the summer secured such lenient terms from the Amir that they are not inclined now to obey the orders of the Afghan officials. Gangs of outlaws, too, who were kept at a distance from the Indo-Afghan border, have swarmed back into Khost. General lawlessness undoubtedly prevails at present, and no measure have been taken to suppress it. The officials, according to custom, are waiting for orders from Kabul.

It is reported that the tribesmen of Tagao in Kohistan are in rebellion and have attacked the Afghan posts on the Lachman Road. A strong force of troops is being sent against them.

In connection with the restlessness reported among the Afghids, owing to the report circulated by Mullah Said Akbar that work was to be resumed on the Jaurnd-Loi Shilan Railway, other rumours have become current that the line is to be built up to Khyber direct from Jaurnd to Landi Kotal. These have been traced to Afghan sources. It need scarcely be said that there is not a word of truth in either of these reports.

The Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province will reach Peshawar shortly and will then summon the Afghid Jirgahs. They will be told, it is understood, that they are being misled by mischief-making persons and they will be shrewd enough, it is expected, to understand that the falsehoods have been circulated with a purpose.

Tropical Medicine.

PRIVATE intimation has been received by last mail that the Secretary of State has sanctioned the Government of India's scheme for a School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta. During the past two years references have been made from time to time to this project, and in the course of the last Budget discussion Surgeon-General Sir C. P. Lukis in his memorandum pointed out that the Budget grant is intended to cover the construction of laboratories and research rooms for this School, which will be worked in connection with the Calcutta Medical College, and which will be open to all qualified practitioners for post-graduate study. The Government of India has also agreed to meet the recurring charges for the additional teaching staff in connection with this School. It is hoped that the Calcutta

University will institute a diploma in Tropical Medicine similar to those granted at Liverpool and Greenwich. This School in Calcutta will be the first institution of its kind in India.

The New Provinces.

THE Secretary of State has approved the general proposals of the Government of India for the amendment of the regulations and schedules relating to the Imperial Legislative Council so far as concerns the representation of the reconstituted Provinces of Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa; and draft regulations and schedules giving effect to these proposals have been forwarded for his approval, which will be published as soon as his sanction is received. The representations of the three new Provinces will in future be as follows:—

Returned by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council, 2 members; by the Bengal landholders, 1 member; by the Bengal Mahomedans, 1 member at every election and one additional member at alternative elections, commencing from the third election to be held under the system inaugurated by the Indian Councils Act, 1909; (at the elections at which Mahomedans in Bengal return only one member, the Mahomedan landholders of the United Provinces will return an additional member); by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, 1 member.

Bihar and Orissa—Returned by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council, one member; by landholders, one member; and by Mahomedans, one member.

Assam—Returned by the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Council, which will be constituted, one member.

In addition to the above, each of the three Provinces will have one nominated official representative on the Imperial Council.

The Domiciled Community.

THE following *communiqué* has been issued by the Education Department:—The recent Conference on the education of the domiciled community held at Simla and presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler expressed their opinion that the state of the poorer members of the domiciled community in Calcutta and Madras calls for specially urgent attention. After consultation with the Local Governments concerned the Government of India have made special recurring grants of Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 30,000 per annum to the Governments of Bengal and Madras, respectively, for extending education among the poorer classes of the domiciled community in those two cities.

The Hindu University.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA addressed a large and representative meeting of Hindus at Lahore. Har-kishenlal presided. Referring to the Government *communiqué*, the speaker announced the decision of the Committee to make the best of a bad job and proceed with the scheme. There would be fifteen colleges under the University for different departments of knowledge.

Lala Lajpat Rai suggested "Hindu University" or "Kashi University" as a suitable name. He hoped the University would direct its energies towards the solution of the bread problem.

The New Delhi.

AT a meeting of the Delhi Municipal Committee, held in the Town Hall, Delhi, on the 8th October the Chairman, Major Beadon, Deputy Commissioner, in an introductory speech, said that the recent changes as regards the status of Delhi meant that before long the Civil Lines would have to have their own Municipal Committee, as the Civil Lines did not pay their full share of taxes, and when the Government of India came to Delhi they would not be satisfied with the sanitation and lighting of that part of the city. Possibly in course of time Delhi would have a large Corporation. Many parts of the city needed improving and an Improvement Trust would have to be formed like that in Bombay. He was glad to announce that the members of the Delhi Municipal Committee were all to receive the Durbar medal.

The Public Service Commission.

REPLYING to Sir John Rees in the House of Commons, Mr. Harold Baker, on behalf of Mr. Montagu, enumerated the conditions of pay, pension, etc., of the Educational Service in India. Lord Crewe, he said, fully realised the importance of attracting the best class of recruits. There was no reason to suppose that the Educational Service was regarded as an inferior branch of the public service, but the examination of the conditions of the service was covered by terms of reference of the Royal Commission recently appointed.

Replying to Sir John Rees, Mr. Asquith said that the Government intended to retain Mr. Ramsay Macdonald on the Indian Services Commission. Sir John Rees asked, "Are you not aware

that the Indian Civil Service regards this as a peculiarly unjustifiable and provocative appointment?" No answer was given.

Oriental Languages.

IN THE House of Lords, Lord Haldane moved the second reading of the Oriental Languages Bill. He dwelt on the importance of teaching Oriental languages in view of our extensive relations with the Eastern Hemisphere. In Germany, with much less extensive relationship, the State spent ten thousand sterling yearly under this head, and France spent seven thousand. We spent almost nothing, while what we did spend gave very little result.

Lord Curzon said that the existing provision for teaching Oriental languages was almost a scandal. He thanked the Government for the very liberal view it had taken of its responsibilities in this matter, and especially Lord Haldane.

The Bill was read a second time.

Technical Education

THE GOVERNMENT OF India have forwarded the report by Colonel Atkinson and Mr. Dawson on the technical education enquiry, with a covering letter. The Government of India write:— Much has been written and said about technical education in India, and many experiments have been made. It seemed to the Government of India that the time had come to endeavour to connect educational institutions closely with business firms, railways and other employers of labour, to enquire how the former can better meet the requirements of the latter, and to point out the way to further the employment of Indians in them. For this enquiry Colonel Atkinson and Mr. Dawson were selected as having special practical experience of the subject. They have conducted the enquiry with evident care in the leading industrial centres of India. The Government of Burma agreed that no special enquiry was needed in that province, and they have submitted an extremely interesting and valuable report from which the Government of India have little doubt that much good will result in the future. One of the features of the report is recorded in Part 2 of the interviews with employers of labour. This is, perhaps, the most useful contribution yet recorded on the subject of technical education in India, representing as it does the mature experience of practical men of business. The Government of India desire to thank the gentlemen whose opinions have been incorporated in Part 2 for the assistance which they have given in this enquiry and for their frank expression of their experience and opinion. To those many who are ready to assist in future by taking advantage of their special thanks are due. The Governor-General in Council is disposed to agree with the conclusion (Paragraph 15 of the report) that the general result of the enquiry except for the present in the high grade is very favourable. There are in India, as there have been elsewhere, difficulties to be overcome, but on the whole, and seeing how young technical education in India still is, there seems good reason to hope that with patience they will be surmounted. The great need which the report emphasises is to make education more practical, not only in technical schools, but also in primary and secondary schools.

The Government of India further write:— You will be separately addressed regarding proposals as to State technical scholarships when the recommendations of the Committee now considering the subject are received.

Sanitation in India.

COLONEL KING, some time Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, and Professor Simpson, in letters to the *Times*, contrast the remarkable results of sanitation as shown by the low mortality among Indian soldiers and convicts, with the excessive sickness and mortality still prevailing among civilians.

They urge the establishment of an organisation effectively administered by an executive sanitary service. They severely criticise the Government of India's scheme under which the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, instead of becoming the representative head of the Sanitary Service, is thrust into a subordinate position under the head of Medical Service. They controvert the plea that the Medical cannot be divorced from the Sanitary Service, pointing out that since 1868, the principle of placing the Presidency Commissioner directly under the Government he serves was practised by the Government of India's own orders. The obstacle that the younger bacteriologists desire closer connection with hospitals can be met by the issue of departmental orders in the provinces, while the difficulty arising from the arduous life of the Sanitary Commissioners, under a Local Government, can be removed by better terms offered to men devoting their life to sanitation.

Jam's Prayers.

A MEETING of the members of the Anjuman Hidayet-ul-Islam was held at Agra on the 28th September, 1912, in the Kali Masjid. It was resolved that the members of the Anjuman pray the Government to grant half day's leave on Fridays for Jam's prayer and that a copy of the resolution should be sent to the Government of India and the Press.

TETE À TETE



DELHI is the palimpsest on which succeeding generations of inhabitants and invaders, Captains and Kings have written the chronicle of their lives and acts, their conquests and governance. Our Poetess referred last week in her beautiful verse addressed to this "unaging priestess of high mysteries" to

"The splendid tragedy of ancient things,

"The woe of many a vanquished race",

and a candid friend who writes over the pen-name of "Birbal" in today's issue warns against the Spirit of the Tombs. Much of the "gorgeous legend" of ancient times is to-day illegible, and ere this we have appealed to Government to spare the decaying past when building up the future in the Imperial Enclave. But there is one tragedy of recent times of which the legend is better forgotten than remembered. If an officer of Government residing in the temporary quarters now being erected in the Civil Lines approaches the town where the Indian population resides, the first sight that greets him is the shot-riddled Kashmir Gate which brings back memories that should fade and disappear rather than be revived. The Indian Mutiny has not yet produced its historian, for the accounts hitherto published breathe passion and partisanship on every page and cannot be trusted. The revenge of the British Lion on the Bengal Tiger, which Tenniel depicted in one of the earliest cartoons of *Punch*, was so fierce that no Indian could venture to contradict the most exaggerated account and baseless fabrication of some of the English chroniclers of the Mutiny. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, then a Government servant, was, however, intrepid enough to risk telling the truth about the "Causes of the Indian Revolt," and although he had to suffer a while for his courage and veracity, Sir Cecil Beaton, the then Foreign Secretary, was pacified when he learnt that the pamphlet was never published in India, 498 out of 500 copies having been sent to England, and, of the remaining two, one being sent to the Government of India and the other remaining with the author. But even Sir Syed could risk this only because he had saved the lives of many Englishmen and Englishwomen at serious personal risk, and had carried on the work of his office, even when the English officials had left the headquarters of the District, as if nothing unusual had happened. We shall not go into the merits and defects of the various histories of the Mutiny that have been published, but would only say here that it was not only the English that suffered the horrors of the Mutiny. Many times more Indians fell victims to the passions of the rebels than Europeans, and many times more Indians fought for the Europeans than the Europeans themselves. But while the English have a distinguished roll of heroes who owe their fame to the courage displayed during the Mutiny, the names of their Indian comrades are forgotten, and the invaluable assistance they rendered during that terrible crisis to the English in India is now generally an ineffective recommendation when an equally qualified grandson of a milewed Mutiny comrade of the English is competing for a Naib Tahsildarship with the son of a newly minted Khan Bahadur. Be that as it may, our object in writing on the subject is not so much to show to the Government the wounds of Mutiny veterans among the Indians as to draw its attention to the undesirability of keeping open the wound of the Indian Mutiny itself. We have no doubt that the officers of the Government will soon prepare an elaborate programme for the State Entry on the 23rd December next, and rehearsals of the procession are already taking place. Even if Lord Hardinge strove after effect—which we do not believe—the suggestion that we offer would appeal to him. But a Viceroy who desires to make his term of office one that would be memorable for the hatchets it has buried is not unlikely to find in our proposal the best symbol of his purpose and intention. We would

recommends to His Excellency that the first official act that he should perform after taking over the charge. India's historic Capital should be the demolition of the Kashmir Gate and its reconstruction as a monument of the desire of Great Britain to bury the carrion of the dead and dread past and of the resolve of the Government to trust that it may itself be trusted. We repeat the stately phrase and splendid thought of our Poet who said "All Hail" to Delhi in our first issue published from the new-old Capital.

"Burst from her ashes, when the phoenix dies,
"Her form revived, more beauteous than the last,
"So from the relics of thy storied past
"Again, O Time-enthroned Queen arise,
"Robed in the light that gilds the western skies,
"More proudly fair, more glorious than thou wast;
"Freed from the gloom of years that overcast
"And hid thy visage from expectant eyes."

Let His Excellency ride back from the Darbar Hall, where he takes over charge of Delhi from the Hon. Sir Louis Dane, to the Kashmir Gate, and lay the first axe with his own hands to that grim memorial of "old, unhappy, far-off things," and immediately afterwards lay the foundation-stone of a new Arch of Triumph, the triumph of cool and calm statesmanship and of charity, hope and faith, over prejudices that blind and passions that lead astray. We trust with our Poet that

"Not all in vain

"We voice the yearnings of a people's heart!"

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla the Hon. the Home Member, in reply to an interpellation by the Hon. Mr. Ghaznavi—in whose renewed activity after his recovery from serious and prolonged illness his friends

Jum'a Prayers.

and constituents would rejoice—regarding official permission to Moslem public servants for afternoon prayers on Fridays, seemed to be unaware if any widespread demand for such permission existed. We do not know if the Moslem Press in this country—both English and vernacular—is at all a medium of sufficient importance for Indian officials on from which to ascertain public feeling on the subject. As a matter of fact, the question was, only a short time ago, pressed for consideration on the attention of the Government with considerable force and earnestness by almost every paper of note in Moslem India. We ourselves dealt with the grievance in an editorial paragraph when it was suggested to petition the Government on the occasion of the King's visit. Perhaps the Hon. the Home Member only meant to say that the grievance had not been brought to the notice of the Government through regular representations by responsible Moslem bodies. If that is so, we hope the Moslem Associations and Associations will take the hint and take prompt measures to inform the Government what they really feel in the matter. We trust the Moslem League and its branches throughout the country have a correct idea of their duty in this connection. It is rather sad to reflect that they should stand in need of reminders from Government in matters of this kind. We may also remind the Hon. the Home member that the great leader of the Mussalmans, Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk, at one time resigned Government service simply on account of difficulties about permission to leave office for Zuhur prayers. Every Mussalman may not be a Vigar-ul-Mulk; but every Mussalman should be, and every Mussalman feels something of what Vigar-ul-Mulk felt when he resigned.

A REMARKABLE memorial signed by about one hundred and thirty most influential and leading Moslem inhabitants of the Sub-Division of Barh in the

A Behar Memorial.

Patna District has been sent to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa through the District Magistrate of Patna. Amongst the signatories to the memorial there are eleven Barristers and Pleaders, besides a large number of important land-holders some of whom are title-holders and Honorary Magistrates. It is manifest, in view of the very responsible position of many of the memorialists, that the memorial deals with a subject that has aroused deep and widespread feeling in the locality. It is necessary, before making any comments of our own, to briefly summarise the contents of the memorial and joint prayer that the Mussalmans of the Barh Sub-Division have addressed to Sir Charles Bayley. After briefly recalling the "unpleasant experience" of last year's Baqar'Id, when, for want of timely precautions, which the police ought to have taken, the Hindu population became "actually offensive to the Moslems with the result that in some places sacrifice of cows was actually stopped", the memorialists proceed to pray for assurance that no such interference with their religious ceremonies will be tolerated by the authorities this year. What actually happened last year is briefly set forth in the memorial. It appears that an organised effort was made by the Hindus to overawe the Mussalmans and stop them by violence, if

necessary, from sacrificing cows. The Hindu mob in some places became so aggressive and threatening that "the police openly ordered the stoppage of the sacrifice and admitted that they were unable to afford protection to the Mussalmans". The organised terrorism of the mob, particularly in the village of Yousufpur, rendered the authorities comparatively helpless. Several respectable Moslem families stood in the greatest need of help to escape violence. The Sub-Divisional Officer "was very anxious to see that those who had been sacrificing the cow on all previous occasions should do the same on the occasion in question; and in order to do that he himself stood talking to the mob and asked some of the Mohammedans to sacrifice the cows inside their houses as usual, which was done without the knowledge of the mob." But when on the following day the Hindus learnt that the sacrifice had taken place, they broke into lawlessness and destroyed standing crops in some of the fields belonging to the Mussalmans. The matter was brought to the notice of the police, but no proceedings seem to have been taken against the incendiaries. The mob continued defiant and insisted on the Mussalmans executing a pledge in writing that they would not sacrifice cows the following year. The Mussalmans were naturally opposed to giving any undertaking of the kind. "But the Inspector of Police asked the Mussalmans to yield to the clamour of the mob in order to avoid the danger." Some of the Moslems of Yousufpur, on the advice of the police officers, were led to give a written agreement to that effect. No one, however, can consider any such agreement binding, and the memorialists submit that "if the action of the Mohammedans, namely, signing the said agreement on the advice of the Police Inspector in order to avoid danger owing to the inefficiency of the police, is sought to be converted into any kind of admission or confession as to having no right to perform the religious ceremony, it is apparent that the Mohammedans of the locality will have a legitimate ground for resentment." After calling attention to the attitude of the local police which was suspected by many of the memorialists to have been "in sympathy with the movement of the Hindus", inasmuch as "most of the police officers at the time were Hindus themselves," the memorialists proceed to say that they had been accustomed to perform their solemn religious rites so peacefully "that the last year's outburst of fanaticism throughout the above-named villages was regarded by them as something like a mystery and inexplicable incident." Indeed, one cannot help searching for some very strong and compelling reasons to adequately explain the extraordinarily provocative and militant conduct of the Hindu mob. "It can not be urged that the opposition of the Hindus to the sacrifice of cows arises from the least religious consideration, for had it been so some opposition should have been shown to the sacrifice of cows in slaughter-houses and other places and to exposing beef for sale in streets and bazars in all towns and villages. There can, therefore, be no two conclusions as to the real motive of the Hindu opposition to cow-killing. The question has long since assumed political significance; and inasmuch as the motive is not religious, Your Honour's humble memorialists beg to state that such an opposition, though shown in the name of religion, should not be permitted to flourish on each Baqar'Id day to the cruel molestation of the Mohammedans who are as much entitled to the gracious protection of Your Honour's Government as any other section of the population." The memorialists assert that an independent local enquiry would convince the Government that the Mussalmans were in no way offensive to the Hindu susceptibilities "and yet they were made the victims of a sudden outburst of fanaticism" which they believe to have emanated from the local Marwaris whose fanaticism had brought about the Bara Bazar riot in 1910. This remarkable memorial has been inspired by purely defensive motives and by the sole desire of the Mussalmans to make sure of perfect freedom and safety in the due performance of their religious duties. It needs no comments of ours to emphasise the perfectly legitimate and reasonable grounds on which the memorial is based. The question is of sufficient importance and seriousness to engage the attention of the Provincial Government. We trust Sir Charles Bayley understands the character of the campaign that the anti-cow-killing politicians and demagogues have been strenuously organising in this country. The movement is clearly becoming political; and in several places it has led to virulent outbreaks of anti-Moslem feeling. The Mohammedans are as much entitled to religious freedom as any other Indian community. The Hindus seem to stand in need of being reminded that cows will never cease to be slaughtered as the result of terrorism exercised by political fanatics. We shall await Sir Charles Bayley's reply to the memorialists with deep interest.

No doubt a large section of the people of Delhi will be grieved by the change which came into force on the 1st of October, turned Delhi into the Capital of the British Empire in India and created a full-blown Province out of the unpromising materials of a Tahsil and a Thana. The really poor according to Charles Lamb, namely the poor descendants of

The Pers'ity of Greatness.

rich ancestors, who had already been put to many a shift to keep up the decencies of life and to respect the claims of a splendid past on a sordid present, would certainly become still more miserable when the light is turned on their shabby gentility by the presence in their midst of the Viceroy and his administrative satellites. But the world is too matter-of-fact and go-ahead now-a-days to bestow even a passing thought on these have-beens and might-have-beens and we are likely to be laughed at and scorned for being dilettante and reactionary even for reminding the world of their existence. Let us then be up-to-date and assertive, in accordance with the fashion of to-day, and talk democracy and franchise. When the recent administrative changes were announced on the 12th of December last, the transfer of the Capital came in such excellent company that we were prepared for little short of Home Rule for the Imperial Enclave. That would have been an appropriate accompaniment to the Radicalism shown in the unequalled surrender of the Bureaucracy to Babu Demos in the matter of the Partition of Bengal. Being sure of some such "boon" we kept our seat in patience and decided to wait and see. The 18th of September and the 1st of October both came and have gone away. Neither the Act passed through the last session of the first Imperial Council, nor the many notifications issued by the Government of India in pursuance of that Act have ushered in the democratic millennium in Delhi. It is true that the necessary nominations were not all issued in time; but such as were issued early enough have provided for some of the minutest details of administration. In spite of this, the Government that has shown an abnormally keen interest in assigning Delhi to its proper place in the matter of reformatories, and has not neglected even the care of Delhi lunatics, has wholly ignored the question of Delhi franchise. The happy hunting ground of Khan Bahadurs and Rai Sahibs, Delhi may not have cared very much for the privilege of voting in Council elections, and the bulk of its population may be as ignorant as the groom who, on being asked by his suffragette mistress, during a General Election in England, whether he intended to exercise the franchise, queried in return, "Which horse be that ma'am?". But that is no reason why the enlightened few who have always valued the right of voting and their eligibility for election to the Imperial and Provincial Councils should be disfranchised simply because the eight Patriot Kings of Sindia are henceforward determined to hibernate in Delhi instead of Calcutta. There is nothing to indicate that the Government ever considered this aspect of the new changes, and as the camp followers of the Grand Army of administrators, we, who have changed our spots along with theirs, are as much concerned at the loss of the franchise we enjoyed in Calcutta as at the grave disability shared with us by every resident of Delhi. If, as we think, this is one of the unconsidered trifles which was too small for the attention of a Government that looks after Delhi's juvenile criminals and lunatics, may we expect that the new Chief Commissioner who is, we are happy to say, most anxious to retain for Delhi all the rights and privileges enjoyed by it before the changes, in addition to the ancient rights which must be revived in view of its becoming the Capital of the Empire, would take up the question and bring it to the notice of the Government of India before the Council Regulations are finally revised? Delhi was certainly born great; but the suspended animation of the last century robbed it of all that greatness, and to-day, even if it has not achieved greatness but has only greatness thrust upon it, the penalty of this new greatness would be too great if the people of Delhi are wholly disfranchised. We are not unmindful of the difficulties of the situation. The toy Province of a Thana and a Tahsil may not at present be given a separate seat for election to the Imperial Council, and we cannot conceive of a Provincial Legislature for Delhi consisting of a small fraction of an Hon. Member if numerical proportion is to be maintained. But we have a suggestion to meet the situation, and in view of the fact that the rulers of Delhi will not belong to any single Province but hold sway over all the Provinces, our suggestion is, we think, quite appropriate. It is this. Let each qualified resident of Delhi declare before the elections to the Provincial and Imperial Councils in what Province outside Delhi he would elect to exercise his franchise, and after this declaration he should be considered a qualified voter in that Province. Many qualified men from other Provinces would now begin to reside in Delhi simply because it is the Imperial Capital and should not on that account be disfranchised. Many of its old residents would have a vote in neighbouring Provinces in virtue of possessing property or paying taxes and having a domicile in the neighbouring area now placed just outside the Imperial Enclave. Only a small proportion of the qualified old residents of Delhi would have to exercise franchise in a Province with which they have now no connection, and they would for the most part elect to vote in the Punjab or the United Provinces. Those who select the Punjab would simply keep up their

connection with the Province to which they belonged hitherto and with which they have still judicial relationship. The number of those who select the U. P. or some other Province, would be too small to influence the results of the elections in that province, and the only objection that could be raised against such an arrangement would be merely the technical one that this would be an exception to the general rule of residential qualification. But if all India is the province of the rulers of Delhi, should not the citizens of Delhi claim it as such for purposes of franchise? Of course, in the last resort Government could nominate a member from among the qualified residents of Delhi. But Lord Morley, as Secretary of State, has already condemned the system of nomination severely enough, and Delhi, which had for too long been yoked to the Punjab, against her will would no longer like to share the glory of nomination with the land of the Five Rivers and many more Khan Bahadurs. If Delhi cannot have Home Rule, let it at least be spared the Home Department Rule in the matter of Council elections.

Delhi has many needs, and we have no doubt that the Chief Commissioner and his subordinate officials are noting its many requirements and preparing a regular programme for their satisfaction in course of time. But in the midst of official

A Social Club for Delhi.

Acts and Notification overworked Government officials are apt to forget what we may call demi-official duties, the most important of which, as all past experience has shown, is the promotion of social intercourse between officials and non-officials. The political education of India has been very rapid—in fact too rapid to be always attended with happy results—but in spite of all that the bulk of Indian population has no knowledge of political institutions and political ideals. On the other hand, India has known for many centuries the institution of Caste, and neither Islam nor Christianity have yet succeeded in entirely rooting out this evil growth from the soil of India. People to whom Councils and Corporations are unknown, who cannot distinguish the Jury from the Judge, and to whom the liberty of the Press and, in fact, the Press itself are enigmas, have, however, evolved a more elaborate organisation of social hierarchy than the one known to Burke and DeBrett. If Legislative Councils are enlarged or narrowed, and the Press Act and Seditious Meetings Act passed or repealed, the tempestuous waves in the storm-centre of Indian politics fail to create even a ripple on the placid surface of the waters on the monotonous coast of the ryot's life. But if the village barber interludes with the village tanner, the news spreads over an entire Tahsil and makes the old men shake their heads mysteriously. Was it not partly a question of Caste which kindled the Sepoy Mutiny conflagration? To-day a little of cow's fat may not create a revolution, for the exclusiveness of the Indian caste is not as rigid as it was before. But the pride of place has hardly diminished, and if a high caste Hindu is treated as one of an inferior caste or one of the *Ashraf* among the Musalmans addressed as one of the *Ajlaf*, whatever the patent results, it is bound to add to the latent ill-feeling. Now it is undeniable that the European officials have added one more, and perhaps the most rigid, to the many existing castes of India, and as in the view of this caste the Brahmin is generally hardly any better than the Sudra, if not the Panchama, and the Syed is no more worthy of consideration than the *Jalaha*, there is no caste in India that does not know this and resent it. The ultra-loyalist, who would sell a nation and betray his own brother for a little personal gain, thanks the Sahib to his face for the kick that he gets as often as the sixpence, but has not yet lost all feeling of resentment. The worm may not turn, but it feels. If one of this class has the good fortune to touch the finger tips of the Deputy Commissioner a whole family is pleased for three months. That being the case in the lowliest of the low, we may be sure the men of highly strung spirits and long pedigrees feel these things all the more. It is true that a government would last only as long as it is just and good; but it is equally true that a government which is as popular as it is just and good would last longer, and, what is more, would find the appointed period of its existence a fairly pleasant time. The great defect of the British Government in India is that it is not, and has not always sought to be, as popular as it is just and good, and more than half its worries are the results of the *noli-me-tangere* attitude of its officials. The British have relaxed for men of their own colour in their "camp life" in the East many a rigid rule of social existence insisted upon in Belgravia and Mayfair. But until very recently they would rather have conceded a Council to the Indians than a Club. Nevertheless, the Club, even more than the Council, is needed to make the governance of India good and just as well as easy and pleasant. In Bengal, whence the Government of India have migrated to Delhi with no very heavy heart, the Calcutta Club, half of whose members are English and half Indian, has done at least as much to ease the political situation as the reform of the Councils.

But here in Delhi, which has ancient traditions of extreme sociability, if we cannot have a Council like the one that sat in Belvedere, let us at least have a Club on the lines of the one housed in Russel Street. We look forward with great hopes to the time when the Hon. Mr. Hailey would transplant in Delhi in the shape of an institution the social traditions of the Department of which he and Sir James Meston were until recently such distinguished members, and of which the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, whom we welcome back to India, is still the distinguished head.

We publish elsewhere a review of our work in Calcutta which a candid friend has sent to us at our urgent and repeated requests, and we may assure the writer as well as our readers that his candour has not cost him our

An Obituary of the Living.

friendship. It is not given to all in this world to read their obituary notices, although many of us must feel as the Irishman felt when he said at the funeral of a friend, "I wish Pat was alive to see such a grand funeral." "Birbal" has, however, done for us what Pat's friend could not arrange and has sent us the obituary of one who is not only alive but evidently kicking as well. Our *Hic jacet*, like the majority of tombstones, is far too flattering to be true, though we feel ashamed of referring to "Truth after "Birbal" has asked the world again the well-known question of Pilate. If a journalist by profession may not seek that retiring virtue which lives deep down in a well even in an age in which a well-known authoress, who is never tired of lecturing on the virtues of modesty, resides, so to speak, under a glass case, may the critic, and especially a candid friend, bring that hidden pearl to the surface? As "Birbal" has said, each has his own brand of Truth, and after all it is not so much a question of which brand is the best as whether the brand that is sold is the brand that is advertised in the market-place. Speaking for ourselves through the mouth of William Morris, we have never claimed that we are the sole agents for retailing God's own truth. All that we have claimed is that we have a brand of it and are not inclined to keep it altogether for home consumption while retailing to others "the nearest approach". It is, however, very disconcerting to find that our friendly critic was soon assured that we were only infringing an old patent in retailing a colourable imitation of our contemporaries' brand of Truth. May we say in sheer self-defence that we never wished to flatter at least our Bengal contemporaries so sincerely? "Birbal" credits us with having contributed our mite to the confusion of public opinion in Bengal, and if we have succeeded in doing that we are paid ten-fold for our labour. For we know that in Bengal public opinion—that is, opinion which is offered before the public as distinguished from opinion never disclosed—has always had a tendency of being monotonously uniform. For instance, we should have liked to see some Bengali contemporary of ours rejoicing in the Partition if for nothing else than sheer cussedness and to divide the honors with us for rebellions originality. "Birbal" is right when he hopes that we appreciate the compliment embodied in the remark that our brand of Truth was at times apt to be provocative of feelings other than mirth, for it is as often necessary for one man's mirth that another should be chagrined as it is customary for one man to laugh before another can feel heartily sick. But we may say for ourselves, what "Birbal" has neither said nor denied, that our mirth was never provoked by our malice. Moreover, we have never aimed at more than piercing the antic, though some pachyderms in Bengal more than once dulled the point of our lance. We have always disdained to use the clumsy sledge-hammer that may create resentment in the victim but never the feeling of shame. It is true that our truths have been purely honey and syrup to those down whose throats they were poured but have occasionally had a dash of gall and worm-wood. But if it is a mistake to confound Truth with bitterness, is it any better to confound it with *Shantesh* and *Roshogollas*? Bengal has increased her adipose too long on such delicacies and if a fatty degeneration of the heart is to be prevented Bengal must follow our regimen and live on the spare diet of a diabetic. Truth is the best anti-fat and more have lived on it to ripe old age than died of it prematurely. Our candid friend is by no means a latitudinarian when he makes one's views on the Partition the sole criterion of Truth, and at this rate we fear he is only too right when he says that it is much more difficult to particularise the universal than to universalise the particular. The latter has been far too easy as "Birbal" proves in his own person by taking the Bengalees' view of the Partition to be the universal standard of the right spirit. As for the Partition itself, need we discuss the *chase jugde* which has rewarded the persistence of Bengal, though obviously with a set-off which rightly characterises the battle as lost and won. Our friend has unconsciously misrepresented us in writing that we have been fond of saying "What is the use of crying for unity when there is none." What we said only too often is, "What is the use of blabbing of unity when there is none." Surely there is a large and Buffer State between the two points of view.

We agree with the ideal of Bengal if unity is that ideal. But when it comes to examining the real, we have no desire to imitate the ostrich and ignore disunion. It is true that because there is no unity the cry for it is all the more human and rational. But if there is disunion that is all the more reason why it should be owned up, for nothing perpetuates a malady more than shamming good health. Things must be much worse than we ourselves thought when "Birbal," a Radical and a Home Ruler, is forced to go for an analogy to the Unionists in England in defence of the Anti-Partition movement. If it is true that there would have been no Unionists in England had there been no Separatists in Ireland, it is truer still that there would have been no Separatists in Ireland if there had been no Unionists in England.

"*Ay bair-i-sabā in hamā avurda-i-tūt.*"

(O breeze, all this has been brought by thee.)

We for our part have as profound a faith in to-morrow and believe as strongly as "Birbal" in Macbeth's dictum that "all our yesterdays have lighted fools the way to dusty death". But surely it is something more than a superficial acquaintance with to-day that makes us halt instead of rushing to join the Unionists of Bengal, unless Bengal's brand of truth has left the privacy of the well and come, in spite of much effort at secrecy, to the surface. It is certainly not highly commendable to turn a fraction into a faction; but in our young days we were told to learn by heart the axiom of Euclid that the whole is greater than the part; and the little knowledge of arithmetic that we still possess disinclines us to give to a fraction the false proportion of an integer. Although we doubt that man lives by bread alone, we are prepared to agree with "Birbal," that the real fight between the different communities in India will not be over faith but over bread. However, our complaint is not that the doctors of to-day practice an Indian version of Christian Science and offer to heal the patient with incantations. We complain that the Kabirajes of Bengal have refused to offer to more than one long suffering community even the quack's remedy, a bread pill. But all this, dear "Birbal," is the merest chaff and not the grain, for we believe with you that the salvation of us all lies in the types of education which we may evolve out of our own experience of centuries and our God-given instinct at Benares and at Aligarh, and not in playing the sedulous ape. The Mussalmans have certainly discovered, as you say, the mistake of putting their faith in chilies; but between ourselves, those for whom the italics were meant believed as little in our faith as in your infidelity.

We have learnt with the greatest pleasure that Dr. Makhtar Ahmad Ansari, B. A., M. D. (Edin.), M. S. (Edin), M. R. C. S. (Eng.), L. R. C. P. (Lond.) of Delhi intends to organise a Red Crescent Mission in India and go to Turkey with the necessary equipment for the relief of the Ottoman sick and wounded in the Balkan war. Those who know Dr. Ansari's great ability as physician and surgeon will hail the idea of a relief Mission under his direction with delight. Before coming to India and settling down for practice in Delhi, Dr. Ansari had achieved considerable professional success in England. He was for some time resident house surgeon in the Charing Cross Hospital, London, as well as medical officer in the Locke Hospital. The work of training men for service in a field hospital requires considerable labour, and much preparation will have to be gone through before the Red Crescent Mission is efficiently equipped. Those who desire to volunteer their services as surgeons or nurses or for other duties in connection with the Mission should communicate with us as soon as possible. It is necessary that the men who may be selected to form the Mission should get their lessons in the First Aid under Dr. Ansari for some time before the Mission starts for Turkey. We hope there will be many Moslems in India who would be willing to follow Dr. Ansari's splendid example and bear their own expenses in order to be of some real service to those who are fighting for freedom and faith.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

M. Nawab Ali, Esq., Barabanki.	...	10	0	0
M. Abrar Abudul Khan, Esq., Patiala, on behalf of a friend.	...	2	0	0
Through M. Ata Elahi, Esq., Noakhali, A. Haq, Esq.	...	2	0	0
N. A. Akbar Khan, Esq., Zigon.	...	1	0	0
Through M. Abdul Wahab, Esq., Bansi. Mussalmans of the place.	...	138	2	0
Kayyum Pasha Saheb., Etawah.	...	5	0	0
Bashir Ahmad, Esq., Hamirpur.	...	2	13	0
Sheikh Hussain, Esq., Seoni.	...	25	0	0
Sheikh Zikrur Rahman, Esq., Delhi.	...	20	0	0
M. Elias, Esq., Khairpur.	...	5	0	0

Amount received during the week.

210 15 0

Amount previously acknowledged.

28,372 8 0

Total Rs. 28,582 7 0

The Comrade.

The Blackmail.

PEACE is concluded and war is declared by Turkey both at the same time. Such a peace, and such a war! There is excitement enough in the Moslem population of India and we have no desire to add to it. But it is nothing but the bare truth, as the *Times of India* says, that the Balkan States are edifying a world which has always considered—or pretended to consider—Islam and fanaticism as synonyms, “by raising a Jihad against Islam.” Whatever the result of this Christian Jihad may be, Italy has achieved through it what she could never have done through her own military prowess. The blaze in the Balkans was Italy's opportunity and the successors of Nero must now be fiddling contentedly in Rome.

It is idle to explain in detail the manner in which Italy has carried out her second Imperialist attempt, for her action and inaction during a whole year are far more eloquent than any words of ours could be. That never-failing “friend of the Mussalmans,” the *Pioneer*, has, however, found half dozen reasons not only to justify the ways of Italy to the Tripolitans but also to explain why she could not be more successful than she has been during her twelve month's playing at soldiering. “The Italians suffered from want of experience.” “They could only find a very limited market for purchasing camels.” “Their bitter experiences in their war with Abyssinia disinclined them to rash movements.” *Et cetera*. And after explaining all this, which “cowardice” could have explained in a single word, the “Thunderer” of Allahabad assures the world that “their object was to cut off the Arabs' sources of supplies and so starve them into surrender,” and that “three of the four routes from Tunis had been cut” when the conclusion of peace cut short the long thread of Italian triumphs. In reviewing a war it is, however, unusual, to say the least of it, to abstain from all reference to battles and engagements, and the *Pioneer* is not yet thick-skinned enough to jump over all such references. But what are the battles won by Italy and which the fields that have owned Italian commanders as victors? All that the *Pioneer* in its wide search could discover is that “at Benghazi six battalions and two batteries were landed in six hours despite the determined opposition of 2,000 Turks,” that “at Rhodes 8,000 men were disembarked in two hours”—though here even the *Pioneer* has to admit that the operation was unopposed—and that “at Bu Scifa 10,000 men, including cavalry and artillery, were landed with all their stores in the course of a day despite repeated attacks of Arabs.” The net result is that the *Pioneer* has set its seal on the reputation of the Italians by saying that they “understand military *banalities*.” “As for actual fighting”—well, the less said the better. The *Pioneer* cannot find anything better to say than that “one has heard conflicting accounts from Tripoli.” Says our great contemporary:—

Reports issued at Rome describe magnificent feats with the bayonet against antagonists who undoubtedly excel in hand-to-hand fighting. Correspondents with the Turks and Arabs, on the other hand, have made disparaging remarks about the Italian rank and file. But the fact remains that whenever fighting has taken place the Italians have always achieved their object, whether it was attack or defence. In Rhodes some very pretty tactics brought about the surrender of the Turkish garrison which had retired to a fortress in the mountains of the interior.

After praising the Italian Navy, which “has of course found no antagonist worthy of itself,” and which “displayed great dash and bravery in the two attacks upon the Dardanelles,” the *Pioneer* sums up in the most approved judicial manner of Allahabad that “on the whole Italy emerges from the war with a reputation much higher than when she went into it.” When such is the verdict of our contemporary about bare facts, what could we expect about the motives and the morality of Italy, except the following essence of cynicism? “Her political morality may be impugned, but at least it is not worse than that of many another nation has been when it has found vital interests at stake. Italy's position in Europe is extraordinarily difficult, and she conceived herself to be in the grip of a necessity which knows no law.”

Surely the apologist is worthy both of the apology and of the nation that sorely needed it. All that the *Pioneer* could find to praise in Italy's soldiering was confined to what Rome would call “the first phase” of the war, in other words, the landing of Italian troops a year ago when, appealed to by the Consuls of Europe in the name of humanity, the Turkish Commander refused to oppose the Italian landing. Italy stood to-day in the matter of military success where she was in October, 1911, although in the matter of military reputation she had sunk much lower than the low-water mark of Adowa sixteen years ago. The *Pioneer* has nothing but benedictions to offer Italy at the conclu-

sion of peace and say: “She has now to justify herself as a ruler of a colony with considerable opportunities of development, and even those who blamed Italy for her attack upon the Porte will hope that she will succeed in administering the Tripolitaine with greater success than the Turks were able to achieve.” But just as it was not the military prowess of the Italians that forced the Turks to withdraw from Tripoli, so, too, it would not be the prospect of a kindly rule over the Arabs of Libya that would induce the Concert of Europe to rejoice in her unearned success.

A combination of circumstances rare in the annals of any nation have thrust a success on Italy. King Nicholas, the ruler of Montenegro, is the father-in-law, and King Peter of Serbia is married to a sister-in-law of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, and, as the *Pioneer* shrewdly suggests, “there is some excuse for tracing to the influence of these royal relationships the Balkan outbreaks that have so completely diverted Turkey's attention to her possessions in Europe.” “Italy's chances,” wrote the *Times of India* only a week ago, “of emerging from her Tripolitan adventure without having to pay an indemnity to Turkey are increased if Turkey is involved in another war, and it is therefore to her interests that the smouldering Balkans should burst into flame. Nor does a study of Italy's recent actions,” continued our contemporary, “lead one to suppose her incapable of surreptitiously urging Turkey's enemies on to war.” In addition to this undercurrent, there was another of no less force and velocity. The Berch-told proposals excited the suspicions of Turkey, and if there was to be a blaze in the Balkans, it was necessary to check the forward movement of Austria towards the Sanjak of Novi Bazar by having Italy ready to claim the “Italia Irridenta” in the rear. If, therefore, Italy has hastened the outbreak of the war in the Balkans, Austria as well as the Balkan States has hastened the conclusion of peace in Tripoli. But if war was to break out in the Balkans and Greece was to join the Confederacy, it was necessary that the Turkish fleet, although too small to meet Italy, should be set free by the conclusion of peace to destroy the fleet of Greece.

The peace, therefore, that has been concluded—for little doubt is left that it is now a settled fact—has not been brought about by the war in Tripoli. It is nothing less than blackmail levied by the brigands of Southern Europe. They had to be bought off in order to free the Turk for what looks like his final struggle in Europe, and our only fear is that, as happens only too often when the intending blackmailer is once rewarded with success, they may return to go easy a pursuit again.

As for the amount of the blackmail, it could under no circumstances have been a trifle when there was no third alternative between Turkish sovereignty over Tripoli and Italian. It is true that Turkey has not ceded Tripoli to Italy; but the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Libya is a circumstance that no Mussalman could contemplate without utmost grief. The Arabs of Tripoli are no longer the undisciplined though brave rabble of the desert. A year's campaigning has taught them what no military academy could have done, and the discipline taught by the daily presence of a cruel enemy in their country cannot easily be unlearned. For more than a year they have been familiarized with the ideal of self-sacrifice and the subordination of individual opinion to the will of the community, and this not by any elaborate long-drawn exegeses but by the infectious example of their own comrades. It was Arabs like themselves that kept France busy for thirty years in Algeria, and it is once more the Arabs that are giving to France another kind of occupation in Morocco than she had expected. But there are two questions which need an answer, and subsequent events alone could provide that answer. One is whether the Arabs can rely on their own resources in the matter of supplies without the aid of the Turkish Exchequer. The other is whether Tripoli has yet discovered in her *mujahideen* an Abdul Qadir such as the sister country of Algeria produced to meet the situation. As regards the first question, we are not hopeless of the right answer, for the Arab needs little to maintain him in his native health and strength. Nor do we despair of the right solution of the second problem, for even if Tripoli has no Abdul Qadir of her own, there is nothing to prevent Emyr Bey from commanding the forces of an autonomous Libya. If Lieutenant Montagu could give up his commission in the army of his country so can Emyr Bey. A Republic in the Tripolitaine with the Sheikh of the Semousis as its President, and Emyr Bey as its Commander in Chief and War Minister is not beyond the pale of practical politics. But the trained soldiers of Turkey provided a much needed stimulus to the mujahids of the desert, and time alone can show whether, in spite of the loss of that important element, the Arabs can hold at bay the “glorious heroes” of that laughing-stock among the nations, Imperialist Italy.

Needless to say we attach little importance to the “concession” to Turkey. If the Sultan can be the Caliph in India which has been

conquered by the British, it did not need the hand and seal of Italy to legalise the spiritual predominance of the Sultan in unconquered Tripoli. As regards the return of the *Ægean* islands, their rendition would please some of the Chancelleries of Europe ever more than Turkey, for they do not return to her free from encumbrances. The Christian rebels who acclaimed Italy as a deliverer are not likely to become more loyal to a Moslem ruler simply because they escape the well-earned punishment of the disloyal. Moreover, what Italy could do in 1912 she or some other Power with a stronger fleet than Turkey's could do equally well in 1918. The real gainers are Austria and the Entente Powers who cannot tolerate Italy's gate-keeping of the *Ægean*. But what has really been a useful "concession" to Turkey is the absence of any price paid by Italy for the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Tripoli, for all the world over Islam would have disowned Turkey if she had thus sold the land that stood by her and fought in the cause of Allah and His Prophet. Italy has been spared a few millions and Turkey the loss of honour that not millions could buy.

Frankly, we are not sure that the peace purchased by Turkey would confer on her a certain and assured benefit, for, as we have said, the blackmailer generally returns to his nefarious pursuits with all the greater confidence if he has once succeeded. But, unlike ethics, politics is one long second best, and we pray that Turkey's choice may have fallen on the second best if the absolutely best was for the moment out of her reach.

"Master of the land, Thou givest the land to whom Thou wiltest and snatchest away the land from whom Thou wiltest; Thou exaltest whom Thou likest and degradest whom Thou likest; in Thy hands is good. Verily Thou hast potency over all. Thou mergest night into day and mergest day into night; and bringest the living out of the dead and bringest the dead out of the living and feedest whom Thou likest without a reckoning".

The Beginning of the Struggle.

It is some relief to see Turkey seeking out of the vague, perilous uncertainties and chaos of a lingering crisis a direct issue in honest and open battle. The European "Concert" has, despite a loud flourish of trumpets in Paris and Vienna, proved an utterly futile and harassing booby. The "Confederacy" flung back its joint remonstrance with tall and defiant words. The "Concert" is sinking back into the vasty deep from which it was summoned, with its familiar swan song of a "European Conference". Meanwhile the "Confederacy" had issued a ukase, of its own Imperial will, ordering the Porte to introduce "reforms in Macedonia in the spirit of Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin under the control of the Powers and the Balkan States and, as pledge of assent, to immediately demobilise the Turkish army." The touching regard for "treaties" suddenly developed by the very States whose one delight has been to tear to shreds every parchment of diplomatic sanctity, is, indeed, a sight for the gods. The invocation of the Treaty of Berlin at this moment—when the lid has been taken off the Inferno and the hissing demons of greed, bigotry and relentless hate are trooping forth to a frantic war dance—can only add a new and lurid element of farce to the petty phariseism of the time. The "Confederacy" has staged its melodrama with care—much greater care, indeed, than a gang of desperadoes could have the art to exercise. It created its chance and selected its moment. The "morality" of the cause had been invented long before the Treaty of Berlin had set up a cry for the protection of "Christian nationalities". The "morality" only required a little heating-up at present, which the "Confederacy" cheerfully supplied with an extreme nicety of method. The conscience of Europe was consequently roused to a white-heat when the liberty-mongers of the "Confederacy" ushered the "Macedonian Question" with bombs, and drew the attention of the scandalised Europe to the hapless and pathetic lot of the Christians by the slaughter of Moslem inhabitants. The Turk would not reform. Europe had too long neglected its duty—the misery and woe of the Christian races under the Turkish yoke must cease. The "cause" was baptised for the hundredth time with blood and the European diplomacy had another of its sublime moments when it got the coveted freedom to talk "morality" and "liberty" once more at the expense of the Turk. The Treaty of Berlin was taken out of its pigeon-hole with reverent faith, but the mutilated skeleton would not move. However, the "Confederacy"—the holy League of Christian States to end "a godless pandemonium" by another crusade—took the skeleton up and flung it in the face of the Porte. No diplomatic answer was expected to this challenge, nor was it considered worth any such answer. The Turkish armies have moved in response to the summons to decide the issue on the field of battle.

The declaration of war by Turkey was the only way to ending the intolerable strain of a hopeless situation. The insolent "note" of the "Confederacy" had rendered war inevitable. It would have been inconsistent with the honour and dignity of a great State to ignore it or refrain from calling its authors to account. It was a calculated move and was, in fact, an ultimatum to ignominious surrender or war. Turkey had no other choice left to her in self-defence; and the grim

struggle on which she is now embarking is the last device to meet foreign aggression—the only course left open to a nation determined to live with honour.

It is needless to trace the elements of the present struggle through the baffling mazes of diplomacy. For purposes of a rough calculation it is enough to remember that the Russian and Austrian ambitions furnish the main lever to every important crisis in the Balkans. Both Austria and Russia have a fundamental rivalry of aim in their designs on Turkey in Europe. And it is because they prefer a waiting policy at this stage and dread any violent solution which might defeat their own ultimate purposes, that they piously proclaim their resolve to maintain the *status quo* and territorial integrity in the Balkans. The efforts of the Austrian Foreign Minister to organise a joint European action were mainly inspired by the fear lest Russia should try to reap exclusive advantage out of the situation by employing her Bulgarian and Servian catpaws. Russia, on the other hand, became apprehensive of Austrian moves and loudly talked of "peace" and *status quo*. And while the Austrian and Russian diplomacy supported by their respective friends and allies had been engaged in veiled manoeuvring against each other, the Balkan "Confederacy" rushed forth in a sudden access of valour to strike a blow on its own account. Diplomacy has failed and the long-dreaded struggle for mastery in the Balkans has begun. Russia is uttering brave words and Austria is professing to be stoically calm. The Muscovite has declared his army to be fit for any emergency. The Austrian Foreign Minister would wait unconcernedly till the struggle is over, when he will know how to defend his country's interests. And herein lies the *crux* of the situation. The "Confederacy" and Turkey would be allowed to wage war to the finish, and when one of the combatants would have been completely beaten and both exhausted the honest brokers would step in and insist on rearranging the Balkan world according to their own notions of equity and justice. Defeated, Turkey would stand to lose all. Victorious, she would be permitted to gain little. And yet, if ever Turkey had to fight a war to the finish it is to-day.

It is unnecessary to speculate about the military issue of the struggle, or try to forecast its probable course and results. It is very largely a question of military efficiency and material equipment. The Turkish army—thanks to the superhuman energy and devotion of that great soldier, Mahmud Shevket Pasha—lacks nothing in organisation and discipline and is ready to the last button. Its war strength consists of about 1,200,000 trained men armed with the latest rifles and equipped with up-to-date artillery. The combined forces of the "Confederacy", including reserves and militias, come up 900,000. The balance in numbers lies with Turks. The Turkish generals, however, will have a formidable task in organising an extensive line of defence. The strategic advantage lies with the enemy in as much as three separate and independent armies would move out of the Bulgarian, Servian and Greek frontiers to deliver attacks on Turkish positions. The Turkish plan of campaign would have to be devised on three separate lines, while it would have to be mobile enough to admit of a rapid concentration of strength along the main routes of advance of the opposing armies. The defensive plan of campaign would materially differ in strategy from the offensive, if the Turkish generals succeed in pushing their armies into enemy's territories. That question, however, is for the generals to decide. Obviously enough, the main struggle will be against Bulgaria and the issue of the war will hinge on the outcome of that struggle. Greece, though covering a Turkish flank, would not prove a formidable adversary, and a capable Turkish general would be able to hold the Greek army in check without much difficulty. The Servian army will, of course, co-operate with the Bulgarians and will bear the full brunt of attack or defence in deciding the issue. The Montenegrin activity may be harassing for a time, but it would be inconceivable in results and would not materially affect the course of the war. There are only about 40,000 men in the whole of Montenegro capable of bearing arms. They are indifferently equipped and imperfectly trained. Their reported successes against small Turkish garrisons on the frontier should not be dignified into great military events. The dispositions of the Turkish forces are being carried out with a view to defend the most strategic points; and no Turkish general would have the folly to move up a whole army against the Montenegrins just when his entire effort and skill should be concentrated on a plan to meet a Serbo-Bulgarian invasion. The Montenegrin attack is, in fact, the first move in the plan of Serbo-Bulgarian campaign. It was designed to draw away a large part of the Turkish forces to the north-western frontier, that the defence of Macedonia might be weakened.

The real and decisive fight of Turkey will, therefore, be against Bulgaria and Servia combined. We need not calculate the chances of the fight. It is enough to remember that the hour has come for Turkey to prove that she is still a great Power, worthy of the great Ottomans who founded it with their valour and their blood. It is also an hour of her trial. She represents not only right and justice, but also the traditions and ideals of a faith against which her enemies have combined to

wage a wicked and ruthless war of revenge. Her victory would not only save her from extinction but also win freedom and life for a cause that is righteous and Divine. Her death would deprive that cause of its bravest and well-tried champion. The Caliph expects his soldiers to fight with the courage of their ancestors. Islam no less expects them to do their duty. "Evangelist" J. M. Comer, in a lecture at the Theatre Royal, is reported to have "quoted chapter and verse from Deteronomy, St. John, Daniel and Revelation which went to show that when Turkey was moved out of Europe that would be the beginning of the Kingdom of God." Perhaps "the everlasting reign of Christ", the vision of which inspired the grim "Evangelist", is the Divine gift reserved for Europe. Be that as it may, there exist, according to varying beliefs, several other "Kingdoms of God" on this planet, and one wonders if the new "Evangelist" has declared a war of extermination upon them all. The "Kingdom of God" of which the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee has borne the tidings, may herald a better dispensation for the Balkan people, but the Turk has his "Kingdom of God" to maintain and it is the duty of all those who share his "vision of truth" and worship the same God to help him in his single-handed struggle against Pan-Christian fanatics. We have often heard the Moslems talk of the deep spiritual unity of Islam and its world-wide mission. Now is the time for every Moslem to prove that he knows how to sacrifice his ease, comfort, wealth and life, if need be, when a great blow is being aimed at the freedom of a Moslem people and the moral and secular prestige of Islam. The "Confederacy" has warped on Turkey out of a pure tribal lust of plunder and to assuage the bigotry of the priest. Even its prospects of gains are chimerical. As the *Standard* said a few days ago, none of the States could adventure upon a war with a light heart, if only because of the grave financial embarrassment it would involve, not to mention the risk of military disaster. Even Bulgaria cannot be too confident of victory, and neither Serbia nor Greece can face without a shudder the prospects of a Moslem invasion. Moreover, all the combatants would be only too well aware that they would probably fight in vain, for there are mighty jaws stretched out for any bone that might be dropped by Turkey before it could be safely conveyed to any Balkan kennel. The war is, therefore, a war of wanton brigandage tempered by savage fanaticism. The lovers of right, justice and freedom, who are said to abound in the world of Islam, have got to decide if their ideals are at all worth their lives—if not more precious.

The "Comrade": A Review.

MY DEAR "COMRADE,"

I am really sorry to hear that you are leaving Calcutta for good, and going to establish yourself at Delhi. I never suspected that the transfer of the "Comrade" formed a part of the recent administrative changes. I am sorry, because you contributed your share to the confusion of public opinion in Bengal and that with an amount of liveliness rare in Indian journalism, which I at any rate shall miss. So far as you are concerned, I am not sure that the proposed transplantation will conduce to your future growth. There is such a thing as a spirit of the rains, which peacefully reigns over fallen greatness, and if disturbed, takes its revenge on heedless humanity by possessing their souls. You are nothing if not up-to-date, and any attempt at auto-dating your character can only result in premature senility. I only hope that you will be able to resist the subtle and all pervading charm of the dead and buried past, and preserve your lucidity in the midst of the Tondos of Delhi.

You have asked me to write your obituary notice, which I do with the greatest pleasure, because yours is only a temporary death. Besides that, your literary performances in Calcutta, although personally entertaining, were at times apt to be provocative of feelings other than mirth. I hope you appreciate the compliment, because wit misses its object if it is a mere flash in the pan. We give point to our language in order that it may prick bubbles and wind-bags, but in the exercise of your God-given powers you did not spare the skins of your next door neighbours. The reason why I deliberately refrained from crossing swords with you, although often sorely tempted to do so, was that there is no fun in beginning the game in a spirit of *camaraderie* and ending in mortal combat. You cannot deny that there was that risk. You know we are, both of us, in the heat of the moment, capable of forgetting that with our temper we lose the cunning of our right hand. To give a public exhibition of our skill is one thing, and to make an exhibition of ourselves is another.

You came to Calcutta with an introduction, which very few journals do, and your excellent get-up made you immediately acceptable in our journalistic monde. By the way, I am not one of those who hold that appearance is not reality. Only a popular journal can afford to come out in rags. On the other hand, a paper which has no pretensions to popularity, and whose sole object is to serve the interests of a community, should avoid the risk of being described as a rag. That is what you did, and so successfully that the most ancient journal in Calcutta, the "Hindu Patriot", by imitating you has undergone a strange transformation. The first lesson you have taught the Bengalee journalists is that it is the clothes that make all the difference in the world.

I must confess that I was a bit frightened at your motto. Did it not embody a grim determination? I always feel nervous before a person who is determined to tell the truth at any cost, and that for a very good reason too. It is and has been my unfortunate experience, that people who are ever anxious to tell the truth, never feel the necessity of ascertaining what the truth is, and you know the ancient question of Pilate, "What is truth?", has not yet been finally answered. Then I have also noticed an incurable tendency in men to confound truth with what is bitter. We easily delude ourselves with the belief that the more unpleasant our language becomes, the greater the amount of truth it contains. But with the growth of my familiarity with the "Comrade," the conviction grew upon me, that your motto, just like that of any body else's, was meant to furnish the decorative element in your life. So I felt not only reassured, but also agreeably surprised at the discovery. It satisfies one's sense of the natural fitness of things to find that a new journal is after all just like any other old journal. Of course, all of us have our own brand of truth, which we try to foist on others; but truth in itself is a different thing, which no journalist may seek.

I have already hinted that I found wit in you, but missed wisdom, and that is why I could not fully relish your writings. Your spicy remarks were often than not left a bitter taste in my mouth. You must be aware that high spirits can never take the place of the right spirit. And I believe that even in Indian politics there is such a thing as the right spirit. Let me try to indicate what I understand by the last phrase. The whole of Lord Curzon's policy can be summed up in one word—"partition." Now any body who is for it, to my mind, lacks the right spirit, because the only thing worth striving for in India is unity. You were fond of saying "what is the use of crying for unity when there is none." The answer is because there is no unity the cry for it is both human and rational. People only seek what they know to be desirable and have not got. There would have been no Unionists in England had there been no Separatists in Ireland. India, it has been said, is a mere geographical expression, and for that very reason we should try to make it a political entity. And we who write and speak, that is to say, we who seek to form or transform people's minds, it is our duty to contribute towards its realisation; because, as Anatole France says, "there is no nation except in the mind." The real objection to sectarian literature is not that it expresses the sentiments of a sect, but that it tends to create it. So your consistent and persistent attempts to underline the differences between Hindus and Mohamedans could not have conduce to the advancement of our people, a thing which both you and myself equally desire. Progress is what we all want, and progress depends on a profound faith in tomorrow, not on a superficial acquaintance with to-day. There is no great future for those who are entirely occupied with the littlenesses of the present. I do not for a moment deny that there exists conflict of interests between the different communities which constitute a society. One cannot ignore the obvious. But to turn a fraction into a faction is not a highly commendable thing. Religious differences, at any rate in these modern days, need not, and as a matter of fact do not, create real divisions amongst men. The fundamental divisions are all due to economic causes. The problem of the conflict of interests between landlord and tenant, capital and labour, master and slave, cannot be explained, but has to be solved. And the reason is that life is infinitely more insistent in its demands on poor humanity than after-life. In future the real fight between the different communities in India will not be over faith, but over bread.

Before I finish, I should like to tell you, that I do not ignore the fact either, that one's religious belief moulds one's mind, and I believe that there exists such a thing as a Mohamedan psychology as distinguished from the Hindu psychology, and I have some sort of vague idea as to what that difference consists in. Hinduism cannot be packed into dogmas or codified in a catechism. There is no such thing as a Hindu faith but there is such a thing as the Hindu mind. The chief characteristic of that mind is that it is naturally "agin." The finite and has an inherent tendency to go beyond the definite. Its very strength is its weakness. Now if the Hindu mind lacks form, the Mohamedan mind lacks space. The two will have to be educated into conformity. That the existing universities have failed to do so is proved by the fact that the differences between the two communities are more accentuated amongst the educated than amongst the uneducated. Therefore I look to Benares for salvation, and you to Aligarh. If the Benares University succeeds in bringing about a contraction of the Hindu mind, and the Aligarh in an expansion of the Mohamedan, they will justify their coming into existence. But if, on the other hand, they only serve to fortify the distinctive characteristics of the existing types of mind, they will be merely forces of evil. However, your problem is much easier than ours, because it is much more difficult to particularise the universal than to universalise the particular. I hope that when you are reborn at Delhi, it will be a real rebirth. I can see that your community have already found out the mistake of putting their faith in Italics.

BIBBAL.

CALCUTTA, 17th Sept. 1912.

CORRESPONDENCE



Moslems and Social Reform.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—It appears that the progressive views of the Mohamedan Member of the India Council on Muslim social reform and the rights of women have convulsed some Urdu papers in India into hysterics. If you kindly favour me with the hospitality of your columns I would, from a Muslim woman's point of view, refer to some aspects of Purdah system and polygamy, which lie, at the root of our social life and national regeneration. The Koranic ordinance in Sura XXXIII 59, which enjoins—“O Prophet! speak to the wives of the Faithful that they let their wrappers fall low; thus will they more easily be known, and will not be affronted”—climaxes the basic issue in regard to the Purdah. In commenting on this important and conclusive text in his “Spirit of Islam” Mr. Ameer Ali, an acknowledged authority on the subject, says: “The Koran itself affords no warrant for holding that the seclusion of women is a part of the new Gospel”, and quotes corroborative authorities to show that the custom “is a result of jealousy and pride and not of any legal injunction”. (“The spirit of Islam”, page 209). It follows, therefore, that those who require Muslim women to cover up their faces so as to be unrecognisable disregard an explicit Koranic injunction and unwittingly lay themselves open to the charge of heterodoxy even if it be conceded that no ignoble motives need be attributed to the origin of the custom. If the Purdah is viewed from a rational and practical standpoint, a number of important questions arise the solution of which by the Ulemas will be of great interest to the Muslim world. How are the labouring women, female domestic servants and the half-nude Muslim races in Africa to shroud their bodies and faces and yet be able to work and earn a living? Are there not millions of women in the Muslim world who cannot afford to remain shut up or to veil themselves and is their helplessness to observe the Purdah covered by a distinctive commandment? Is not Islam an all-embracing and democratic creed which makes no distinction between the rich and the poor, and have not the latter to encounter almost insuperable difficulties in observing the Purdah? Are the women of the great and brave Berber race in North Africa, who are the pride of the Muhamedan world, but who freely move about and ride like men, without covering their faces, outside the pale of Islam? Are the Javanese Arab women who enjoy the same degree of freedom as their Dutch sisters heterodox?

The most beneficial and humane of all modern institutions are the nursing establishments and societies. Are Muslim women to be denied the chance of receiving a training as nurses and if not, is it practicable to train them in an efficient manner with the heavy handicap of the Purdah? Are both Muslim men and women to be deprived of the comfort of being tended by nurses of their own nationality and does it add to the pride of Muslim nations that even the safety of their lives in moments of grave danger should lie in the hands of foreign nurses? The unfortunate Arabs of Tripoli are now having this sad experience.

Another aspect of the subject is more vital and of far-reaching range. It can not be disputed in the light of the accumulated experience of all mankind that certain qualities are transmitted from the mother to the child in some measure at least, however small that measure may be. On what physiological or any other ground is it assumed by the advocates of female seclusion that mental and physical torpidity, which is the inevitable consequence of keeping women cribbed and confined, is not transmitted to their sons and daughters? The light of commonsense alone is enough to dispel any illusions on this point, and Persia at the present moment furnishes a lamentable concrete instance of a gradually supervening national

inertness which threatens an ancient and illustrious people with the loss of all that they hold dear.

It is futile to expect that the Muslim nations can scale the heights of national regeneration without the co-operation of women, especially in the sphere of education in the earlier stages of a child's growth. The Purdah is the greatest deterrent in this respect. Those who talk glibly about Purdah Schools, covered conveyances for girls and other expedients which can only achieve a limited success have not even an elementary and superficial idea of the essential factors in the difficult problem of the elevation of the Muhammedan masses. Muslim men and women can never expect to compete in intellectual pursuits on equal terms with the freer nations of the world until they break the fetters which have cramped their energies. They must take a warning from the thickening storm-clouds which are now hanging over the Muslim world and threaten to drench it with blood.

As regards polygamy, I would ask its advocates to consider the fate of their mothers and sisters and daughters if the feelings of the wives do not count. Is the spirit of the practically prohibitive Koranic restrictions observed in any Muslim country? If not, how can women be protected from the whims and caprices of the less scrupulous members of the other sex except by restrictive legislation (in harmony with the spirit of the Koran) when the collective conscience of the community realises the need for it. If the barge of Muslim hopes is to be steered safely into the haven of a rejuvenated and vigorous national life the Muhamedan pilots must not seek ignoble popularity by trimming their sails to the gusts of irrational prejudice and passion. Unless our leading men are imbued with an ennobling spirit of earnestness and self-sacrifice and are inspired by a high purpose and unity of aim, which will brush aside all personal predilections and prejudices in the way of the collective advancement of the two sexes, the days of Muslim renaissance will be remote. They must remember the words of Tennyson, which are not different in spirit from the precepts of the Prophet:

“The woman's cause is man's.
They rise or fall together.”

YOURS FAITHFULLY,
A MUSLIM LADY.

The Study of Arabic.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE “COMRADE.”

SIR,—In the Punjab Government Gazette dated 27th September 1912, are published the results of various Sanskrit Examinations recently held by the University. The total number of Hindus shown therein as passing these examinations is 147, in addition to the outturn from private institutions at Benares and Kangra etc.

The results of different Arabic Examinations are not at hand for purposes of comparison. But, as far as my knowledge goes, the number of Mohamedans passing Arabic Examinations is decreasing every year, while the Hindus are showing a marked increase in this respect. As can be judged, their main object in so doing is to keep alive and maintain their nationality and religion; as, otherwise, Sanskrit is a dead language now, is spoken nowhere and is of little use to them in the business of their daily life. But, alas! the Mohamedans are hopelessly falling back. They seem to make no attempt at all to keep pace with their contemporaries and to teach Arabic to their children. Arabic is spoken in many countries by their brethren, and for the full knowledge of the dictates of their faith it is absolutely necessary for them not only to learn Arabic but to gain proficiency in it. Their Holy Book is in Arabic, and this language is also of great use to them for free intercourse, and to transact business and to cultivate the love of the Mussalmans of Arabic-speaking countries. If this state of affairs continues for any length of time, it is feared that the results will be disastrous. Will you kindly invite the attention of the Moslem leaders, the M. E. Conference and the League, through the medium of your esteemed paper, to this important matter?

A MUSSALMAN.

Moslems and the Bengal Police

TO THE EDITOR OF THE “COMRADE.”

SIR,—The Inspector General of Police, Bengal, requested the Superintendent of Police of Rajshahi to nominate 4 Mahomedan candidates and 2 Hindu candidates for the appointment of Sub-Inspector of Police, Bengal, from the District of Rajshahi. The District Officers nominated only 2 Hindu candidates. It is regretted that no Mahomedan candidates were nominated though there were 7 Mahomedan candidates.

A Mussalman.

The War Supplement.

The War in Tripoli.

News of the Week.

A MESSAGE from Rome says the Italians at Derna achieved a further success, defeating and routing a force composed of Turkish regulars and Arabs with considerable loss. The Italian casualties were 12 killed and 83 wounded.

A Turkish courier arrived at Ouchy last night with documents which led to a further conference between the Turkish and Italian delegates.

It is stated that Italy has notified Turkey that unless peace negotiations are concluded by the next evening she will withdraw the Italian delegates.

A Berlin wire says the Deutsche Bank is informed that difficulties in the matter of arranging peace between Italy and Turkey have been overcome.

Peace between Italy and Turkey has been signed at Ouchy.

The conclusion of peace between Italy and Turkey has been received with much satisfaction by all European Chancelleries and will strengthen their efforts to restore peace in the Balkans.

It is expected that the treaty will be known as the Treaty of Lausanne and will be signed at the end of the week. Turkey will issue an Irade granting autonomy to Tripoli, and then an Italian Decree will establish Italian sovereignty. It is understood that the terms of the treaty include the retention of the judicial jurisdiction of the Sultan over Moslems, the immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops, Italian evacuation of the Aegean islands and amnesty for the revolted islanders. Italy will pay an annuity as an indemnification for the share of public debt paid by the Crown land.

Newspapers at Rome state that the Turco-Italian treaty provides for the nomination by the Sultan of a representative who will watch Turkish interests at headquarters in Tripoli and be paid by Italy. Religious officials will be nominated by the Sheikh-ul-Islam as they are in Bosnia. The Sultan also agrees to introduce reforms in the Archipelago.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Sept. 22

I HEAR on good authority that the Porte's refusal to open official negotiations with Italy on the basis of a pecuniary indemnity for the loss of sovereign rights over Tripoli and Cyrenaica has been followed by a fresh proposal on the part of the Italian delegates. It appears to be based upon that put forward by the Turks as reported in my telegram of the 12th inst., and to differ therefrom in only a few details. The latest proposal involves the maintenance of the suzerainty of the Sultan, who is to be represented by a Turkish official selected by the Porte and invested with the title of Pasha of Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This official will be entrusted with the administration of the Evkaf (Moslem pious foundations) and of the Moslem religious Courts, and will leave the remainder of the administration in the hands of the Italians or Arabs. The Porte would at the same time confer the fullest possible measure of autonomy on Tripoli and Cyrenaica and withdraw its troops, thus leaving the field clear for the Italians and Arabs to fight on or to compose their differences, while guaranteeing the maintenance of its point of view regarding the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan, whose spiritual prerogatives as Khalif would be safeguarded by the fact that the Pasha of Tripoli and Cyrenaica would administer the Moslem pious foundations and religious tribunals in his name.

The above proposal is now under discussion by the Porte.

Constantinople, Sept. 26.

The departure, apparently for Switzerland, of Reshid Pasha, formerly Ottoman Ambassador in Vienna and now Minister of Mines and Forests, is believed to be connected with the Peace negotiations now in progress at Ouchy. According to the latest information

available, the terms of the Italian proposal mentioned in my telegram of the 22nd inst., recognized only the spiritual sovereignty of the Sultan, and now it is doubtful whether the vague term "suzerainty" was actually used therein. The Porte is known to be unwilling to accept so great a limitation of the powers of the "Pasha of Tripoli and Bengazi," and Reshid Pasha is reported to have received instructions to lay a counter-proposal from the Porte before the Italian delegates who are taking part in the negotiations.

However this may be, the situation in the Balkans is such as to justify the belief that an attempt will be made by the Porte to free itself from its African liabilities. A fresh stoppage of munitions of war destined for Servia is reported from Salonika, and, though the foreign Military Attaches have been informed that the Government intends to embody only ten divisions, about 80,000 men, instead of the 300,000 who figure in the columns of the Turkish Press, and though it is announced to-night that the Porte, acting on the friendly advice of the French Ambassador, supported by the representatives of other Powers, has postponed the manœuvres in the Adrianople district and will content itself with holding divisional manœuvres in six divisional centres in Macedonia and four in the Adrianople and Constantinople districts, the persistent agitation of the Bulgarian war party and the activity of the Internal Organization continue to excite much apprehension here. Next month, too, the Hellenic Chamber meets, and it is asked here whether M. Venezelos will again be able to bar its doors to the Cretan Deputies. Should a Turco-Hellenic conflict be threatened, the Ottoman Government will naturally desire to be able to count on the fleet, which is now unable to leave the shelter of the forts and mines of the Dardanelles.

Rome, September 25.

The expenses of the war in Tripoli up to the end of August are estimated at 403 million lire (£16,120), 331 million for the Army and 72 million for the Navy.

Moslem Feeling.

A meeting of the Mussulmans of Madras, under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Moslem League, was held at Moore Pavillion on October 7th. The following resolution was carried:— This meeting views with satisfaction the peace proposals for the termination of the Turco-Italian War in Tripoli but requests the Turkish Government not to abandon the Arabs in Tripoli.

At a mass meeting of the Mohamedans of Rangoon on October 6th, presided over by Mr. Ahmed Mulla Dawood the following resolution was adopted:—

That cables be sent to the Turkish authorities as follows: Mohamedans of Burma beseech Turkey to decline a disgraceful peace with Italy by abandoning Arabs in Tripoli, otherwise will lose sympathy of Moslem world at present critical moment, when she is threatened and surrounded by enemies.

An influential meeting of the Mohamedans of Amritsar was held on the 17th inst., at which the following Resolution was passed:—

This meeting strongly urges the Turkish Government not to agree to negotiations for peace with Italy which may be derogatory to the dignity of the Ottoman Empire and inconsistent with the freedom of the people of Tripoli, otherwise it will be in danger of alienating the sympathies of the whole Moslem World.

A French View on the Peace.

In an article full of good sense the "Journal des Débats" expresses its scepticism on the subject of the Turco-Italian peace negotiations. It refuses to believe, on the strength of its private information, that the thorny question of the sovereignty over the two African provinces has been in any way settled, and, apart from that, it does not see that the two adversaries are in any way nearer to each other than they were before. The journal is of the opinion that without the mediation of Europe the war will not be settled, and this leads it to suggest that Turkey may well ask as compensation for her territorial loss "an examination, in a spirit of justice and sound logic, of the condition of the law which has been created in the Ottoman Empire. Italy",

the journal continues, "has thrown herself upon one of her provinces, declaring that she is taking it away from Turkey because the latter has shown herself incapable of civilising it.

"But what are the means of civilisation which European law, imposed upon Turkey by treaties, does not take away from her? We do not allude here to the treaty which Russia compelled Abdul Hamid to sign in 1900, and which deprives one-fourth of the Turkish dominions in Asia of railways so long as the St. Petersburg Government cannot be induced to free from a servile clause a vast country which wants to live. We are speaking of the capitulations under whose *regime* Turkey is held in tutelage. There can be no question of abolishing them as a whole so long as the Ottoman Empire does not give proofs of good administration. At the same time it is inadmissible that a constitutional country should be condemned to budgetary deficits in perpetuity. It is inadmissible that neither the importers who enrich themselves in Turkey nor the foreigners who live there to accumulate profit should share in the public burdens which crush the natives. The treaty of peace may give Turkey the unique opportunity of claiming this emancipation, not merely from Italy but from the Powers of Europe as a whole. This would be something more than a mere money compensation. It would form the very basis of a new life, and this the Ottoman Empire ought to obtain through the negotiations for peace."

Red Crescent Work in Tripoli.

MR. R. GORDON HILL, one of the doctors in charge of the British Red Crescent hospitals in Tripoli has sent the following letter to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali:—

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I must apologise for not writing before but as you will gather from my letter the excuse of lack of time is a justifiable one.

On the evening of July 13th we started to pitch our camp at Ragdale. On the morning of July 14th the battle of Syed Ali was fought. Directly after the battle the wounded began to arrive, riding two together on camels and horses. A great many were seriously wounded, but they all travelled the journey of 10 or 12 miles from the battle-field in this fashion. We had only three tents up when the wounded began to arrive, and so we had to treat the wounded and put up the tents at the same time. That night we admitted 14 cases and treated a number of others. We were short-handed as Dr. Turnbull had an accident when starting from Beagardane, his horse rolling on his legs. He is alright now and arrived here 4 days ago.

One of the wounded had to be operated on immediately as he had been shot through the abdomen. You can imagine that our stores not being unpacked, conditions were not ideal for opening an abdomen. We operated on him in the open air, Wallace giving the anæsthetic. I am glad to say the patient has done very well and is now well on the way to recovery. We had 5 other operations at Ragdale.

Four men died, but they were so seriously wounded that it was impossible to do anything for them. Most of the wounds are caused by shrapnel, and most of the patients have two, three or even four wounds.

Among the wounded were four brothers, who took possession of a small tent to themselves. Their mother arrived the next day to look after them and made tea for them, supporting her kettle on three Italian shells. As there was some doubt as to whether the fuses of the shells had been exploded, it was thought better to take them away from her.

On July 18th we received a telegram from Nesciat Bey, the Commander-in-Chief, to tell us to move to Minchia in consequence of the taking of Syed Ali by the Italians. So we had to pack up the hospital again. The patients who were too ill to be moved were left behind in the charge of Mr. Wallace, while the rest went to Minchia on camels. We arrived at Minchia at 12 midnight and no moon. It was impossible to find anything, not even our patients. Next morning we started to pitch our camp for the second time. July 19th we had another abdominal operation. To-day the man, I am glad to say, is doing well. We have also had two of these operations since being here.

Wallace has now arrived here as well as the patients we left at Ragdale.

Minchia,
Tripoli, July 25.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) R. GORDON HILL.

With the Arabs in Cyrenaica.

A CORRESPONDENT wrote from Derna on August 24th:—Since the Italian army of occupation has done very little, if anything, to way of tangible conquest.

Insignificant skirmishes here and there are followed by long, monotonous pauses. Every serious effort has always been successfully baffled by the bravery of the Turko-Arab forces. Although the latter are very poorly equipped as compared with the organised Italian regiments, and although they present in their camps the appearance rather of a collection of semi-savages than that of an army of regular soldiers, their moral standing, dauntless courage, and implicit obedience to the command of their chiefs combine to make them really formidable.

The monotony of the frequent cessations of actual hostilities is not seldom relieved by deeds of conspicuous gallantry on the part of the Arab warriors. It is chiefly due to the heroism of these semi-savages that the army of a great European Power is constantly kept in check.

The work of investment is carried out by different tribes in turn. At definite intervals one tribe relieves the other, and the usual old-world Arab ceremonial never fails to incite the warriors to more effective effort.

Especially picturesque and impressive is the ceremonial of the tribe of Hassa. The chief reads chapters from the Koran, and the warriors march to the ramparts to the singing and music of kettle-drum and flute. Soon afterwards the whole tribe joins in the war-cry, which sounds inexpressibly weird in the solitude of the desert:—

"And now the Hassa come! Allah of Paradise, be merciful to the infidel! Look and behold the heroes of Hassa! Praise to Allah who is good.

"Lo, how terrible the night is, the Hassa come! Allah, decide! See you not the locks of bravery on the heads of Hassa, by which they will be pulled one day into the very Paradise? The whole tribe of Hassa will dwell in Paradise for ever and ever, because they fought against the infidel and killed many of them. This rule, Allah! Lo, the Hassa come!"

Arrived in sight of the enemy, song and war-cry stop as if by magic. Hassa change places with Barassa in besieging the Italians. Barassa, another tribe of intrepid warriors, retire, and after a while begin their own war strain. They praise their boys, who alone, they boast, are enough to vanquish the enemy, and extol the women, very numerous in Barassa, who have no equals anywhere.

One peculiar outcome of the conflict with Italy is this—the Arabs of Tripoli have acquired a taste for macaroni. Before the war they never saw this farinaceous food; now it is their delight to capture as many sacks of macaroni as possible.

A Scientist on Tripoli.

A HAPPY chance has decreed that Europe should have possessed a disinterested witness to the last acts of the Ottoman administration in Tripoli before Italian aggression, and one whose independence of judgment cannot for a moment be doubted. This witness is in no sense a politician, but a *savant* devoted to scientific research to the exclusion of everything else. Neither is he an agent of one of the great Powers engaged in these international conflicts. Dr. Edmond Bernet, of the University of Geneva, is a Swiss. Charged with a scientific mission, he has travelled over 1,500 kilometres, from Tripoli to Ghadames by Nalout, returning by Yfren and Charain. The notes of his journey, which he made from day to day, have recently been published under the title "*En Tripolitaine: voyage à Ghadames*" (Paris: Fontemoing), and deserve to be studied by those who would get at a true and unprejudiced account of Tripoli and its condition before Italy attacked it.

It is a common remark to say that a book has appeared at the right moment. That of Dr. Bernet's deserves more than most others such a commendation. It might, however, have been an advantage to Italy if it had appeared sooner. Without being able in any way to foresee events the author wrote:—

"I am convinced that when Turkey is attacked by the Italians, the Berbers will rise in mass to repel the common enemy. All the Berbers, forgetting their old feuds, will rally under the Turkish flag. Turkey has saved thousands of people in combating the fanane, and the Berbers are thankful for the efforts made for them; also the war which is now breaking out will provoke a

leave on mass of the Berber population. If they had had to suffer from the Ottoman yoke, as has been suggested, they would profit, on the contrary, by the occasion to rise against the Turks.

Is it possible that the Government at Rome were ignorant of such a feeling amongst the Arabs which a simple traveller was able to note? The Italians could only be deceiving themselves, and that quite voluntarily, in suggesting that the numerous demonstrations of the natives against the Italian invasion were fomented by the Turks.

To all the legends created to justify the Italian attack, this explorer, of evident good faith, opposes the reality of his observations. It is already a proof against the so-called impenetrability of the country and against its insecurity, this long journey of fifteen hundred kilometres, in the course of which the doctor often leaves his caravan to trust himself several days from his tracks, in the company of a *zaptia* and an interpreter. So that the Sheik of Sinoum congratulates himself, in Dr. Bernet's presence, that a stranger should have come to observe the efforts of the Government to render the country absolutely safe. And without encountering the least danger the explorer journeys as far as Ghadamess, which passed for impenetrable. Ridiculous stories, he cries. He meets with a "kindly reception," where he hoped, at most, to be tolerated. He notes in his diary:—

It is very false to say that the Ghadamessians and the Turks do not wish to allow the mystery of their town to be penetrated, for of mystery there is but little, and I have experienced everywhere the desire of all to have me visit anything that could possess the least interest.

Dr. Bernet is quite charmed with everything and everybody. Not the shadow of bad humour. Nevertheless, the track is burning, the water often rare at the stopping places, and the risks of the route frequently cruel to men and beast in this desert of sand and salt. He notes with surprise that the abuses of the Sheiks, of which there has often been mention, are now rendered difficult because of the very severe inspections which Turkish Government officials constantly make. He enjoys the company of these functionaries, who are all much interested in his expedition, and are curious to know his impressions of the country. They question him as to Europe and the liberal institutions of its States. They speak to him of Turkey and show themselves convinced partisans of the new regime and devoted to the Young Turks. This is all in the desert, under the tent, or in the far-off oasis, and it can scarcely be in order that the echo of such conversations should reach the ears of the powerful that this simple praise of progress and liberty is uttered.

"The Turkish functionaries in Tripoli have sometimes been painted," writes Dr. Bernet, "as men whose services are for sale, and who, when they are in these remote regions, enrich themselves at the expense of those whom they should govern with justice and protect. I have realised the falsity of these accusations."

In concluding, the author examines the work of Marshall Ibrahim Pasha, Governor of Tripoli from 1910 to 1911, and sacrificed to a desire for peace which the Italian intrigue was to render vain. The work of but one year, yet fruitful and humane. A very considerable work also, comprising, firstly and before all, a struggle against famine, brought on by five years of drought, but equally the reform of the police, the foundation of a school of agriculture, the development of the means of communication, the search for a water supply, the creation of thirty-six new schools and the study of the possibilities of mining, which especially displeased Italy and its syndicate of conquest.

Was all that work nothing? No doubt the great newspaper campaign which prepared the war has made of it less than nothing. But the young explorer who made his way from Tripoli to Ghadamess, armed with all his independence of character and his security, is a more reliable historian than those who merely minister to the popular demand of a nation suffering from a Jingo fever.—*Alexander Egypt.*

The War in the Balkans.

News of the Week.

London, 11th October.

A message from Constantinople says that the collective note of the five Embassies on the subject of reforms in Macedonia was presented to the Foreign Minister last evening.

It is officially reported at Constantinople that the Montenegrins attacking Berane were defeated and that a Bulgarian attack on Soguchuk and Yonikoph in the Dospad district was repulsed.

A message from Podgoritz, the Montenegrin headquarters, states that the Montenegrins resumed the bombardment of Detchitch yesterday morning. A battle was proceeding simultaneously in front of the Turkish town of Tuzi. A division, commanded by General Vukotitch, crossed the frontier yesterday morning near Berane.

Detchitch fell at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and the Montenegrin standard was hoisted on the positions. There were heavy losses on both sides, but great rejoicings in the Montenegrin camp.

Five thousand students, armed with revolvers, held a demonstration in Constantinople last night to protest against the Government's attitude regarding reforms in Macedonia, clamouring for war. They marched in procession to the Porte where they broke the windows. Muhumud Mukhtar, the Grand Vizier, harangued them but he was constantly interrupted and only secured their dispersal by promising to receive a deputation.

Despatches from Belgrade and Constantinople indicate that the Ottomans are rising, the former message declaring that they co-operated with the Montenegrins at Berane.

It is asserted at Belgrade that Bashi Bazouks are destroying Servian villages in Macedonia and are massacring the inhabitants.

The Bulgarian Premier, in an interview with a correspondent of London papers, said, "The impending war is the appalling ransom we are going to pay for our Christian brethren thrust back by impious men into the godless pandemonium branded by Gladstone's immortal words. We appeal to England for aid."

Gleams of hope that war in the Balkans will be averted have almost entirely vanished.

The Montenegrins after fourteen hours' furious fighting stormed the hill fort commanding Tuzi and opened the road to Scutari. They, however, suffered heavy losses.

Greece has purchased the Chinese cruiser *Chao-ho*, which is now being completed at Elswick. The vessel will sail almost immediately.

London, 12th October.

There are whispers even at Belgrade of the possibility of a peaceful solution. The rumours are probably due to the delay of the Confederacy in answering the representations of the Powers. The Emperor Francis Joseph is quoted at Vienna as saying that he hopes peace may yet be preserved.

A message from Podgoritz says that 6,000 Malissori are attacking the Turks in the rear. The battle between the Turks and Montenegrins was resumed this morning, and fighting is general along almost the whole frontier. The Southern Army, under General Martinovitch, is operating successfully against the strong fortress of Tarabosch, which dominates Scutari from the south. The fort of Rogame near Tuzi was captured at noon yesterday. The hospitals are overflowing with wounded. King Nicholas has visited the hospitals kissing both wounded and dead on the forehead. Prince Mirko himself carried in a wounded man.

The stories of fighting on the Bulgarian frontier are officially denied at Sofia.

An irade was published at Constantinople yesterday evening ordering the mobilisation of the Turkish Fleet.

The *Temps* and *Matin* sharply criticise the British attitude in the crisis declaring that Britain is too lukewarm and ought to act more vigorously with Turkey so as to secure reforms and strengthen the Triple Entente. Renter, however, is authorised to state that the above attacks in no wise represent the views held in French official quarters where they are deeply regretted.

The crisis in the Balkans has produced extreme nervousness in all financial centres, particularly in Paris, Berlin and Vienna, where the public have been speculating heavily in international and local stocks. Consequently there is heavy selling in London and New York, which are beginning to feel the strain, all the more as any further development in the political crisis cannot but influence the money markets unfavourably. A conference of leading banks was held in Berlin to-day to consider the questions of interventions to support the Bourse in view of the panicky tendency. It is stated that the conference agreed upon the question of taking action.

Podgoritza news says that in the storming of Detchitch the Montenegrins lost 120 killed and 400 wounded. Despatches from the Southern Army say that the Turks made a counter-attack yesterday but that they were repulsed. The Montenegrins captured an undamaged Krupp gun and ammunition in the position of Rogaine.

The Sultan's proclamation ordering a general mobilisation has been promulgated. It says: "The whole world knows Turkey's love of peace and Ottomans' respect for the right of all peoples. They demand equal respect for their own rights. Notwithstanding the great difficulties to which the Empire is exposed, the Government is carrying out gradually as far as possible the reforms which the country needs. Nevertheless our small neighbours who have designs upon our country want to prevent reforms and progress which would defeat their illegitimate plans. They have united to attack our provinces, compelling us to mobilize our army, guardian of the nation's honour. The sacred duty of defending the fatherland devolves upon you. Fight with the courage of your ancestors; prove worthy of your brothers in Tripoli. God grant you may always be victorious and make Ottomans happy by your conquests."

Mr. Ameer Ali on behalf of the British Red Crescent Society appeals to Turkish generosity for funds to alleviate distress among the Mussalmans that will be caused by the Balkan war.

A Turkish lady writes to the Constantinople papers stating her intention of proceeding to the front to tend the wounded and appealing to Turkish women to follow her example.

London, 13th October.

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in London, said he confidently hoped that the impending conflagration in the Near East would be localised and that whatever the issue of the conflict might be the boundaries of freedom and good government would be extended.

A message from Podgoritza states that the Montenegrins yesterday penetrated the Turkish ranks and invested Tuzi which is now cut off from Scutari.

The panic on the bourses especially in Berlin is largely due to public scepticism of the ability of the Powers to localise the Balkan war. The danger point is the Sanjak of Novi Bazar. Should Montenegro decide on invasion then Austria might be compelled to intervene with consequent trouble between Austria and Russia.

The repeated conversations between Marquis de Pallavicini and Noradunghian Pasha at Constantinople are exciting attention. The Turks believe that the conversations refer to Novi Bazar.

The War Committee of the Austrian Delegation has adopted the credits asked for by the Austro-Hungarian Government recently.

A message from Podgoritza says the northern army of Montenegro captured Bielopolic in Old Serbia yesterday after fierce fighting lasting until 4 in the afternoon, at which hour the Montenegrins entered the town. The Serb inhabitants enthusiastically welcomed the victors as their liberators from the Turkish yoke. A provisional Montenegrin Government has been established in the town.

The big banks twice intervened yesterday on the Berlin bourse to arrest the selling due to panic. The German newspapers are very pessimistic with regard to the localisation of the war. Similar conditions prevail on the St. Petersburg bourse, where bankers have vainly attempted to maintain prices.

The Greek mobilization is now practically completed. It is expected that 170,000 men will take the field.

A message from Belgrade says the Serbian Government has telegraphed to the Austrian and Russian Governments asking them to detain volunteers who are not at present needed.

The 2nd Battalion of the Northamptonshire Regiment at Malta has been ordered to hold itself in readiness to proceed to Crete.

The International Socialist Bureau at Brussels protests against the armed violence in the Balkans and vehemently denounces the hypocrisy of the Powers in posing as protectors of the Balkans while permitting the Montenegrin raids.

The All-India Muslim League in London has passed a resolution making an emphatic protest against the policy and tactics of the Balkan Committee which, besides embarrassing the British Government in its desire to hold the balance evenly, is certain to encourage and inflame racial and religious bitterness. The League declares that the encouragement of irresponsible enthusiasts is largely responsible for the present war. In view of the loyalty of Britannic Mussalmans and the identity of interests between the two principal Mussalman Empires, and the great, though forgotten, services

rendered by the Turks during the Indian Mutiny, the League strongly deprecates the ill-will shown towards Turkey by a section of the British press which but adds to the prevailing resentment of Mussalmans at what is regarded as the injustice and intolerance of Europe.

London, 14th October.

A Belgrade wire says that the reply to the Austro-Russian notes was presented last night. The reply regrets Serbia's inability to comply with the desire of the Powers as the note does not contain sufficient guarantee of the execution of the proposed reforms. A copy was appended to the reply of a note handed to the Turkish Minister an hour earlier demanding the introduction of reforms in Macedonia in the spirit of Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin under the control of the Powers and the Balkan States and as a pledge of assent the immediate demobilisation of the Turkish army.

An Athens wire states that the Greek note to Turkey was handed to the Turkish legation last night.

A Sofia message states that the Bulgarian reply to the representations of the Powers was presented last night.

The preliminary skirmishing is costing the Montenegrins heavily. There are already 370 wounded in hospital at Podgoritza and more are constantly arriving.

A message to the "Daily Chronicle" from Constantinople states that the Government's reply to the Powers has been drafted and that it reiterates Turkey's readiness to apply the reforms. It declines however to give guarantees, which action would be inconsistent with Turkey's national dignity. The note adds that Turkey cannot give her attention to internal reforms while the sword is pointed at her throat. The note is tantamount to a rejection of foreign interferences.

A Constantinople wire says it is not believed that the replies of Turkey and the Confederacy to the Powers will affect the situation. The struggle continues to be regarded as inevitable. It is stated that the Montenegrins are encountering much resistance and are losing heavily. The advance on the west side of Lake Scutari has been checked but fighting is still proceeding around Tuzi and Krania, being visible from Scutari. The Montenegrins burned Krania and several children perished in the flames.

The German Ambassador has offered part of the Embassy for use as a hospital in the event of war.

A Podgoritza message says that a despatch from General Vukotitch says that the Montenegrins occupied a hill near Gusinje yesterday. The Turks resisted desperately and suffered heavy losses. The Montenegrins captured two positions commanding Gusinje taking four machine guns, many rifles and a quantity of ammunition. Hitherto the Montenegrin casualties are 256 killed and 800 wounded.

The notes of the Balkan States to Turkey demand autonomy for Macedonia under a Belgian or Swiss Governor-General, elective provincial councils, the creation of a gendarmerie and militia and the establishment of free education.

The Turks surprised the Servians around Ristovatz. The Servians however rallied hastily and repulsed the aggressors. Fighting continues over ten miles of the frontier.

The Cretan deputies are profiting by the war situation to defy the Powers and they have entered the Greek Chamber.

An Athens wire says that the Cretan deputies received a vociferous welcome in the Chamber. The Premier declared that the Government had accepted the vote of the Cretan assembly in favour of union with Greece. Henceforth there would be only one Chamber for Greece and Crete. Greece was ready to face all dangers and was confident of victory.

A more dignified tone was apparent on the Stock Exchange to-day though acute uneasiness still prevails. Consols touched 72½. A reassuring factor, however, is that the Continental Bourses have regained some of their equilibrium.

The reply of the Porte to the Embassies was handed to the Austrian Ambassador this morning. While expressing thanks for the friendly interest in the situation on behalf of peace the reply says that the Porte is determined to carry out reforms but cannot tolerate any foreign interference.

It is officially stated at Belgrade that the Turks crossed the frontier near Ristovatz at five o'clock this morning and attacked the Servians.

Renter learns that the British, French and Russian Consuls at Smyrna are proceeding to Samos, to draw up an organic charter for the principality. Greece would interpret this action as interference.

calculated to deprive her of advantages resulting from the superiority of the Greek fleet in event of war.

An Athens wire says that the Government instructed the Greek Minister at Constantinople to-day to demand the release of Greek ships and an indemnity for owners within twenty-four hours.

Reuter learns this evening that the Consuls have gone to Samos to report on the condition of the Island and that the telegram which reached London this morning with reference to the new charter is incorrect.

Correction: In the Belgrade wire sent this morning please read that the Government has telegraphed to the Italian and Russian Governments (not Austrian and Russian Governments) asking them to detain volunteers who are not at present needed.

The notes presented to the Austrian, Russian and Turkish representatives at Athens and Sofia are identical with those presented to the representatives of those countries at Belgrade.

They specify the reforms demanded in great detail and demand an undertaking that the reforms will be introduced within six months. The note to the Powers thanks the latter for their interest, but after recalling the numerous promises of Turkey as recorded in international documents says the allied States are anxious to obtain more definite results than hitherto and have decided to address Turkey direct.

While the Bulgarian Premier still expresses his determination to maintain peace if possible and urges that the Balkan States are merely asking for the execution of the Treaty of Berlin, there is no disposition on the part of Europe or Constantinople to ignore the fact that a virtual ultimatum containing demands which Turkey cannot and will not accept in present circumstances has been presented. The reply is expected to be prompt and emphatic. Indeed Turkey is already acting as if war were declared by seizing Greek vessels with cargoes valued at a million sterling, mostly British owned and munitions and by forcing Greeks and Bulgarians to pay a year's taxes in advance before allowing them to quit Turkey. The movements of troops in each country are shrouded in silence. Military critics think that the delay favours Turkey by permitting more extensive concentration but it has been generally understood that the Bulgarians would not be fully ready until October 15th or 16th. General Savoff, Commander-in-chief of the Bulgarian army went southward yesterday. It is generally believed that guerilla bands of Serbs and Bulgarians in Macedonia will play a considerable role at least at the beginning of war by attacking Turkish communications and harassing the Turks upon the march. The report of skirmishes on the Servian frontier may possibly be ascribed to them. Ali Riza Pasha will command the troops of the Turkish army in Macedonia with headquarters at Salonika.

The Porte's reply to the Embassies further stated that its efforts to carry out reforms had hitherto been impeded by all kinds of obstacles. Nevertheless the Government had persevered and had decided to apply the "Vilayat Law" directly it was sanctioned by the Chamber and the Sultan. The Porte, however, is unable to admit the bearing of Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin on the present situation.

It is announced in Vienna that no military action of the confederacy in the Sanjak of Novibazar will induce Austria-Hungary to interfere. Only after the termination of hostilities will the Monarchy act as the protection of its interests in the Balkans may require.

London, October 15.

Official telegrams from Constantinople state that Turkish reinforcements have reached the region of Gusinje and have assumed the offensive driving back the Montenegrins. Fighting is now taking place on Montenegrin territory. The Turks claim a victory at Tuzi. A Sofia message states that five hundred Turkish on the evening of 13th attacked Bulgarian post in Tamrosch District, the defenders acting on instructions of the Government withdrew. A Belgrade wire says that fighting took place on the Servian frontier the whole of yesterday. The Turks numbered three thousand. The Servians lost 24 killed and four wounded and then retired. The Servian Government denounces the attack as provocative, but declares it will continue on the defensive unless incursion assumes greater proportions.

Podgoritza, October, 14.

Tuzi surrendered to the Montenegrins today who captured many guns, seven thousand rifles, six Turkish regular battalions, numbers of horses, eight hundred tents and food supplies for ten days. The Montenegrins at noon were preparing to storm Tuzi when a Turkish officer bearing a white flag appeared and unconditionally surrendered. A Deputation of burghers of Tuzi then came to Prince Danilo begging for mercy and pardon. The Montenegrins made a triumphal entry in the afternoon being welcomed with jubilation by Christian

Malissori inhabitants. An Athens message says that reconnaissances made by aeroplane and cavalry show that the Turks have abandoned Thessaly frontier and have withdrawn to villages of Sorovitch and Servia. It is believed that they number forty thousand.

The Porte has ignored the Note of the Confederacy, and the great ultimatum which have excited surprise and wrath among Turkish officials who are furious at what they describe as colossal impudence of minor States adopting a tone which the Powers have never used towards Turkey.

The Ministers at Belgrade and Sofia have been instructed to return to Constantinople owing to the lack of deference shown in the recent notes. The Minister at Athens has been recalled because the Cretan deputies have been admitted to the Greek Chamber. These steps do not necessarily mean a rupture of relations as the Porte has not handed their passports to the representatives of the confederacy at Constantinople.

The Foreign Office received proposals from France for a European conference on the Balkan question. The proposal is receiving the earnest attention of the British Government.

A Heidelberg wire says that Prince Peter of Montenegro has telegraphed to his old school announcing a splendid victory with the capture of ten thousand Turks and artillery.

A message to the "Times" from Cetinje says that the searchlights of Sentari on the night of 11th instant, were thrown on a thousand Montenegrins preparing to attack Tarabosch, the quickfiring of which immediately opened, mowing down the Montenegrins who, disregarding the order to retire, advanced amid a hail of bullets. It is believed that they were nearly all wiped out.

An Athens wire states that eight thousand armed Cretans are in readiness to enrol at the commencement of hostilities. The staff of the Turkish Legation have booked berths on to-morrow's steamer for Constantinople. The Greek warships are manned ready for sea.

A Constantinople wire states that the Government has decided not to reply to the confederacy's note or to the Greek ultimatum.

London, 16th October.

A report from Podgoritza states that the fortress of Houm, the last between Tuzi and Sentari, surrendered to the Montenegrins last night. The garrison included 62 officers.

It is officially stated at Belgrade that fighting at Ristovatz ceased on the night of the 14th without further Servian loss.

The Porte explains that the Servian and Bulgarian notes are not worth a reply. The Porte hopes that its efforts towards peace will be appreciated by the Powers to whom these small States are also showing a lack of deference.

A telegram received in Constantinople by an indirect route and uncensored states that two battleships and two cruisers have left the Dardanelles for the Bosphorus. It is believed that this Turkish Government's plan is to throw an army of invasion on the Bulgarian coasts. Many transports are available and troops are awaiting shipment in all Black Sea ports. Military preparations are being pushed vigorously at three points of concentration, viz., Adrianople, Kilk Kilisseh and Kuleli Burgas. The question of the employment of Christian soldiers has been solved by using them to garrison Asia Minor and Constantinople.

Mr. Poincare, French Premier, made no formal proposal for a conference on the Balkan question at the present time. He is mainly anxious to preserve continuous contact between the Powers and only hints at a conference vaguely as ultimately being of service. The idea of a conference is viewed coldly in Berlin as being inopportune. Herr von Kiderlan Waechter, speaking in Berlin to-day, reiterated German official confidence that the war will be localised and that the Powers can co-operate in the friendly work of rebuilding on the termination of hostilities.

Turkey has decided to release the vessels with foreign cargoes.

Telegrams from Constantinople show that nothing is known there of Montenegrin successes.

Despatches from various quarters indicate that the Servian plan of campaign is for the main army under General Stepanovitch to march via Uranya upon Uskub, the most important military and political centre in Macedonia, while a second army, numbering 70,000 under General Zivkovic, joins hand with the Bulgarians and then advances by Kostendil, Egri, Palanka and Kumanovo against Uskub. A third army under General Yankovitch will probably support the Montenegrin operations.

In article in the Russian official journal *Rossiia* says that the weightiest guarantee of peace in Europe lies in the fact that Russia

is not only peacefully inclined, but is a strong Power. Her war strength is much greater than when fighting in remote and strange regions. It is impossible, the journal adds, to overestimate the importance of the Austro-Russian *rapprochement* at the very moment of the Balkan crisis. Russia is conscious that she has power and means to protect her dignity and interests in case of necessity.

The Powers generally are prepared to acquiesce in a conference when the time comes. A strong feeling prevails in diplomatic circles in London that the time for some form of mediation will be possible within a few weeks after the first decisive battle between Turks and Bulgarians.

A prolonged meeting of the Cabinet took place to-day mainly to consider the Balkan crisis.

A Podgoritzza message reports that King Nicholas in receiving the Turkish officers who had been captured praised the heroic defence of Detelitch and Tuzi, and assured them of his knightly hospitality during their stay. He shook hands with them and gave permission for them to carry their arms.

Both Austrian and Hungarian Delegations have passed extra credits of nearly two millions sterling as asked for. Admiral Montecucoli, Minister of Marine, informed the Austrian Delegation the Austria-Hungary's position as a Mediterranean Power ought to be emphasised by the creation of a strong navy.

The thinking classes in Greece are sceptical about the wisdom of war. They doubt whether any body except Bulgaria will profit even if they are victorious. Moreover, the Greek army and navy are not believed to be ready for action, and the navy is described as greatly inferior to the Turkish fleet which the peace at Onchii has released.

London, October 17.

While the Montenegrin victories are undisputable the Turkish reports of one severe repulse suffered by the Montenegrins with much loss are corroborated from independent sources. This occurred on the night of the 11th, during the attack on the fortifications of Tarabash, when the Montenegrins in close order were exposed by searchlights and mown down in hundreds.

A Podgoritzza message states that the Montenegrins captured Berane yesterday, taking fourteen guns and 700 prisoners. The Montenegrin losses in the final assault were nine killed and thirty wounded. The surrender of Berane was preceded by severe fighting yesterday evening. The Montenegrins stormed the heights of Rogaj and entrenched themselves for the night. The battle was resumed at dawn. Meanwhile the division under General Voivoditch broke the Turkish lines to the East and surrounded the town upon which the white flag was then hoisted. Seven thousand Turks and Albanians escaped during the night. Twelve hundred Turks surrendered. Fourteen Krupp guns with munitions intact and two months food supply were captured. The population weeping with joy welcomed the Montenegrins, whom they called their deliverers from the subjection of centuries. The Montenegrins prior to entry sang the "Te Deum" in the adjacent historic Servian monastery at Gjurgjevo, Utoubovi.

The hospital accommodation in Montenegro is terribly defective. There is also the serious problem of how to feed thousands of prisoners.

The Turkish Ministers have left Belgrade and Sofia. A Constantinople wire says that hostilities have begun on the Bulgarian and Servian frontiers. The Porte has ordered the Ottoman armies to advance. Official telegrams state that there was an exchange of shots all day on the 15th instant on the Turko-Bulgarian frontier. Fighting was resumed the next day in the vicinity of Djamaibala.

There has been fighting between troops and Bulgarian bands in the vilayet of Salonika where the Bulgarians have been cutting wires. Greek bands tried to cross the frontier into Epirus but were repulsed.

It is stated in Bucharest that Varna and Burgas are being hastily fortified in expectation of a Turkish naval attack. A steamer which has arrived at Costanza reports that she observed three warships off the coast.

The Porte has declared war on Bulgaria and Servia. A telegram from Athens, timed noon, states that hostilities have begun. Their passports have been handed to the Servian and Bulgarian Ministers at Constantinople. It is generally anticipated that fight between the Turkish and Greek Navies for predominance at sea will be one of the first features of the war. The Greek Minister announces this morning that two Greek gunboats have succeeded in reaching Vonitza after running the gauntlet of the Turkish forts at Pervesa.

The Porte states that the reasons for the declaration of war are, the note from the Balkan States which interferes with internal affairs,

the mobilisation of the Balkan States and daily skirmishes. The Porte adds that it is impossible to maintain peace any longer, notwithstanding its ardent desire for peace. It is considered noteworthy that Greece was not included in the declaration of war. The Turkish Minister has left Athens without asking for his passport. Turkey's delay in declaring war on Greece was due to uncertainty whether the Greek note was identical with the Servian and Bulgarian notes, the Turkish Minister at Athens having refused to accept it. The Porte has now learned that the note was identical, consequently the declaration of war may be expected at any moment.

A Belgrade wire says that Servia declared war on Turkey in the evening. The streets were crowded with people shouting and cheering.

A Sofia wire says that the King has started for the front.

A Belgrade message states that the King has gone to Nish. The Servians have defeated the Albanians at Priatpolji, killing two hundred. They are probably aiming at joining hands with the Montenegrins.

A Bucharest wire says that Bulgaria has detained the Romanian steamer "Princess Marie" which was hired by Turkey to convey refugees from Varna. Rumania has instructed the Legation at Sofia to protest and demand the release of the steamer.

A Constantinople wire says that Turkish women under the auspices of the Red Crescent Society are actively making garments and bandages for hospitals. They are also canvassing houses for funds, which are being generously supported. Foreign communities are actively helping. Lady Lowther, wife of the British Ambassador, is organising a relief fund for the wives and children of wounded soldiers, and the German Embassy has offered a wing of the building to accommodate the wounded. The wife of the French Ambassador is organising in the French colony. Mr. Rockhill, American Ambassador, on behalf of the American Red Cross Society has wired to the State department asking for a special credit and inviting private subscriptions from America. The Turkish War Office has accepted the offer of a Turkish woman to act as nurse in a military hospital. Lord Rothschild on behalf of the British Red Cross Society, is appealing for a special fund to succour the belligerents.

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.")

An interesting development, not unlike that which was caused in Italy by the war in Tripoli, is observable among the Socialists of Bulgaria. According to a Sofia telegram in the "Neue Freie Presse," large meetings of protest against the war agitation were held on Sunday last all over Bulgaria, the capital included, under the auspices of the revolutionary wing of the Socialist party. The text of the speeches was that a war would be detrimental to the interests of the Bulgarian and international proletariat, and would only serve the interests of Russian despotism. The remedy for the present situation was suggested to be a Balkan federation of states that should include Turkey and Roumania. Simultaneously with these other meetings were held by the opportunist wing of the Socialists, at which the speakers demanded the autonomy of Macedonia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonika, September 19th.

As a result of a conference between the Ulema and the leading Muslims of the Ghilan, Djakova, Ipek, and Prizrend districts a telegram has been despatched warning the Porte against entertaining Count Berchtold's decentralization proposals and threatening to reward any demonstration of weakness on the part of the Government with a proclamation for a general insurrection. The message also expresses disapproval of the idea of the introduction of the Latin alphabet.

Communication with Mollissia is completely interrupted. That the situation is increasingly serious is evident from the decision of the authorities to raise the battalions of the Tirana reservists to a strength of 700, and to despatch an expeditionary force under the command of Essad Pasha to the relief of Skutari.

Samos, September 21st.

Armed Cretans landed here to-day. The natives joined them in driving away the Turkish troops. It is reported that a fight is now going on.

Constantinople, September 22nd.

Telegrams reached Constantinople on Friday night stating that 800 Cretans landed in Samos on Thursday, and, after being joined by a number of islanders belonging to the party

that demands revision of the Samian Constitution, advanced towards Vathy, driving back the pirate. Fighting continued throughout Friday.

Constantinople, September 22nd.

The Government has succeeded in despatching from Smyrna a battalion of 800 men to Samos, which, with the garrison already in the island, should suffice to cope with the insurgents.

Athens, September 22nd.

M. Sophoulis, the former political leader in Samos, is reported to have landed in the island with a score of followers. An insurrectionary movement is said to have broken out on the arrival of the British and French warships.

Athens, September 24th.

The captain of the mail steamer Rouneli, belonging to the Greek firm of Pantoleon, which has arrived here from Samos, has reported to the Government that yesterday afternoon, when he touched at Vathy, an engagement was proceeding between the advanced posts of the insurgents and Turkish troops. The Turkish soldiers opened fire from the barracks on the Greek vessel, causing a panic among the passengers. The Greek Consul in Samos, who had come on board to meet his Alexandria colleague, had a narrow escape from death. He was returning to land when his boat was riddled by bullets. The mail boat left the port as soon as possible under a shower of bullets.

This attack, directed without apparent reason against the Greek steamer and the Consuls, has caused much indignation here.

Salonika, September 25th.

To-day a passenger train from Constantinople arrived five hours late having been the object of a dynamite outrage. Forty-four kilometres from Salonika a bomb was exploded damaging the line and engine, but without harming the carriages. There were no casualties.

An abortive attempt was made last night to blow up the Military Club at Monastir.

(REUTERS'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, September 25th.

A Constantinople message semi-officially issued here says the Porte will prolong the peace negotiations in the hope of obtaining from Great Britain a modification of the firman relating to the Constitution of Egypt in such a way that Egypt shall place 20,000 fighting men at the disposal of Turkey in the event of war. In return Turkey would agree to the delimitation of Egypt in conformity with Great Britain's wishes.

Cairo, September 26th.

Farid Bey, the Nationalist leader, writing from France to *Egyptian Gazette*, says that not wishing to be a cause of discord in the Nationalist Party, he has resigned the leadership. He states that he has sacrificed himself for the sacred cause.

(THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, September 20th.

To-day's meeting of the Armenian National Assembly opened with an announcement that the Patriarch and the Lay Council had resigned. A letter from Mgr. Arsharuni was read giving as his reasons for taking the step the Government's *dementi* of certain of his assertions concerning the Anti-Armenian outrages, its failure to protect his flock, and the continuance of attacks upon Armenians. Telegrams were read reporting the murder of two Armenians at Bitlis, the assassination of an Armenian notable in the streets of Diarbekir, and the delivery of an anti-Armenian sermon by the Mufti of Silwan.

After several speeches had been made in which the Government was severely criticized, the Assembly decided to accept the resignation of the Lay Council and to refer that of the Patriarch to the Council of Presidents of the seven sections of the National Assembly. A special commission empowered to study Armenian grievances will be elected with a new Lay Council on the 27th inst.

Moslem Feeling.

At a Mahomedan mass demonstration in Karachi in sympathy with Turkey against Balkan aggression a little girl jumped up amidst the crowd and offered her golden nose-ring to the Red Crescent Fund. Thereat an extraordinary outburst of enthusiasm followed, during which many Mahomedan ladies offered all their

jewels. Resolutions were passed to the following effect.—"That Turkey be urged not to make hurried discreditable peace with Italy, otherwise Mahomedan feeling throughout the world will be alienated from the Khalifate. That the British nation be summoned to remember Beaconsfield's policy towards the Sultan, who is the spiritual lord of all Moslems in India, and beseeched to give Turkey a chance to fulfil her undoubtedly genuine and earnest intentions of self-reformation. Also that Britain be appealed to deliver the struggling Persian nation from the grip of the Russians."

The Aga Khan is sending 2,000 from Moscow to the British Red Crescent Fund. He expresses a hope that all other projects of the Indian Moslems, including the University of Aligarh, will be laid aside for the present in order to concentrate efforts on the relief of suffering and distress in Turkey and Tripoli.

At a mass meeting of the Mahomedans of Rangoon on October 6th, presided over by Mr. Ahmed Mulla Dawood the following resolution was adopted:—That a Turkish aid fund be opened in Burma in view of the threatened and unjust action of her neighbours and outbreak of hostilities in the Balkans, and that a society in Rangoon, consisting of the following gentlemen, be formed for collecting subscriptions for the fund from Burma. A Committee consisting of leading Mahomedan gentlemen of Rangoon, with Mr. Dawood as President, was formed to collect funds for the Turkish aid fund, and Rs. 14,000 were subscribed on the spot.

The following resolution was passed by the Mass Meeting of Hindus and Moslems held in the Federation Hall grounds at Calcutta on October 7th:—That the following telegram be sent to (a) His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, (b) H. E. the Grand-Vizier, (c) H. E. the Foreign Minister, (d) H. E. the War Minister of Turkey.

"Hindus and Moslems, in meeting assembled, deplore the Balkan aggression on Turkey, gratefully acknowledge England's efforts to maintain peace, congratulate Turkey on union of parties and assure her of their sympathy."

The Moslems decided to wire the following verse from the Koran:—

Nasrum mina-lahi wa fathun quareeb, (Help from God and speedy victory).

A Meeting of the Mussalmans of Madras, under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Moslem League was held at Moore Pavilion on October 7th. The following resolution was carried:— "This meeting expresses its sense of gratitude to his Britannic Majesty's Government for their efforts to maintain peace in the Balkan States and appeals to His Majesty's Government to do their best to avert the war which would necessarily entail great calamities and sufferings."

At a general meeting of the Mussalmans of Serajgunj it was resolved that the Government of India be requested, through the Government of His Excellency Lord Carmichael, to press upon the British Ministry at Home the expediency of utilising Britain's high prestige in European diplomatic circles in expediting the termination of the war on terms honourable to the Ottoman Empire. Britain, as the greatest Mussalman Power, is fervently expected by her many millions of loyal Mussalman subjects in India to revive the traditions of Palmerstonian foreign policy in her relations with Turkey.

A Congregation of Amritsar Mussalmans having met at Khairuddin's Masjid under the auspices of the Young Men's Moslem Association, Amritsar, unanimously passed the following resolution after Juma prayers:—"Congregation of six thousand Mussalmans express their deep gratitude to H. I. B. Majesty's Government for their pacific efforts and earnestly trust these efforts will succeed in averting the unjust, aggressive and calamitous war with which the Balkan States are threatening Turkey."

An influential meeting of the Mohomedans of Amritsar was held on the 17th instant and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—That this meeting expresses its deep sympathy with the Turks in their present troubles and trusts that they will spare no efforts in maintaining the dignity and prestige of their country at the present critical moment and fight with the courage of their ancestors and settle the Balkan question for ever.

2. That this meeting respectfully urges the British Government which is looked upon as the greatest Mohomedan Power in the world to exert her utmost in maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and sympathises with Turkey in her present troubles.

3. That this meeting calls upon all Moslems to pray for the Victory of the Turkish arms and contribute liberally towards the fund for the War sufferers.

The Confederacy.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, September 21.

The negotiations, open and secret, carried on between the governments of the different Balkan States seem at last to have ended in an *entente cordiale*, or even in an offensive and defensive alliance between Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro. Memories of the annexation of Bosnia and the present fear that Austria seriously contemplates a descent upon Salonika in the near future has helped largely to accelerate this understanding.

The exact terms of the *entente* are not yet known, but reports emanating from various sources tend to show fairly conclusively that the principal features are:—

1. If Turkey attacks any member of the allied States the rest are obliged to come to the assistance of the attacked party; and should one of Turkey's neighbours be obliged by circumstances to move against Turkey the rest must follow.

2. The improvement of the lot of Christians who are now under Turkish rule is to be regarded in future as a cause common to all the Balkan States. Macedonia, which has been up to the present an apple of discord, must receive a separate autonomous government, with a Christian Governor, a national army, and a separate existence for herself. In the other European provinces of Turkey, where the Christians are yet under Turkish rule, a separate sphere of influence is reserved for each State; but this provision does not in any case preclude joint action on their part to help their kinsmen and each other.

3. The four States agree for the above cause to put in the field an active army 680,000 men strong, in which number the reserve army and the Landsturm are not to be considered. Bulgaria must furnish 300,000; Serbia, 200,000; Greece with Montenegro, 180,000 against the common enemy, whosoever he may be.

4. Joint diplomatic action will be undertaken by a special memorandum to ask the Great Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin to force Turkey, after a long term of thirty-six years to fulfil Article XXIII. of the Treaty under the control of the Great Powers. In case Turkey refuses or cannot be induced to grant the concessions which alone can put an end to the ferment in the Balkans, then they will overcome her by force.

Naturally, with the few data at present at our disposal, it is very difficult to judge about the correctness of the four points set out above, but the political evolutions which have taken place in the Balkans during the last month, and the manner in which the political questions have been treated and discussed by the local Press, give us the right to say that they are not very far from the mark. In any case, the tendency of the Balkan States at present is to localise the Near Eastern question as far as possible, and by so doing to make it lose a great deal of its pungency for the great European Powers.

Speech by Count Berchtold.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

COUNT Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, made an important statement at the sitting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Delegation.

Alluding to the private negotiations between representatives of Italy and Turkey, which, he declared, seemed to have materially advanced the cause of peace, Count Berchtold said that, apart from the pleasure which the conclusion of a war between an allied and a friendly Power must give them, it must be remembered that the removal of foreign complications would facilitate a settlement of the domestic crisis in Turkey. They could not hide from themselves the danger which the trouble between the Turks and the Albanians might entail for the foreign and domestic peace of Turkey.

In proposing to the Powers an exchange of views on the subject of the Balkans, Austria's chief intention was by obtaining co-operation on the part of the Powers, on the basis of peace and the *status quo* in the Balkans, to give the Porte time, and, if necessary, friendly advice, for the realization of the policy which it had begun and the establishment of ordered conditions in its European possessions. To their great satisfaction all the Cabinets agreed to the proposals, by which contact was made between the Powers and a valuable pledge was secured for the preventing in every possible

way of a violent solution of the crisis. The Russian Cabinet especially was, like themselves, most earnest in its endeavours to ensure the maintenance of peace.

It would, however, be a serious mistake to regard the dangers of the Balkan situation as averted. Speaking of the conditions in European Turkey, he hoped that statesmanlike insight and consciousness of weighty responsibility would restrain the statesmen of the neighbouring countries from following the impulse of the irresponsible elements, and trusted also that Turkey would not fail to recognise the gravity of the situation and would find a way to avoid complications. Their information justified the assumption that the present Turkish Government was diligently endeavouring to provide the necessary guarantees for the reasonable requirements of the nationalities.

The Minister declared that the belief that Count von Aehrenthal identified himself with the constitutional policy of the Committee of Union and Progress was not in accordance with facts. Austria's interests were not bound up with those of any party, but lay in the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Turkey and her internal consolidation. Honest endeavours on the part of Turkish statesmen to reconcile the legitimate claims of the different peoples of Macedonia with the exigencies of the Ottoman State would always find Austria's moral support. He added that in pursuing that policy they felt themselves strengthened by the conviction that it coincided with the opinion of their allies.

The Minister next alluded to his conferences with German statesmen, in which, he said, he had obtained fresh confirmation of the existence of harmony of views in regard to the chief objects of the two Cabinets. The exchange of views with Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg had also revealed a complete congruity of opinion, especially in regard to the conservative principles governing the policy of both allies in the Near East.

Count Berchtold added that his visit to Italy next month was in accordance with the tradition established by his predecessors, and said his recent visit to Roumania convinced him that their neighbour held true to a consistent policy inspired by a desire for the maintenance of peace.

Count Berchtold concluded:—"It will be seen from what I have said that notwithstanding the unanimity of the Cabinets of the Great Powers in their efforts to maintain peace and by no means reassuring display of sheet-lightning in the Balkans gives proof of the existence of a high degree of electrical tension in the political atmosphere, without throwing any light into the darkness of unsolved problems. Diplomacy is keeping guard to prevent threatened conflicts and stifle a possible Balkan conflagration at the outset. Geographical position places us near the area of disturbance. The great interests of the Monarchy are at stake, and only when we are armed by land and sea can we look to the future with easy minds."

Count Berchtold's statement was received with loud cheers.

The Committee.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople September 25th.

A SUMMARY of the proceedings of the recent Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress is published to-day. In addition to the protest against the dissolution of the Chamber, and the decisions relative to the participation of the Committee in elections and its transformation into an open political organization, the Congress adopted the following resolutions:—

(1) The Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress addresses prayers to the Almighty for the eternal happiness of the heroes who have given their lives in defence of the rights of the Khalifate and the Empire, salutes with brotherly admiration the gallant defenders of the Fatherland who are adding new and glorious pages to Ottoman history on the battlefields of Tripoli and Bengazi, and resolves that the real and integral maintenance of Ottoman sovereignty in the provinces of Tripoli and Bengazi shall be the guiding principle of the Party of Union and Progress.

(2) The Congress, regarding the surrender of Abdul Aziz Shawish, who had taken refuge in the centre of the Khalifate and Sultanate, as contrary to all existing laws and usage, as

violating the holy and secular traditions of the nation, and as injurious to the rights and dignity of the State, protests vigorously against his surrender.

Ouchy, September 25th.

This afternoon the Turkish and Italian delegates received me at the Beaurivage Hotel here, where the peace negotiations have been proceeding since July 12. I am requested to state that the various reports that have appeared in foreign and English newspapers with regard to the negotiations are wholly unauthorized. In Signor Ensmato's words, semi-official *pourparlers* have been proceeding quietly and uninterruptedly since the middle of July, and there has never been any deadlock, but the principal question—namely, Italy's sovereignty over the Tripolitan provinces—has not yet been settled. This once settled, peace is likely to be soon concluded, as the other questions are of quite secondary importance. Consequently the negotiations might be speedily terminated or they might continue indefinitely. As one of the Turkish delegates, Fakhr-ed-Din Bey, the Turkish Minister at Cottignone, said, "We are not pessimistic about the result."

I am asked to state that the Khedive's visit to the Beaurivage Hotel on Saturday and Sunday last was purely private and had no connexion with the negotiations.

The Balkans To-Day.

Mr. James Baker in the course of an article in the *Saturday Review* writes:—We were at Pirot in Serbia, on the Bulgarian frontier and close to the Turkish frontier: a town that is strongly fortified, and where watch is kept for agents and spies. The Serbian journals were full of the war between Italy and Turkey, and suspicious of advantage being taken by Albanians and Austrians, so one had to be careful. At this Pirot, in the heart of the Balkan district, one was at the heart of the Balkan question. The Balkan question involves the States of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Roumania, Serbia, Montenegro, Russia. It is almost wholly a question of race and religion and largely, too, an aspiration after ancient dominion possessed by these different kingdoms centuries ago. Through a great part of this Balkan district flows the Danube, and all the States involved in the Balkan question are linked with or border on this fascinating river; Bosnia and Herzegovina are lined through their Austrian connexion and Montenegro, far from the Danube, is linked with the Balkan question by race relation with the Slavs.

The Balkan States are just emerging from the centuries of fierce and corrupt Moslem rule. Mosques are still in these cities, and Oriental customs and habits of thought still cling to their people. Not fifty years have passed by since the power of the Sultan was dominant in the Balkans, and this fact must ever be remembered when the state of the towns and villages is considered; and, being remembered, the great advance in the general welfare of the people, and the developments in the cities and towns are deeply interesting and very remarkable. This town of Pirot is, as it were, an advance guard of the Slav folk against the Moslem, but it also illustrates the division of the Slavs amongst themselves, for its extensive fortress, now partly a picturesque ruin, was only a few years ago taken by the Bulgarians and the next day retaken by the Serbians after a fierce two day's bloodshed. The civilisation or culture in these towns in the Balkan States is in a transition state. Everywhere one sees the late developments of science and education being adopted, towns are being rapidly changed. But get on to the outskirts, or in the poorest quarters of these towns, and you are back in Moslem modes of life, although the mosque has disappeared.

Bucharest, the capital of Roumania, a little Brussels as it may aptly be described, is full of handsome streets, boulevards and palatial buildings. But go into the outer portions of the city, and you are in the midst of clusters of the tiniest huts, thrown together, inhabited by people raggedly picturesque. The aspiration of the Roumanians in the Balkan question is to include again Bessarabia in their kingdom, as Roumanians live there. It will be seen that each of the Balkan States has ambition for an enlarged territory. But the Roumanians have internal troubles; they have not the system of peasant proprietorship that their Slav neighbours possess, and it is only about four years ago that the peasants rose and set on fire many of the properties. From the Danube steamers all down the river these fires were seen blazing on the Roumanian side. Perhaps a town that illustrates the culture and development of Roumania more than its capital is Turn Severin a new Danube port which is young and progressive. The principal part is a very handsome oblong Grand Place, surrounded on all sides (save at the river end, where there is a garden promenade) by fine buildings and shops. At the upper end is the market-house,

and perhaps the most picturesque folk to be seen in Europe. The women's dresses are full of colour, and the needlework and embroidery upon them are artistic. The groups of women are standing or sitting about in their long white skirts with the parti-coloured broad borders and decorated sleeves and breasts, over which is the sheepskin jacket, with a brilliant-coloured apron before and behind. These groups give masses of colour and artistic poses such as can only be seen in the Near East. The description given of these peasants by a young Roumanian avocat was, "They are intelligent, but savage," and his friend standing near asked if I knew Hungary. Knowing the antipathy between the races, I did not own to any great knowledge of Hungary. "Ah, they are savages," was the exclamation. "There are three mill on Roumanians in Hungary; the rest are savages." And this word "savage," so utterly untrue of all these Balkan peoples, is hurled by the people of each State at the peoples of all the other States. At Giurgevo, in Roumania, I heard also a Bucharest lady speak of the Roumanian peasants as savages.

The code of laws of Roumania is founded on the Napoleonic code, and in the law courts it was interesting to see the peasants, some in modern dress waiting to talk with their lawyers, and the witnesses waiting to be called. I asked my avocat friend how Roumanians accounted for this Latin race, with a language printed very like Italian in Roman letters, being left here amidst the Slav races, whose language approaches the Russian and is printed with similar characters. "The Romans came here," he replied "got mixed with the Dacians and that mixed race and tongue has remained here." The school's in this small new town are large and important, and they do not neglect their history, for there is a good modern monument to Trajan; but I saw a man taking part of the stones of the ruins of Trajan's castle, that with the bridge form such interesting objects here, for building purposes.

The ambition of Bulgaria is to go back to the days of the Emperor Samuel, who early in the eleventh century had grouped the whole of the Macedonian tribes into one State. On landing in Bulgaria at first one feels in Russia; there is the same type of burly, powerful gendarme, some in serviceable dark-blue, red-faced uniform, with revolver and short sword, and others in the spotless white that is so noticeable directly one touches a Russian port. The Bulgarians have great individual freedom, and yet their Constitution was drawn up for them by a Russian Count. Their peasants are proprietors, and many are very wealthy, most well-to-do; and this year the enormous piles of sacks of produce waiting to be shipped at every halting-place of the Danube steamers told of their great harvest. Whether the increase of income will make the Bulgarian bureaucracy more aggressive remains to be proved. As one lands at such a town as Lom Palanka there are two significant signs of the evolution of the Bulgarian—the minaret speaking of the Turkish oppression, and the Russian like gendarme, active energetic, taking down the names of everyone going on and off the ship. But, as I have said, they have advanced from the Russian rule.

The old kingdom of Serbia, as it was under Dushan in the fourteenth century, included Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Sandjak of Novi Bazar and Montenegro. As an enthusiastic Serbian exclaimed, "We had it for 180 years." This was the cause of the excitement in Serbia when Austria closed her thirty years of development in the two Balkan provinces by annexing them, so cutting off Serbia from all hope of her dream being realised.

There is a practice peculiar to the Serbs in all this part of Europe that proves their nationality, say the Serbian enthusiasts, and that is the practice of "Slava", a veneration of the household gods. Penates in old days; to-day the veneration of the household saints. This is the purest proof of the Serb—nationalities. Each house adopts a saint from generation to generation, and the priest comes to the house and prayers are offered up, a special cake is made that the priest eats and boiled-corn, is eaten, much as four "trumenty" of the West of England is eaten in mid-Lent.

The Servians are intensely patriotic, and given a period of settled government their country would develop rapidly. They have reduced their illiterate population from 90 per cent. to about 60 per cent. and are building schools, gymnasiums, and girls schools in all their towns, and education is now compulsory throughout the State. In the frontier town of Pirot I went into several of their primary schools and over a well-fitted-up gymnasium but the life of the people is still quite a fifteenth-century life. Everything in a house is made by the indwellers of the house. One sees picturesque women coming into market in their long white skirts and coloured aprons and cunningly worked sheepskin jackets, with distaff and spindle busily drawing yarn as they briskly walk on with heavy loads on their backs. All clothes are not only woven, but artistically worked and dyed by their own hands. The wood and metal work in their house is all of their own handicraft and at carpet-weaving in brilliant colours and original-designs they are masters.

Persia.

News of the Week.

The Persian Cabinet's new programme expresses an intention to re-open Parliament, to link up the Caspian Sea, or a point in Azerbaijan, with the Persian Gulf, by means of a railway built with international capital, to restore order on the trade routes, and to organise an army of 28,000 men. The Government, moreover, intends to approach England and Russia for an advance of £260,000.

Yar Mohammed Khan, a celebrated Fida'i, who recently went over to Sulair-ud-Dowleh's side, has been killed, and his followers totally defeated in an encounter with the Government troops outside Kermanshah. Sulair-ud-Dowleh, who did not take part in the battle, is reported to have fled, with the Government troops in pursuit. Mukhib-uz-Sultaneh, Governor-General of Fars, was expected to reach Shiraz on the 7th instant.

The *Pioneer* learns by cable from home that the ex-Shah of Persia has come out of the retirement he sought after his return to Odessa.

According to the message received by the *Standard* from the place, Mahomed Ali is sending and receiving emissaries to and from the Royalists at Gumeshtep. The same message from Odessa says that the ex-Shah is out daily, and that he exchanged visits with the Governor.

Replying in the House of Commons to Sir John Rees, Mr. Acland said that the situation in Persia was practically unchanged. Britain had withdrawn the detachment from Isfahan, desiring to show goodwill to the Persian Government, and not to embarrass the new Governor-General of Fars. Britain had also advanced £25,000, stipulating that it be used for the southern route.

A message from Tiflis states that consequent on recent unparalleled Kurdish robberies and Fida'i excesses, the Governor of Caucasus has ordered six more battalions and some guns to Azerbaijan to protect the trade routes to Tabriz, Khof and Urumiah.

Replying to Colonel Yates in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey said that negotiations for concessions for a railway from Mohammerah to Khorramabad were still in progress.

Moslem Feeling.

The following resolution was put before the mass meeting of Hindus and Moslems held in the Federation Hall grounds Calcutta, on Oct. 7:—

That this meeting, composed of loyal Indian citizens, considers it to be its imperative duty to protest against the continued presence of Russian troops in Persia and earnestly appeals to His Majesty's Government to save that cradle of ancient culture and civilization from falling into the hands of a semi-civilized and barbarous Power, like Russia, whose recent atrocities at Tabriz have sent a thrill of horror throughout Asia, and to remove the possibility of any eventual collision between itself and the Russian Government.

The following resolution was passed at a general meeting of the Mussalmans of Serajmuj:—This meeting feels itself called upon to convey to the Government of India, through the Government of His Excellency Lord Carmichael, its respectful solicitation that a change of the attitude hitherto taken up by Sir Edward Grey in the matter of Russian intervention in Persia and Russian observance of the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention be urged on the British Ministry at Home. It is fervently hoped that the demands of the traditional military policy for the defence of India and the susceptibilities of the Indian Mussalmans, who are united by common ties of religion and culture to the Persians, will be taken into consideration in inaugurating a firmer British policy in the Middle East.

A meeting of the Mussalmans of Madras, under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, was held at Moore Pavillion on October 7th. The following resolution was carried:—That this meeting strongly protests against the continued occupation of Northern Persia by Russian troops and appeals to his Britannic Majesty's Government to insist upon the withdrawal of Russian troops and support the Persian Government in restoring the constitution and maintaining independence.

The Rangoon Moslems passed the following Resolution:—

—That this meeting strongly protests against the continued occupation of Northern Persia by Russian troops and appeals to his Britannic Majesty's Government to insist upon the withdrawal of Russian troops and support the Persian Government in restoring the constitution and maintaining independence."

The Mohamedans of Madras met on the 16th October, and passed the following resolution:—

"This meeting considers it to be its imperative duty to protest against the continued presence of Russian troops in Persia and earnestly appeals to the British Government to save that cradle of ancient culture and civilization from falling into the hands of Russia whose recent atrocities at Tabriz and Masled have sent a thrill of horror throughout Asia, and to keep its solemn pledges maintaining the independence and integrity of that ancient Empire"

The Fate of Persia.

(FROM THE "ENGLISHMAN" CORRESPONDENT.)

London, September 27.

NOTWITHSTANDING official denials, there is a strong impression that Persian affairs formed the subject of conversations between the King and Sir Edward Grey on the one hand, and Mr. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, who is now a guest at Balmoral.

The Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali contributes the following letter to yesterday's *Times* which receives the honour of large type and a place on the leader page:

Sir—Although I venture to differ from you on the question of British policy in and towards Persia, I am sure you will not refuse me the courtesy of allowing me to state my views in your columns.

You argue that the time has arrived for a revision of the Anglo-Russian Convention, and for the virtual absorption of Persia by the two great Powers, who barely five years ago solemnly undertook to maintain her independence and integrity. Though I must admit you do not postulate this latter thesis in express terms and the plea on which you base your argument is that Persia proved herself unable, if not unfit, to maintain order within her dominions, one always notices that when anything unusual or extraordinary is about to be undertaken in private or international life, a justifying plea is considered expedient or necessary.

In the matter of Persia's inability to govern herself, may I be permitted to ask the British public if a fair or honest chance has been allowed to that poor harried country, to recover from the effects of the grinding tyranny of her late ruler, or to her distracted people to prove their capacity for Government. I venture to affirm, without hesitation, that every effort on their part has been paralysed by outside action. The tribes do not know who governs them and the people themselves feel they are being crushed by a fate against which they cannot contend.

The pressure for squeezing out the national life of Persia and preventing her regeneration has been relentless, unceasing, and persistent. It is cruel, under these circumstances, to expect any country or any people to show any capacity for government. Had Persia been allowed even for five years a fair chance to govern herself, and had then failed, we would have been willing to accept the correctness, if not the justice of your argument.

What effect the partition of Persia, which you seem to suggest, would have on the minds of the vast millions of Mussalmans who acknowledge allegiance to the British Crown I will not stop to consider. You have already observed that England cannot mould her policy to accord with their sentiments, but I submit they are entitled to expect that the Empire to which they belong should extend to the people and States of their faith, the same measure of justice and protection that she is ready to accord to weaker Christian States. Surely it cannot be denied then that they are justified in hoping so much for her as the "bulwark of Islam." As a citizen of the British Empire, who glories in England's greatness, I look at the question anxiously from the point of view of India's interests, and from that point of view, I cannot help regarding your suggestion with the gravest misgivings,—I am, Sir, Yours faithfully;

AMEER ALI.

A British Policy for Persia,

TO THE EDITOR "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

Sir,—Mr. Sazonoff is at present the guest of our country. He is understood to be discussing the Persian question with our Foreign Secretary, and though it is one upon which we feel very strongly we trust that his visit may both prove agreeable to himself and be fruitful of results upon which he may look back with satisfaction.

Responsible Russian diplomacy has wavered during recent years between a forward policy in Persia, promoted in powerful Russian circles, and loyalty to engagements with England. Our own diplomacy encouraged the belief that we laid small store upon these engagements. The Russian Foreign Minister before he leaves our shores

can scarcely have failed to acquire the conviction that any policy which involves an eventual partition of Persia between Great Britain and Russia can never prove acceptable to the people of this country, who will be compelled sooner or later to resist it at all costs. Between friends victories gained by one at the expense of the convictions and necessities of the other are the certain prelude to permanent estrangement. The visit should help to dispel certain illusions among highly placed Russians as to the attitude of the British people towards the Persian question.

Apart from all obligations of honour and even of decency towards an illustrious Mahometan nation on the confines of our Indian Empire, what solution of the question other than the one which is dictated by Anglo-Russian pledges to Persia can be defended on purely practical grounds? The policy of drift in which our Government acquiesced during the 1906 Parliament, when it was wholly absorbed by great social and constitutional problems, has already reached dangerous limits. We are drifting in the direction of a coterminous frontier with Russia in Persia, and recent suggestions that we should despatch a military force into Southern Persia, to "restore order" on the southern roads, are calculated, however well meant, to hasten the intermediate stages. What will be our position when the process has been accomplished? The southern roads are situated in the so-called neutral sphere, and on that line of partition, including as it undoubtedly does most of the arteries of British trade with Persia, our future frontier would march directly with the future Russian frontier for about 1,000 miles. If, on the other hand, as the result of a choice between evils, we should decide to submit to the extension of the Russian occupation of Northern Persia into the neutral sphere we should be face to face with the extinction of British commercial interests and with the presence of Russia on the Persian Gulf. Nor should we be relieved of obligations for frontier defence. The line of partition would then follow the western limits of the so-called British sphere, enveloping the western confines of Afghanistan and proceeding through Kirman to Bander Abbas, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. It would have a length of over 500 miles, or including the unprotected portion of the Afghan frontier on the side of Persia, in the defence of which we should have to assist, of 700 miles. Of course, we might retire to our present frontier with Persia across Baluchistan. But this would expose the western flank of Afghanistan, including the important strategical position of Seistan, and would still leave us with a frontier coterminous with the future Russian frontier of over 100 miles. The alternative of setting up an independent buffer State within the limits of the neutral sphere can scarcely be presented as a practical policy.

One has only to state these various outcomes of present developments and tendencies in order to condemn them root and branch. If the price of our adhesion to the Triple Entente be submission to the enormous military burdens which the execution of any of these programmes would involve, the sooner we are free from its entangling meshes the better for us. No ententes can relieve a nation of the necessity of defending such frontiers unless it is prepared permanently to abandon its freedom of action and to pursue a purely satellite foreign policy. That, indeed, would seem to be the trap into which we are at present walking.

The policy which the Persia Committee sets up in opposition to all these perilous schemes may be stated in clear and precise terms. If the friendship of great Britain be an asset of value to France and Russia, then we hold that it is cheaply purchased at the price of loyal adhesion by Russia to the terms of the Convention of 1907, under which the British and Russian Governments undertook to respect the independence and integrity of Persia and which was described by M. Lavolski, the Russian Foreign Minister at the time, as being based on a guarantee of her integrity and independence. "Persia," said Sir E. Grey, in defending the Convention before the House of Commons, "is to have the chance of working out her own constitutional problems in her own way." She was to be free from the haunting fear of foreign intervention, and the "spheres" which were set up by the Convention must not be regarded "in the sense of the political partition of Persia." "What we have undertaken," exclaimed Mr. (now Lord) Morley in the same debate, "will be faithfully observed and carried out." This is what the Persia Committee has from the very beginning persistently demanded, but in vain.

Equally clear, we submit, is our practical programme. Persia took us at our word, solemnly given by our Government, and proceeded to "work out her own constitutional problems in her own way." Having dethroned her tyrant, Mohammed Ali Shah, and set up his youthful son in his place under the tutelage of a Regent, she restored her Parliament and called to her counsels a number of foreign administrative experts, including a man of great character and capacity in the person of Mr. Morgan Shuster. Money commenced to flow into the Persian Treasury and

new life into the administration. At once there was let loose a hailstorm of Russian ultimatums. Russian troops poured into Persia, Mr. Shuster was expelled, the Parliament scattered, and what was still left of the infant structure of reformed government was levelled to the dust. If the Persian State can at the present day be described by her enemies as a dangerous derelict, let those who planned and those who connived at her destruction be set the task of bringing her to port and assisting her crew to fit her out again.

Persia needs a loan. Her total indebtedness can scarcely exceed £10,000,000, which for a country with an area about three times as large as that of France and with a population of about ten millions can hardly be described as excessive. The sum now suggested is £5,000,000. The security offered is Persian revenues excluding the land tax, which in the opinion of M. Mornard, Mr. Shuster's Belgian successor and a nominee of Russia, are amply sufficient to secure this sum. A full statement of the financial position is in course of preparation. With the proceeds of this loan it is proposed to enlarge the gendarmerie force, which has been placed under Swedish officers and is already at work, and to provide and equip a small army with foreign instructors, commencing with a striking force of 7,000 men, which will be increased to 20,000 men as the proceeds of the land tax come in. A small but efficient army and a force of trained gendarmerie are essential to the complete restoration of order, and it will not be Persia's fault if they be not forthcoming. It will be time to introduce railways when the means for their protection are at hand. The spending of the loan should be entrusted to an official of great administrative ability, and for this purpose the Persian Government should be given the widest area of choice abroad.

It is maintained in some quarters that Persia needs a rigid autocracy. Yet it is the autocracy which has brought her to the verge of ruin by depriving her of the services of any of her sons who showed any signs of capacity and independence. That is why she now requires foreign experts in her administrative departments. To restore the old order is to perpetuate the disability. Some school for the Persian statesmen of the future is surely needed, and the Mejliss provided such a school. Moreover, it is calculated to safeguard the liberties of the nation, and it should be summoned with the least possible delay. The Russian troops, which have recently been increased to the number of about 25,000 men, should be withdrawn, or for the present reduced to a quarter of this number.

Such is the programme which the Persian Government is willing and able to execute. The claims of honour as well as the dictates of common-sense compel us either to arrive at an understanding with Russia which will permit of its execution or to say good-bye to the *entente*.—Yours, &c.,

H. F. B. LYNCH, Chairman,
E. G. BROWN, Vice Chairman,
FREDERICK WHELEN, Hon. Secretary,
the Persia Committee.

7, Chester Place, Regent's Park,
London.

Moslem University.

At a general meeting of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, the Mussalmans of Serajgunj unanimously put on record the deep sense of their disappointment at the decision of the Secretary of State for India to withhold from the proposed University at Aligarh its distinctive Moslem designation and the fundamental power of affiliation of outside colleges. They beg respectfully yet firmly to request the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India to reconsider their decision in the matter in view of the widespread Mussalman dissatisfaction.

At a mass meeting of Mohamadaus of Rangoon on October 6th presided over by Mr. Ahmed Mulla Dawood the following resolution was adopted:—

"That the Moslem University Foundation Committee be requested not to accept the Charter unless (1) the University be permitted to be called the Moslem University and (2) the right of affiliation be granted; and that necessary representation be made on the subject to His Majesty's Secretary of State to reconsider his decision on the above subject and also his decision that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor of the University, and that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor should be exercised by the Governor-General in Council."

It was further resolved that the Moslem University Foundation Committee be requested to ascertain definitely from Government to what portion of the draft constitution it objects so that no further objections be raised at a later stage.

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The Week.

Home Rule.

THE first day of the Home Rule debate was peaceful in the extreme. The guillotine fell at the appointed hour without incident. The House of Commons has rejected the Unionist amendment to the Home Rule Bill under the Imperial Government, by 273 votes to 200. Mr. Samuel dwelt on the loss of the Irish Post Office and asked Unionists to tell the British tax-payer the loss without Home Rule would increase five-fold during the next 20 years. Mr. Bonar Law said that if Ireland chose to be a separate colony, the Unionist Government's first duty would be to its own people and to Ireland afterwards.

Suffragetteism.

At a suffragette demonstration at the Albert Hall last night Mrs. Pankhurst, referring to Mr. and Mrs. Pethwick Lawrence, said that the movement would be strengthened now that they were free to work

as they thought best. She urged the audience to break windows and attack the sacred idol of property. In conclusion she said: "I invite you to rebellion."

Mr. Roosevelt.

MR. ROOSEVELT sat on the operating table taking politics to the surgeons while they were searching for the bullet, which was found in the wall of the chest. The wound was not serious and Mr. Roosevelt left the hospital at 11-30, walking without assistance. He said he was feeling fine. He leaves for Chicago at midnight.

Mr. Roosevelt's assailant was a Bavarian saloon-keeper named Schrank, who is supposed to be crazy. He confesses to having followed Mr. Roosevelt for weeks watching for an opportunity to kill him. Mr. Roosevelt had left his hotel and was about to enter his motor car when Schrank walked up and pointed a 38 calibre revolver at the Colonel's chest and fired. The bullet pierced his heavy army overcoat, passed through the manuscript speech in the pocket and entered the left breast, embedding itself in the muscular tissue. Mr. Roosevelt's secretary seized Schrank and threw him to the ground. The crowd obeyed Mr. Roosevelt, who was quite calm, or Schrank would have been lynched. Mr. Roosevelt then entered the car and urged his companions to hurry to the meeting or they would be late. He said on the way that he was not hurt, but the secretary pointed to the hole in his overcoat. Mr. Roosevelt replied that the wound was not serious and insisted, despite the doctor's orders, upon addressing the meeting. Mr. Roosevelt strode on to the platform and the audience, who had no knowledge of the attempt cheered him wildly. The chairman then advanced and asked the audience to accept what he was about to tell them calmly. He said that the Colonel had been shot, and was wounded. The crowd raised a cry of horror and astonishment, and Mr. Roosevelt then asked to be excused from making a long speech. He would do the best he could. "There is a bullet in my body, but I am not badly hurt. I do not care a rap about being shot. It would take more than that to kill the Bull Moose." "Fortunately" Mr. Roosevelt went on, "I had the manuscript in my pocket." He showed the audience the riddled paper. "I want to take advantage of the incident to give a solemn warning to Americans that I have too many important things to think of to feel concern about my own death. I am heart and soul in the Progressive cause for the betterment of mankind, and I am telling the truth when I say I am not thinking of my own success." Then, describing the assailant as a coward, Mr. Roosevelt showed his bloodstained shirt to the audience. He attributed the attempt to the effect of the venom and mendacity of Opposition papers.

It has been decided not to probe for the bullet in Mr. Roosevelt's body at present. It grazed the liver and lungs and Mr. Roosevelt's marvellous escape was largely due to his magnificent physical condition. An antitoxin for tetanus has been injected. It has been ascertained that the bullet fractured one of Mr. Roosevelt's ribs.

Mr. Roosevelt is convalescent. He says he is as lively as a bulldog.

Dr. Woodrow Wilson and President Taft have cancelled all speaking engagements until Mr. Roosevelt has recovered.

China.

Russia has recognised the independence of North Mongolia. A special Russian Envoy, M. Korostovetz, communicated the decision at Urga. The *Noroya Vremya* graphically describes the scene, which was attended by unprecedented pomp.

M. Korostovetz made his announcement at Urga on the 11th instant. He pointed out the necessity of defining Mongolia's relations with China and Russia, and said he had been entrusted with the mission of discussing these relations, also the rights of Russian subjects and the trade of Mongolia.

At a meeting of the National Assembly in Peking recently, affairs in Manchuria, Mongolia and Tibet formed the topic of discussion. In Manchuria it was stated Russia and Japan had increased their troops, and in Mongolia Russia had advanced a loan of two millions.

Afghanistan.

A frontier correspondent states that some of the present troubles in the Khost Valley and districts adjoining is due to religious excitement. Some time ago Syed Abdul Latif of Gardiz was executed by order of the Kabul Durbar for proclaiming truths of the Kadiani doctrines. A number of his disciples have now become active, and are engaged in widespread preaching incidentally advising the people not to pay reverence to the Amir. The Khostwals and others seem to have accepted the suggestion as to mundane affairs and in Khost particularly there is now but little regard paid to the authority of the Afghan officials. The matter has been reported to Kabul for orders and it is said to have caused some anxiety there.

A frontier correspondent states that Mullah Said Ambar addressed a large meeting of the Afridi and Orakzai tribesmen at Bagh in Tirah on the 11th October. He repeated some of his old stories as to dangers which threatened the tribes from the Indian Border, but his discourse was mainly directed against the headmen suspected of furnishing news to British authorities and of maintaining friendly relations with the latter. He urged that, on proof of this kind of behaviour, all such Maliks should be expelled from the tribal country. The meeting is said to have endorsed his views, but it could only have been a mere pretence as Afridis particularly rely greatly upon allowances granted by Government and a majority of their headmen willingly journey to Peshawar when Jirgahs are summoned to assemble. They are not likely to listen to the fanatical appeals of the old Mullah.

It is reported at Peshawar that caravans from Kabul carrying rifles and ammunition recently reached the Shinwari country. Traders would have no difficulty in disposing of cartridges which were presumably a part of the consignment obtained from Muscat via the Perso-Baluchistan route months ago.

An advanced party of the Amir's servants reached Jellalabad last week with motor lorries carrying furniture etc. The Amir will spend the winter there as usual.

News which reaches from Kabul is that Sardar Nasrullah Khan, whose health has been failing, will leave for Herat shortly. He will take a strong escort of cavalry with him. Sardar Inayatullah Khan, heir-apparent, will act as Naib-us-Sultana to the Amir during his uncle's absence.

Mr. Montagu.

Mr. Montagu, Under-Secretary of State for India, his brother, and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson arrived in Bombay by the P. and O. mail steamer Maloja on the morning of the 18th instant. Sir Fleetwood Wilson left for Simla at once, and Mr. Montagu and his brother followed by the night mail.

The Hindu Conference.

The Hindu Conference met at Delhi and passed many resolutions on public questions. A resolution on the scanty representation of Hindus in the Provincial and Imperial Councils was discussed, the speakers emphasising the absence of a Hindu representative from the Punjab in the Imperial Council, and the fact that a majority of Municipality and Board members were nominated. Other resolutions passed were on the desirability of raising the Chief Court, Punjab, to the High Court status, and the extension of its jurisdiction to the Frontier Province; repeal of the Punjab Land Alienation Act; and amendment of the Pre-emption Act. A resolution welcomed the new Pre-emption Bill, and other resolutions passed were on (1) the raising of the depressed classes, on which the speakers were Pundit Rambhaja Goswami, Radhakrishnan and Rai Sahib Murlidhar, the last named speaker being enthusiastically cheered, and (2) the assessment of income-tax with special reference to Hindus, the speakers complaining that the books of Hindu bankers and traders are disbelieved by the authorities. A resolution on the need of an All-India Association, to be styled Bharat Hindu Sabha was moved and it was unanimously resolved that a provisional committee, consisting of Mr. Shadilal, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, the Hon.

Sheshagiri Iyer, Sir Damodar Thackersey, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, the Hon. Sachchidananda Sinha, and other gentlemen be formed to carry out this object. Pundit Malaviya, who could not come to the Conference, though he expressed entire sympathy, was made a member of the Committee. Another resolution urged the starting of a trilingual Hindu organ at Delhi. A number of other resolutions were also passed regarding the moral education of Sadhus, technical and female education, grievances of Hindus with regard to Government service, with special reference to the Punjab police service, and protection of frontier Hindus from raids. Some resolutions had to be dropped for want of time.

Moslem Education.

A MOHAMEDAN Educational Conference was held at Vaniyambadi, the important Moslem centre in North Arcot district. The Conference discussed several important questions affecting the progress of primary and secondary education of the Mohamedans. The Conference urged provision for religious education in local and Municipal and other aided schools and for the provisions of separate allotments for Mohamedan education in the budget of local bodies. The Hon. Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim later on distributed prizes to the pupils of the Madrasa-i-Islamia, Vaniyambadi, and took occasion to deliver a stirring exhortation to his co-religionist to make every sacrifice they could to provide suitable education for their children as their progress as a community depended so largely on their educational advancement. The Madrasa has been in existence for ten years and is supported entirely by the Moslem community of Vaniyambadi. They have raised and spent on the institution over a lakh of rupees up to date, subscription in individual cases amounting to twenty and thirty thousand rupees. In response to an appeal made at the anniversary meeting Rs. 16,000 were collected on the spot amid scenes of wild enthusiasm, a Goshu lady giving away property worth Rs. 10,000 to the school.

The New Delhi.

The annual report of the Consulting Architect to the Government of India for the past year has been issued. In the preface Mr. Bagg, referring to the new capital, says that the architecture of New Delhi should be in keeping with the old in so far as that is possible, while also in keeping with modern official life. He adds:—"To produce such a result we shall require the best and most sympathetic efforts on the part of architects and the assistance of the best draftsmen and craftsmen the country produces."

The *Times*, in an article, expresses its surprise that no announcement has yet been made of the Government of India's plans in regard to Delhi. The paper emphasises the necessity of avoiding a wrong choice of method at the inception which would ruin one of the greatest architectural opportunities in history. The proper course is the plain task of combining all the features required into a single, well-planned whole, and this can only be accomplished by one controlling brain if New Delhi is to embody the subtle union of utility and beauty which is the secret of true style. The *Times* cites the example of Wren, who, eluding Royal and other advisers, constructed St. Paul's from his own design. The same consideration, the journal adds, must apply to the style of Delhi, which must be our own, though it must obviously be Indian too, in the sense of suiting Indian light and climate and the needs of Anglo-Indian life.

The full staff of Messrs. Brock's experts is proceeding to India for a colossal firework display at Delhi on December 28rd.

A meeting of the Public Reception Committee held at the Town Hall, Delhi, on the 16th instant decided to decorate and illuminate the whole city on 28rd December and present the Viceroy with an address of welcome on behalf of the citizens. The route to be taken by the procession has been divided in sections in charge of the members of the Reception Committee for exhibition, decoration and lighting. The Illumination Committee will present Their Excellencies with an address at the railway station, after which Their Excellencies will mount elephants and proceed to the fort via Queen's Gardens, Town Hall, Chandni Chowk, Delhi Gate, Fort, and hold a durbar in the fort. Thereafter the State Entry is along the same route as Their Majesties took during the last durbar. There will be fireworks at the Jum'a Masjid, after which the Reception Committee will present an address. The Municipality will erect stands along the processional route.

The Haj.

At a mass meeting of the Mohamedans of Rangoon the following resolutions were unanimously passed: "That this meeting earnestly advises intending pilgrims from India to the Hedjaz to make sufficient provision for their expenses and the return journey as is directed by the principles of Islam, so that none of them may be stranded at Jeddah without funds for their return journey. That this meeting further submits to the Government

to be pleased to fix both a maximum and a minimum rate for steamers sailing from the ports of India to Jeddah during the pilgrim season."

"Pan-Islamism".

IN REPLY to a question by Sir John Rees in the House of Commons, suggesting that Japan be requested in a friendly manner to suppress seditious publications of the "Islamic Fraternity," which were being circulated in India, Mr. Achund said that Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Ambassador, had been instructed to bring the facts to the notice of the Japanese Government, but as the introduction of such literature into India was prohibited, it was considered unnecessary to present a request for its suppression.

Bombay Moslem League.

THE Honorary Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, after prolonged individual and collective discussions with the leaders of Bombay Mussulmans, succeeded in arranging for the establishment of a Bombay City Moslem League.

Jum'a Prayers.

THE Mohamedan Literary Society of Nellore passed a resolution requesting the Moslem League of Madras to make a representation to the Government of India in the matter of allowing Mohamedans serving under Government and local bodies sufficient time between 12-30 and 2-30 p. m. on Fridays to perform their Jum'a prayers.

The Shia Conference.

THE sixth session of the All-India Shia Conference took place at Patna under the presidency of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur on the 18th October. His Highness was received most enthusiastically. In his presidential address he laid much stress on free education, technical and secular, and pointed out that this was the only conference held under the leadership of the Ulama, hence the increased interest which he took in its work. He felt the need of a boarding house, an orphanage, and an Islamic Mission and said that the Sunnis and Shias ought to work together. He held that *Waqf* properties could be very useful if properly managed. His Highness concluded his speech with a hearty wish for union among the Mussalmans and for the success of the Conference. Maulvi Wazir Hassan, Wakil of Chapra, moved that an emphatic protest be humbly presented to the Government of India against the barbarous sacrilege and atrocities perpetrated by the Russians in the Holy Mashed of Imam Reza and the mosque of Gaulier Shad. The President assured the audience that the Government was trying to take proper steps in the matter. The resolution was unanimously passed. The second resolution for the construction of the central boarding house at Lucknow was passed and an appeal from Maulvi Maqbul Ahmed Sahib for funds resulted in some subscriptions being raised on the spot, gold chains and caps being among the contributions. His Highness has instructed his Chief Secretary to pay up his own contribution also.

The second sitting of the All-India Shia Conference was held on the 19th instant. H. H. the Nawab of Rampur having returned to his State, Maulana Najmul Hasan Sahib took the chair; but he retired as he was indisposed, leaving Haji Syed Altaf Nawab of Patna in the chair.

The Secretary of the Conference read the Annual Report in continuation of which he read his pamphlet embodying the alleged grievances of the Shia students in the Aligarh College. Mr. Ali Azhar of Fyzabad rose to controvert the statements of the Secretary but the audience stopped him. The audience were excited but tranquillity was restored by Maulvi Maqbul Ahmed's declaring that the attention of H. H. the Nawab of Rampur had been drawn to the facts and he had discussed the matter with Nawab Mohammed Ishaq Khan, the Hony. Secretary of Aligarh College, who, he said, had promised to remove the grievances.

The Shia Conference held its third sitting in the afternoon of the 19th instant. Professor Mirza Hadi, Secretary of Dar-ul-Tarjuma read his report and impressed on the Conference the necessity of publishing religious books and creating a high literature in the Urdu language. The following resolutions were then adopted:—That this Conference offers its humble and respectful congratulations to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, George the Fifth, on his happy and auspicious Coronation held lately in Delhi; that this Conference humbly congratulates H. E. Salar Jung the Third on his duly receiving the robe of Ministership from His Highness the Nizam, and to Imadul Mulk Syed Hussain Belgrami C. S. I. on his appointment as Moinulmoham. The third proposal was for an orphanage, but the meeting dispersed. The proposal being in discussion subscriptions were in the meantime announced and paid on the spot.

The fourth and fifth sittings of the Shia Conference were held on 20th instant. The proceedings began with a recitation from the Holy Quran.

Maulvi Maqbul Ahmed took up the orphanage question and, after discussion, a resolution was adopted urging the establishment of a Shia orphanage. A resolution was passed mourning the death of Siqatul Islam and condoling with his widow and orphans. The Secretary of the Endowment Department of the Conference read his report dwelling upon the nature and the difficulty of his work. After some discussion on the report, the following resolution was adopted:— "In order to complete the list of the endowed property and for its proper management the Secretary of the Endowment Department should appoint his assistants in each and every district and the members from different districts may offer their services."

The following resolution, proposed by Prince Ghulam Mahomed and seconded by Hakim Syed Farman Ali, was also passed:—"This Conference resolves that the Governments of Bengal and Madras be memorialised to direct their educational authorities to drop the Urdu publications 'Almanun' and 'Alfarnq' from their curricula as they contain passages opposed to the Shia doctrines and offensive to them."

Other resolutions were:—"That in the Province of Bihar and Orissa and in the Central Provinces no holiday is allowed for Chehlum which is a sacred day for the Mohamedans. Therefore the Government of these Provinces as well as the High Court of Judicature, Calcutta, should be moved to grant a general holiday on the day." "That this Conference draws the notice of every provident Shia to the necessity of giving at least one poor Shia child education, whether religious or secular, literary or technical, for which he thought the child fit, the discretion lying with the patron. (b) That a register be kept of such patrons and students in the Conference office or with a special secretary for the department and a six monthly report be obtained of them and read at the annual meeting. (c) Those who get such help shall be bound to obey the Conference to repay this moral obligation in whatever way it might be pleased to dictate." The Secretary of the Paisa Fund read his annual report. Medals were awarded to Syed Ghulam Haider of Aliahabad, Mohamed Ali of Jannpur and two others for their good work for the Fund.

Nawab Muzaffer Ali Khan, on behalf of the visitors, thanked the people of Patna. Maulvi Farman Ali apologised to the guests for any shortcomings of the hosts and expressed his thanks to the non-Shias who had assisted them. The proceedings ended with a farewell poem by Sail who was presented with a gold medal by Nawab Akbar Ali Khan for his poem.



The McCormick Case.

THE hearing of the defamation case against Mr. C. Arnold, Editor and Proprietor of the *Burma Critic*, at the instance of Mr. G. P. Andrew, Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate, Mergui, was resumed on the 8th October at the special Session of the Chief Court of Lower Burma before Sir Charles Fox (Chief Judge) and a jury. Mr. G. Rutledge, Government Advocate, practically took up the whole day in reading to the jury police diaries, record of statements made to police by the various witnesses, and proceedings at the enquiry before Mr. Andrew, District Magistrate, into the case against Captain McCormick. At close upon 4 o'clock the complainant's examination was concluded, and the cross-examination by Mr. C. Hamlyn for the defence commenced. This had not concluded at the rising of the Court for the day. In course of cross-examination the complainant said that his conduct in the enquiry of the case against McCormick was perfectly legal.

Mr. Hamlyn: And the embodiment of magisterial rectitude.

Complainant: Need I answer that?

Judge: I think that is unnecessarily insulting.

Mr. Hamlyn: Then this article is a tissue of falsehoods?

Complainant: Yes.

Mr. Hamlyn: Are you still of that opinion?

Complainant: Of course, I am.

The complainant asked why should he (Andrew) communicate with Arnold stating he had sullied his character and that he should do his best to make amends. He thought the matter was too serious and he took counsel's opinion on the articles and finally took action against the accused.

On the 10th instant, the cross-examination by Mr. Hamlyn of Mr. G. P. Andrew occupied the whole day. The complainant was examined on various police diaries in the inquiry before Mr. Finnie, D. S. P.; then on the proceedings in the McCormick trial before Mr. A. W. Buchanan, Subdivisional Magistrate, Victoria Point; and finally on the evidence recorded by Mr. Andrew himself in the McCormick case. The cross-examination was searching and elicited certain irregularities in the trial of McCormick. A great part of it was directed to showing

that Mr. Andrew was on terms of intimacy with Mr. McCormick, whereas Mr. Andrew stated that he was only an acquaintance of his. In the opinion of the witness it was Mahomed Din, a cultivator, aged seventy-five (who had been on bad terms with Mr. McCormick in connection with the latter's rubber nurseries) who had instigated the girl's mother to bring the case against Mr. McCormick. Witness did not suggest that Mahomed Din had actually anything to do with the abduction case. Mr. Buchanan was on unfriendly terms with Mr. McCormick.

Did McCormick suggest to you that you should get Buchanan transferred?—Nonsense. McCormick made no such suggestion.

Didn't you say this in the Lower Court: "It is not true that he tried to get Buchanan in trouble. He never pretended to like Buchanan for at least one year before he was transferred, and may have gone so far as to say 'Why do you not send a European or an E. A. C. down here?'"—Yes.

You didn't resent that?—Why should I? What is there to resent about.

Was that not an impertinent remark both to you and to Buchanan?—Certainly not. It meant that when Buchanan left he wanted that the new man should be either a European or E. A. C.

I suggest to you it was impertinence on his part to make a suggestion as to what your duties were?—It is no suggestion of what my duties were.

What was his reason for mentioning that at all?—Because he did not like Buchanan.

He was trying to get Buchanan out of Victoria Point?—No. If Buchanan's transfer has any relevance at all here I should like to say that it was largely his own desire to be transferred.

Complainant, proceeding, gave three instances in which he had visited Mr. McCormick. After the trial of Mr. McCormick he visited the witness once. He invited Mr. McCormick for dinner because he considered he had been the victim of an infamous conspiracy, and he did not mind showing him that he thought so. The girl's mother and relatives purported to challenge his fidelity in the case against Mr. McCormick, and so they petitioned the Commissioner to transfer the case. Witness had a clear intimation that Mahomed Din did not want him, for his own reasons, to try the case. Witness filed a petition and ignored it. The Commissioner forwarded the petition confidentially to him for disposal, and he disposed of it by filing it. The petitioners were not informed by the witness what orders had been passed on the petition. He did not adjourn the case because no application was put before him. His object in ignoring the petition was not to keep the case in his own hands. He doubted the genuineness of the petition and thought it was inspired by Mahomed Din. Witness did not consider it necessary to examine Dr. Evers, Civil Surgeon, as he was satisfied upon the question at issue.

Witness was taken through various depositions recorded by him in the McCormick trial. He called Mr. Clarke, assistant to Mr. McCormick, in the interests of the inquiry. Witness's clerk wrote him down as a witness for the prosecution, but as a matter of fact he was a witness for the defence. Clarke rebutted the evidence of Fatima (the girl's mother) and of the girl, and practically, with other evidence, put the prosecution out of Court. Mr. Bone was also a witness for the defence, and Se. Mc. Ye was also put down as a witness for the prosecution when she was for the defence. This was also due to his clerk. Witness did not think it necessary to place on record as an exhibit the deed of the adoption of the girl to Mr. McCormick because it was not important. He knew the girl's mother said, when she went to claim the child, that Mr. McCormick smeared her jacket with paint. He did not think it necessary to get that important piece of evidence on the record, because it did not prove her statement at all if the jacket had that stain.

The hearing was resumed on the 11th instant at the Chief Court Special Sessions, before the Chief Judge and a jury, of the defamation case against Mr. U. Arnold. The cross-examination of Mr. Andrew was concluded, and Captain A. McLean Finnie was examined. He deposed to having met Mr. McCormick five times in all during the time he had been at Victoria Point. In cross-examination by Mr. Hamlyn, the witness denied that he was an intimate friend of Mr. McCormick, and stated emphatically that he was only an acquaintance of his. Further cross-examination was directed to showing that Mr. Buchanan's procedure was correct, and that there was no prima facie against McCormick. The hearing was adjourned to October 15th.

On resumption of the case on the 15th instant, Captain Finnie was further cross-examined by Mr. Hamlyn for the defence, with the object of proving that a conspiracy existed between Mr. Andrew and witness with the object of screening Mr. McCormick from punishment. The Judge had repeatedly to warn the counsel to confine himself to relevant matters and not to irrelevant questions as he had intimated to counsel, and if he did not obey him at the opening he would stop witness's cross-examination.

Mr. Hamlyn every time submitted that his questions were relevant, and finally submitted that he would try his hardest to get in his evidence. His Honour had ruled him out many times and he felt it very strongly. But since His Honour had brought it, now to a climax he would endeavour to avoid such questions still believing he was within his legal rights, and he thought the questions admissible. With this witness's cross-examination the Government Advocate closed his case.

Accused said in reply to the court he would make no statement but leave his case to his counsel.

Mr. Hamlyn's junior, Mr. Campagnac then opened the case for the defence in a lengthy speech which occupied the better part of the day. He opened by asking the jury not to consider what they had heard outside, but only to weigh the evidence given in this court. What the consequences would be to Mr. Andrew or Mr. Arnold must not weigh with them. Counsel relied on the second and ninth exceptions to section 499 I. P. Code, that the articles were written in good faith and for the public good. He went on to outline what the witnesses of the defence would speak to, and commented on the evidence for the prosecution. The press had always been the champion of the people's cause in the past, is at the present time, and he hoped would always be in the future. Mr. Arnold had no animus against Mr. Andrew, who had told them that he did not know who Mr. Arnold was until he saw him in the Magistrate's court. He had no spite or *zid*, so he did not write the articles with the object of harming Mr. Andrew. He wrote them because as editor of the *Critic* he thought it his duty to bring before the public the miscarriage of justice at Victoria Point. Finding his efforts with the Burma Government to enquire into the matter to be futile he took the extreme step of publishing the articles. Counsel commented on the absence of the prosecution witnesses, who, if Mr. Andrew had a grievance, would give testimony in support of him. The prosecution had lamentably failed in their duty in calling all the witnesses who could throw light on the prosecution, such as Mr. A. W. Buchanan, Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Mr. Dawson, Police Prosecutor, and Inspector Sherard who held the enquiry. The reason why they were not called was because the prosecution knew the mystery which shrouded Mr. McCormick's trial would be solved, and they were on that account frightened to call them. Counsel asked the jury to say on the evidence he would adduce there was a conspiracy between Mr. Andrew and Mr. Finnie to shield Mr. McCormick from the just consequences of his acts. If Mr. Andrew were an honourable man he would have sent the case up to another magistrate to try, and would not have tried it himself. Counsel, in conclusion, said that from the admissions they had from Messrs. Andrew and Finnie they could not come to the conclusion that Mr. Arnold had written anything without due care and attention. This prosecution counsel might call a persecution. It was made for Mr. Arnold's ruin. He submitted that it would not be his ruin but his vindication, and the public would thank him for having taken up the cudgels on their behalf, and for seeing that there was no miscarriage of justice in a case in which a European was accused and Malays complainants. Mr. Arnold spoke boldly and carelessly and there would be no mistake in what he meant. He left the case in their hands knowing as he did that they would do their duty to themselves and to their country.

On the hearing of the case being resumed on the 17th instant before the Chief Judge and jury, Mohamed Din, formerly in Government service as headman in village Victoria Point was called to prove that he had given information to Mr. Buchanan, Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Victoria Point, of the McCormick case which had been brought to his notice by the girl's mother; the fact that the public were not allowed to enter Mr. Andrew's court while he was holding the enquiry; that Mr. Buchanan was not inside the court as stated by Mr. Andrew; and that the reason for witness (who was alleged to be at the bottom of Mr. McCormick's case) taking such interest was because the child's mother, a poor Malay who had lost her husband, had asked him and the villagers to assist her.

With this evidence the case for the defence closed. The report of Dr. Evers which was put in showed that by his examination of the girl she could not have lived an immoral life as alleged by Mr. McCormick.

Mr. Hamlyn addressed the jury the greater part of the day. He made an eloquent speech on behalf of his client. He took a survey of the facts and commented on the evidence for the prosecution. Dealing with Mr. McCormick's explanation he said there was not the slightest doubt that he took advantage of his acquaintance with the officials at Victoria Point and Manipal in every way, and the evidence showed that he told the two witnesses that he had influence, and did succeed in getting the officials transferred who did not bend to his fancy, and he tried the same trick in regard to Mr. Buchanan. The reason given by McCormick for taking the girl to cure her of the disease which was a foul and wicked invention on his part to allege that the girl had been possessed by her mother to commit. Counsel then stated

it as a diabolical insinuation to ruin a girl for the rest of her life. Mr. McCormick's statement that he had purchased the girl for Rs. 80, no court of justice would accept, for slavery was abandoned years ago. Dealing next with Mohamed Din, who had been traduced by the prosecution as a reprobate for doing an act of Christian charity in going to the assistance of the girl's mother at a time of trouble, counsel pointed out that the witness had nothing to do with the abduction of the girl by McCormick, and he came on the scene only after the death of the child's father in June 1911. Counsel asked the jury to dismiss the suggestion as a wicked attempt to blacken Mr. Buchanan's character that Mr. Buchanan had conspired with Mohamed Din to trump up the case against Mr. McCormick.

After a protracted hearing, occupying eleven sittings, the case concluded on the 19th instant at the special sessions of the Chief Court before Sir Charles Fox and a jury. Mr. Arnold was found unanimously guilty, and he was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment.

The charge to the jury by the Chief Judge was directed against the defence. In the course of his summing up, occupying practically the whole day, Sir Charles Fox explained the law of defamation at great length, quoting several extracts from Odgers on "Libel and Slander," and then dealt with the evidence. There could be no question that the writer of the article knew that the imputation he made would lower the reputation and character of Mr. Andrew in the mind of anyone who read the papers in which they appeared. His Honour also explained what was meant by comment or expression of opinion to give the jury an idea of what the limits of a writer in the press were, and what he had lawfully to do. His Honour in dealing with the evidence pointed out the different statements made by the girl and also by Dawlet Ram, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Victoria Point. As to Mr. Buchanan, His Honour thought he must have been in a disturbed state of nervous apprehension throughout the whole matter to believe that everybody down at Victoria Point was trying to hush up the case against Mr. McCormick. To believe that Mr. McCormick committed rape on the child they would have to believe the witnesses for the prosecution, and was there evidence in support of that charge? With regard to Dr. Ever's testimony it was quite in accordance with law. With regard to the allegation that the case was being heard "in camera" no independent person in the crowd who wished to get admission to the Court was called in support of that charge. As to the question of intimacy between McCormick and Andrew, if the jury were satisfied there was not a miscarriage of justice in that case and that the charge of rape was false and of abduction unsustainable, that question was really of no importance. As regards the charge of conspiracy between Andrew and Finnie to shield McCormick from punishment, had any justification been shown for the statement? Where was the justification for the allegation that Mr. Andrew had illegally granted bail? Where was the justification for the allegation that Mr. Andrew conducted the enquiry in such a way that it was a judicial farce? Could anyone say Mr. Andrew had not tried to elicit the truth? Where was the justification for saying that every rule and regulation was twisted and strained in Mr. McCormick's favour? How could any writer who used reasonable care have made such a statement as that? They would have to consider whether such language without justification came within the right to discuss fairly and bona fide the administration of Justice, and was evidence of truth. If they were satisfied that Mr. Arnold did not overstep the boundaries of the law explained to them, then they must acquit him. If they found he had not exercised that due care and attention expected of him before committing himself to paper in the way he did, it was their bounden duty to find him guilty.

After an absence of twenty-five minutes the jury brought in a unanimous verdict of guilty.

Mr. Hamlyn on behalf of the accused said that His Honour had ruled at the beginning of the case certain points to be irrelevant to this trial, and he submitted respectfully that certain of those points had arisen in His Honour's mind which amounted to misdirection. He would specifically point out that His Honour only dealt with the prosecution evidence in charging the jury, and omitted to point out any circumstances in favour of Mr. Arnold. His Honour did not direct the jury that if there was a doubt Mr. Arnold was entitled to the benefit of it. Counsel asked the Court to suspend further action in the matter by allowing him to raise those points in a competent Court.

The Judge said he had no doubt in his mind as to the law. Accused was found guilty by the unanimous verdict of the jury, and the sentence he passed upon him was one year's simple imprisonment.

Mr. O. Arnold's counsel have applied for a copy of Sir Charles Fox's charge to the jury in the Andrew v. Arnold defamation case, with a view to getting a certificate from the Government Advocate to place the case before a Full Bench of the Chief Court, and in the event of his refusal to certify to take it up before the Privy Council. A Committee of forty persons in Rangoon has been formed to take steps in the interests of Mr. Arnold and a public meeting is announced for Saturday the 26th instant, to raise funds to facilitate further action on his behalf.

TETE À TETE



The best form that the sympathy of the Indian Moslems can take is, as we said in our last, a united and prompt effort to organise and equip a medical mission for service as field hospital with the Turkish army. We have in this connection

Red Crescent Mission For Turkey.

received an important communication from Dr. M. A. Ansari which we are sure will engage the earnest attention of our Moslem readers and the Moslem public at large. Dr. Ansari says:—May I claim the courtesy of your columns to express my views on the Indian Red Crescent Medical Mission? The Turk has been fighting ever since he established his Empire on the shores of the Bosphorus, and has so far survived the deadliest of struggles; yet never before in the annals of the Ottoman Empire had he to face a situation so critical in nature, so difficult to handle, and so dangerous in consequences as he has now before him. It is perfectly obvious that the very existence of the Turkish nation depends upon the issue of this war. This is going to be a war to the knife, for it is clear that no quarter shall be asked or given. We can depend upon the Turk to hold his own to the last. But the suffering caused by this desperate fight for his faith, honour and life can only be imagined if we bear in mind two things. Firstly, the medical service in the Turkish army has been very recently organised and as such will be unable to cope with the requirements of such a deadly war. Secondly, Turkey's foes are already receiving, on a very large scale, medical aid apart from other help from all parts of Europe; and the poor Turk is left entirely to his own limited resources. What we can do to lighten his burden is to provide an efficient field-hospital where a fair number of the sick and wounded can be accommodated. It would certainly involve considerable sacrifice both in money and men. As things are moving fast in Turkey, we have absolutely no time to lose; and if we are not prompt enough in collecting the necessary funds and sending out the Mission by the middle of November, we can not hope to be of any service to our fellow Moslems in the Balkans. The mission should consist of 6 to 8 fully qualified medical men preferably trained in England, and one hundred male nurses who will have to undergo a short course of training in general nursing, ambulance and field work. It is aimed that the field hospital should be provided with all the necessary instruments, appliances, drugs and other accessories so that when the Mission arrives in Turkey, it should be fully equipped and ready to be sent to the field of action. For this scheme at least a sum of two lakhs will be necessary. It remains for the Moslem public to put forth their best efforts and subscribe liberally towards the Red Crescent Medical Mission in order to accomplish the scheme." Dr. Ansari states his plan with sufficient lucidity and shows the nature and magnitude of the task. The matter is, as he truly observes, very urgent and any undue delay in fitting out the Mission might render the whole undertaking practically valueless and futile. Now it rests with the Mussalmans to give proof of their practical energy and subscribe the necessary funds in time. We have off and on heard of proposals about the Indian Moslems subscribing amongst themselves the cost of a dreadnaught for the Ottoman navy. That is out of the question as long as the war lasts. Will the Indian Mussalmans fail to carry out a much more modest scheme, infinitely less costly, infinitely more urgent, a scheme that should intimately appeal to the deepest feelings of their humanity and their faith? Though the excitement amongst the Mussalmans appears to be at fever-heat just now, we confess we can believe them to be capable of sustained practical energy only when a Red Crescent Medical Mission is actually on its way to Turkey. We have been receiving numerous letters from earnest Moslems from every part of India expressing their readiness to offer their services. All these offers are undoubtedly genuine and sincere and we greatly admire the spirit that has prompted them. But, as we stated in our last, only such

men can go with the Medical Mission who are able to pay their own expenses. In the absence of large funds, it is inevitable that it should be so. Are there not enough Mussalmans in this country fit for service with a field hospital who can pay for their passage out of their own pockets? Needless to say, the nature and extent of the response within the next week or so will determine the fate of the proposed Mission.

HUSAIN HILIMI PASHA, President of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, has sent the following cablegram to the Editor of the *Watan* :—

An Appeal to Indian Moslems.

Bulgaria, Servia, Greece and Montenegro, with the perfidious intention of putting out the salutary lights of the Crescent and invading our possessions in the Balkan Peninsula, are going to declare war against Turkey now that Italy's barbarous attack is not yet repulsed. Seeing the present assault of the coalition most dangerous of all until now, though sure to be crushed, our Society deems it necessary to immediately establish hospitals in scenes of war for our wounded *Mujahids*, whose hearts already beat with joy even to think of God's holy promises. To face enormous expenses—all our funds consist in the benevolent contributions of our fellow-brethren throughout the Moslem world and our friends—the best assistance is that which is rendered at once. Informing your readers of our difficult position, we request you to kindly share our efforts in appealing to the charitable feelings of our co-religionists and encouraging subscribers to our Society's benefit by publishing our present appeal in the newspapers throughout India. We have also received the following cablegram from the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amcer Ali, President of the British Red Crescent Society :—“The Balkans proclaimed crusade. Dire need of help. Appalling distress feared. Organise national relief, ladies societies, prayers. Despatched first hospital earliest steamer. More when funds permit.” After reading these earnest, tense messages, we doubt if their would be a single Moslem in this country who would not put forth his utmost effort to organise collective help or lend what he can spare out of his own purse for the sacred cause. In making an appeal on behalf of the Moslems who are risking their lives in the greatest crisis of Islam in modern times, all words seem superfluous and tame. The Mussalmans who understand what the crisis means stand in no need of being appealed to. We would only say that the trial of the Turks is also a supreme test of the character of Moslems throughout the world. What the Christian sympathisers of the Confederacy are doing would be amply manifest from newspaper reports. The spirit of that help should be a sufficient spur to the true feelings and sympathies of every Moslem. It may not be out of place to remind the Indian Moslems that “the Russian Red Cross Society has begun to mobilise its forces for the coming campaign. Doctors and nurses are being chosen and appointed for the front. The Society will send two ambulance detachments, with from 200 to 400 beds, to Servia and Bulgaria. It is also proposed that the Society should send pecuniary aid to the Bulgarian and Servian Red Cross Societies. The Russian Slavonic Committee, which has already sent a few thousand roubles, is preparing to sacrifice most of its capital and reserve fund of altogether some 300,000 roubles (about £30,000) for the needs of the Balkan Slavs in case of actual hostilities.” The patriotic Greeks everywhere are organising extensive help for their national army. According to Egyptian reports a Greek contractor of Cairo has undertaken to pay all the expenses for the transport of three hundred reservists. “The Nestor Guinness Company has circularised its staff to the effect that it will give unlimited leave to them and pay all their expenses when they go to fight for their country. The Greek Consulates in Cairo and Alexandria are daily besieged by crowds of Hellenes, eager to learn the news from the seat of war. A number of Greek doctors, practising in Alexandria, have left for the front.” Will it then be too much to expect of the Indian Moslems, who are about 24 times as numerous as the Greeks, that their sympathies would at least be as practical and effective as those of the Greek patriots in foreign lands or of the Muscovite for his Slav brethren?

We note with pleasure the establishment this week of a Red Crescent Society in Delhi, and we trust the members of the Society realise to the full the enormous responsibility that they have undertaken, for it is their example and success that will to a considerable extent inspire Moslem India. The enthusiasm of the great meeting of the Delhi Moslems that was held in Jam'i Masjid on Friday last after the Jum'a prayer leads us to hope that systematic efforts to raise funds will be successful. The meeting was attended by more than ten thousand Moslems. Mr. Mohamed Ali explained to the audience the situation in the Balkans and characterised the war as the last fight of the Turk. He said that the prestige of Islam and of the Mussalmans depended on the result of this war. Although the Balkan Confederacy had raised Christianity against Islam in a war of aggression,

he said that he did not wish to excite religious passions. He affirmed that the Turk's cause was their cause and that it was a cause of righteousness. “The Quran says that God does not impose heavier load on any one than what he can bear. Indian Moslems did not require to wage war against the Confederacy. But they could pray and they could pay for aid to war sufferers.” After Mr. Mohamed Ali had finished his address, Shamaul Ulama Syed Ahmed Sahib, Imam of Jam'i Masjid, prayed in a most feeling manner for victory to the arms of Islam. Many subscriptions were offered on the spot. It is, however, through a systematic work by house to house collections that the hoped-for success is expected. We are glad a network of agencies has been established. We shall await the results of the efforts of the Delhi Red Crescent Society with more than usual interest. It is gratifying to see that meetings are being held everywhere in the country and resolutions for the collection of funds being adopted with enthusiasm. But these resolutions should be converted into acts. It should not, we trust, be difficult for the big cities like Delhi, Lahore, and Lucknow to individually raise one lakh at the least for the Relief Fund.

KIAMIL PASHA in an interview with a representative of the *Daily Telegraph* is reported to have said that while Turkey was fighting for her life a new danger was threatening her from a different quarter. He appealed to England for help. We do not as yet know anything of the character of the “new danger” to which Kiamil Pasha referred. It is, however, certain that if Turkey is at all threatened from any other quarter, the menace will come from Russia or Austria. It would indeed be too much to expect that those who have never concealed their designs on Turkish territory should fail to fish in troubled waters and strike for gain exactly when Turkey is engaged in a war with the Balkan Confederacy. The opportunity is too good to be lost. Only the fear of a general European war or of dangerous diplomatic complications would keep Russia from seeking a free passage through the Dardanelles, or Austria from working her way down to Salonika. Will it then be vain to hope that England, who has always professed friendly sentiments for Turkey and has shown marked preference for the Turkish Government now in office, will make some efforts to stay all cowardly attacks at this juncture and free Turkey from the danger of being stabbed in the back before she has settled her scores with the Confederacy? Lord Cromer and other “friends” of Turkey had professed great hopes for the future of Turkey when the present Ministry came into power. Will they also endeavour to give some chance to their protégés that their hopes might come to fruition? We confess we cannot admire the indecent haste with which the British Government has recognised Italian sovereignty over Libya. We, however, trust it is not an index of the spirit that inspires the Liberal Government of England in her relations with the Turkish Empire. To avert a European war is, we may take it, one of the cardinal concerns of Sir Edward Grey. If the existence of Turkey in Europe is at all a guarantee of the European peace, the duty of the British Government is quite obvious in the circumstances now confronting Europe. The embers of the fanatical agitation engineered by the late Mr. Gladstone have not wholly died out in Liberal England. But the historic words of Lord Beaconsfield also live as true and just as ever. Replying to the Gladstonian cry regarding the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, the great Conservative statesman had said :—“If, in spite of the solemn engagements of the Powers (including England) to respect the rights of Turkey, they were to assist in the expulsion of the Turk, bag and baggage, from Europe, then politics cease to be an art, statesmanship becomes a mockery; and instead of being a House of Commons faithful to its traditions, and which is always influenced, I have ever thought, by sound principles of policy—whoever may be its leader—we had better at once resolve ourselves into one of those revolutionary clubs which settle all political and social questions with the same ease as the honourable and learned Member.”

THE CONFUSED and elliptic messages that have been pouring in since the outbreak of hostilities in the Balkans must have caused great anxiety and alarm to many sympathisers of the Turks in this country. There is, however, hardly any occasion to feel alarmed and dispirited as the news are in many cases more sensational than true and the close and decisive struggle has hardly yet begun. Turkey has elected for very sufficient strategic reasons to remain on the defensive during the first stages of the war. Three distinct armies have moved out of Bulgaria, while Servia has also attacked with three separate forces. No great resistance was offered to Bulgarian advance till they reached Kirk Kiliseh, for it is far more necessary from the point of view of Turkish strategy that the decisive battle should be fought as near the Turkish base as possible. The Greek victories and the Servians' triumphant march need not alarm anyone, for the main issue of the conflict will be decided round Adrianople where the Bulgarian and the Turkish forces have engaged. The

The War News.

time is unquestionably with the Turks. The moving up of several Divisions from Asia Minor where they had been massed in view of the threatened Italian attack must take some time. The mobilisation of the Turkish army began just when the Confederacy was ripe for invasion. The Confederacy may score a few successes just now, but the crucial moments of the struggle will come later. No one need despair of the issue when the decisive trial comes.

THE VERDICT of Sir Charles Fox, Chief Judge of the Burma Chief Court, in the Defamation Case that had been brought against Mr. Arnold, Editor of the *Burma Critic*, by the Deputy Commissioner of Mergui, was delivered on the 19th instant.

A Staggering Verdict.

The jury found Mr. Arnold guilty and the Judge sentenced him to one year's simple imprisonment. The verdict has been received with a profound shock by those who have been closely watching the course of this remarkable trial. It would be useless to disguise the pain that has been caused to us as well as to many others in Burma and elsewhere by this astounding verdict. We would, however, refrain from making any comment on the finding of the jury and the remarkable summing-up of the Judge. We have no desire to imitate the Government of India who solemnly sat in judgement on the decision of Mr. Justice Davar in the alleged Abduction Case against the Khan of Hoti. Mr. Arnold's counsel have applied for a copy of Sir Charles Fox's charge to the jury with a view to getting a certificate from the Government Advocate to place the case before a Full Bench of the Chief Court, and in the event of his refusal to certify, take it up before the Privy Council. We hope the required certificate will be granted and we trust the sentence will be reversed when the case comes up for revision before a Full Bench. It is our fervent hope that Mr. Arnold will emerge unscathed from the ordeal which he has had to go through as a result of his intense zeal for the purity of British Justice. His honesty and sincerity of purpose will, we have no doubt, be vindicated in the higher Tribunal. But even then we would be loth to imitate the *Pioneer* and demand the resignation of the Chief Judge of Burma. The verdict as it stands will continue to rankle in the public mind. It has created immense sensation in Rangoon and a gigantic mass meeting of the European, the Moslem and the Burmese communities is being organised there to express sympathy with Mr. Arnold and to protest against the verdict. We are anxiously waiting to know how this remarkable case finally ends. It will not, we trust, be allowed to rest where it is.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	s.	p.
Bashir Ali Choudhri Esq. Dacca. ...	10	0	0
Abur Rahman Esq. Dacca. ...	5	0	0
Aftab Ali Chaudhri Esq. Dacca. ...	10	0	0
Manager, Sewani Ginning Factory, Munganj. ...	10	0	0
A. Karim Esq. Barisal. ...	20	0	0
M. Yaqub Juma Esq. Bombay. ...	10	0	0
Kunwar Md. Syed Ahmad Khan. Sahib, Danpur. ...	49	8	0
M. Zia-uddin Esq. Madras. ...	1	0	0
Md. Athar Esq. Allahabad. ...	1	0	0
Through Abdul Hamid Esq. Etawah Medhi Hasan Esq. ...	2	0	0
Messrs Ahmad Raza, Abdul Hamid Khan and Abdul Halim. Rupee one each. ...	3	0	0
Marghab Ahmad Esq. Pinhat. ...	2	0	0
Sister of Mohamed Ahmad Sahib, Etawah. ...	5	0	0
Mohamed Khan Esq. Hyderabad Deccan. ...	6	5	0
Syed Iftifat Rasul Esq. Sandila. ...	100	0	0
Through K. B. H. M. Malak Sahib, Nagpur. Collections from Itvari, ...	2	0	0
Do. Do. Suddar ...	12	0	0
Do. Do. Sitalmundi ...	1	5	6
Collected on Id day, ...	12	2	6
Miss S. B. Tayyabji Hon. Secretary of the "Aqd-i-Sarayah," a Club of Young Moslem Ladies, Bombay. ...	30	0	0
Through M. Zamir-ud-din Esq. Muhammadabad Mussalmans of the town, ...	35	8	0
Masud Hosain Esq. Etawah. ...	1	0	0
Amount received during the week, ...	328	13	0
Amount previously acknowledged, ...	23,583	7	0
Total, Rs.	23,912	4	0

The Comrade.

The Moslem University.

IV.

WE HAVE already dealt in our previous articles on the Moslem University with the state of Moslem feeling in India after the announcement of the Secretary of State's decisions, with the history of the Moslem University movement, and, lastly, with the educational needs of the Mussalmans which make affiliation with Aligarh a necessary stage in the evolution of outlying Moslem schools and colleges. Incidentally we have had occasion to comment on the four practical objections on educational grounds, raised presumably by the Secretary of State, which the Hon. the Member for Education mentions in his letter of the 9th August last to the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. To-day we return to them in order to discuss in greater detail the difference between the views of the Mussalmans and those of the Secretary of State, and, after having done this, we shall deal with the present situation and the future of the University movement.

The first objection referred to in Sir Harcourt's letter is that "a University with branches all over India would lead to competition and probable conflict with the older territorial Universities." This objection is by no means clear, for it is not stated whether the competition would be emulative and likely to improve the University teaching or the reverse. But if we turn to the second of the Secretary of State's practical objections, we understand that it is a lowering of the standard that is apprehended. "Such a University," runs the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler, "would inevitably keep down the standard of Aligarh degrees and would destroy the hope that the teaching University would become a genuine seat of learning at which examinations would be subordinated to teaching and teachers would be free to develop the intelligence of their students and not merely exercise their memories." Presuming, therefore, that the competition referred to would be merely like that of tradespeople who undersell each other, does the Secretary of State consider the promoters of the Moslem University and its future Trustees and Governors to be so devoid of ordinary common-sense as to forget that such a competition could easily be checked by Government at any moment? We do not know whether we need repeat here what we have often said before, to wit, that the only reason why the community must approach Government in the matter of a Charter for a University which is to be endowed mainly, if not wholly, by itself, is that Government in this country is the largest employer of educated labour. If educated Mohamedans could shift for themselves and could become independent of Government loaves and fishes, Mussalmans would have no need of a Charter from Government for the Moslem University. This is the point which Sir Theodore Morison has brought out very clearly in a chapter in his brochure on "Imperial Rule in India." Under these circumstances, what is there to prevent the Government from punishing a University that cheapens its degrees by putting its own valuation on its graduates when they are brought to the market? In this country, at any rate, there is hardly any learning for learning's sake at the present moment, and savants and researchers that spend the midnight oil in literary labours and are content to live on a pittance were to be found in India a generation or two ago, as they are to be found to-day in Germany. But our Universities produce a very small number of these, and such of them as our Universities turn out are not likely to be less studious because in the race for over-production the Moslem University is satisfied with much less than they desire to achieve. As regards the qualifications of those who have administrative ambitions—and they would constitute more than 90 per cent of Mohamedan undergraduates, because more than any other community the Mussalmans are, and have for ages been, dependent on the service of the Sirkar for their maintenance and the realization of their ambitions—it would be in the power of the Government and not the Moslem University to raise or lower the standard. Moreover, the provisions with regard to appointment of external examiners and the sanction of the Chancellor for the appointment of all examiners are effective checks, even if the Senate of the Moslem University is bent on the suicidal policy of lowering the standard of examinations.

It is indeed amusing to find the Mussalmans hoist with their own petard; for while the Government of India and the Secretary of State were content for half a century with a type of University which was anything but "a genuine seat of learning at which examinations would be subordinated to teaching and teachers would be free to develop the intelligence of their students and not merely exercise their memories," it was the Mussalmans themselves that clamoured for a new type of University such as the one for which the Secretary of State and the Government of India have

developed so sudden and intense a liking. For the last 40 years the community had been preaching in favour of its educational creed without much success; but to-day, and all of a sudden, the Secretary of State is not only converted to the religion of the Faithful, but, like the convert, shows far greater zeal in the cause of his new faith than those who have been believing in it for a long time past, and who had, in fact, even preached it to him. We have already dealt above with the checks that could be exercised by the Government in the matter, of the standard of Aligarh degrees and can only say that the unsupported *ipse dixit* of the Secretary of State, that a lowering of the standards at Aligarh is inevitable, is as great a libel on those responsible for the progress of Aligarh as could ever be thought of. Had Aligarh been second to any other institution in the land there could not have been the same sting in these idle apprehensions. But in view of the fact that Aligarh has always been in the van of educational progress, it comes as a shock to us that affiliation, which should have been permitted so long to Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and Lahore, and which would still be permitted to them, should be denied to Aligarh, because, forsooth, the Secretary of State fears that the standard of Aligarh degrees would inevitably be kept down if affiliation is once permitted. It seems to have been forgotten that Aligarh would still be a teaching University to the majority of its students, that only a small fraction of its undergraduates would study in affiliated colleges, and that it would be contrary to all reason for Aligarh to lower the value of its degrees for the vast majority of its *alumni* merely to gratify the ignoble aspirations of a few outlying colleges for more numerous but cheaper degrees.

As regards the conflict between the Moslem University and the State Universities, we cannot even guess the nature of the apprehended danger. In the majority of cases Moslem institutions would be affiliated to the Moslem University and not to the existing territorial Universities of the States, and would therefore have nothing whatever to do with the latter. When there is no point of contact between the two there can be no point of conflict either, and unless the Secretary of State, or the Member for Education in whose letter this objection of the the Secretary of State is embodied, explains his apprehensions more clearly and in greater detail, it is no use discussing the matter any further. As Marcellus said of the Ghost in *Hamlet*,

"We do it wrong, being so majestical,
"To offer it the show of violence;
"For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
"And our vain blows malicious mockery."

The third objection of the Secretary of State to affiliation is that "the value of the residential system depends upon the tone or spirit which pervades the college and which, handed on from one generation of students to another, constitutes its tradition, and the traditions of Aligarh are quite local and peculiar, depending largely on personal associations." Treated as mere statements of facts, the foregoing observations are only partially true and therefore more misleading than a complete perversion of truth would be. But treated as an objection they lose all relevance and application. All that is said about the general process of the formation of a tradition is true enough; but it is misleading to say that the tradition of Aligarh is quite local and peculiar. Had it been so it would have meant that Aligarh had nothing to do with the tradition of Islam which has come down from generation to generation, decade after decade and century after century. It is true that the interpretation of Islam has varied from age to age, and in the same age the interpretations of a creed that covered the whole of human existence have often been radically different. For instance, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan interpreted Islam differently from the Ulama of Deoband or Fergana Mahal. But if that universal tradition has had its variations, the particular secular tradition of Aligarh has also had its light and shade. Were the associations connected with Sir Theodore Morison the same as those of Theodore Beck, and were they strengthened or weakened by those of the regime of Mr. Archbold? But even such of the traditions of Aligarh as were local and peculiar have now been transplanted in many parts of India, and considering the homogeneity of Moslem Society it is not at all strange that many of them have, with the increasing popularity of Aligarh, ceased to be local. Many of the institutions at one time peculiar to Aligarh have now been copied by other Moslem educational institutions, and even without affiliating, Aligarh has inspired them more than the territorial State Universities to which they are affiliated. The late Andrew Lang wrote of Oxford, on the model of which Aligarh has been established, that:—

It has been less a home of learning, on the whole, than a microcosm of English intellectual life. At Oxford the men have been thinking what England was to think a few months later, and they have been thinking with the passion and energy of youth. The impulse to thought has not perhaps very often been given by any minds within the College walls; it has come from without, from Italy, from France, from London, from a country vicarage, perhaps from the voice of a wandering preacher. Whencever the leaven came, Oxford (being so small, and in a way so homogenous) always fermented readily, and promptly distributed the forces, religious or intellectual, throughout England.

This is Oxford, the creation of ten centuries ago, and Aligarh which counts its life in days against the years of Oxford could not, have been expected to challenge a comparison. But even in a single generation Aligarh has done wonders. The impulse to thought and action has come from within its walls, and with its own leaven it has fermented even more readily than Oxford. It has distributed the forces, religious or intellectual throughout the length and breadth of India, and it may well be considered the microcosm of the intellectual life of the community. For what Aligarh thinks to-day Moslem India is sure to think to-morrow. Its traditions have therefore ceased to be local in so far as the *genius loci* now moves the entire Moslem community. All that the promoters of the Moslem University desire is that a direct, closer and more intimate relationship should be established between Aligarh and other Moslem educational institutions so that the forces, religious or intellectual, which move Aligarh should in future be distributed even more readily than in the past through the length and breadth of India. It is the extension of Aligarh that is aimed at, the mere universalization of the particular. It is not, and it cannot, be contended that the tradition of Aligarh would suffer if the copyright is, so to speak, infringed. What then can be the objection? If the Aligarh tradition is not likely to be desecrated if it leaves its local habitation is it likely to harm a place like Lahore or Bombay, which is without any such tradition? The Secretary of State evidently attaches great value to the local and peculiar tradition of Aligarh. Surely he could not be guilty of such a ridiculous conception that the affiliation, in due course, say, of the Islamia College of Lahore would harm the Islamia College because it would begin to share the Aligarh tradition instead of going on without a tradition of its own or sharing that of an impersonal something which goes by the name of the Punjab University? The Islamia College can be tolerated even in its present state because it is affiliated to the Punjab University with no traditions of its own, but it would be intolerable when affiliated to "the University of Aligarh" with its great traditions. That is what it comes to, and could inanity go farther?

We have now only to deal with the fourth objection of the Secretary of State, that "the University at Aligarh would be quite unable to control colleges situated in different parts of India." This is emphatic enough, but it has no more value than a mere assertion, no matter how emphatic, can have. The Secretary of State has not deemed it fit to advance any arguments, but is content with passing final judgments in the case. Were the promoters of the Moslem University equally matched with His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, they could equally well assert that a University at Aligarh would be fully able to control such colleges. But placed at a disadvantage as they are, they must not only argue in favour of their scheme of a University but also rebut arguments which are still in the womb of futurity. Before we deal with the question of control, let us be sure what control is at present exercised by the Indian Universities over affiliated colleges, and what control the Moslem University intends to exercise.

At the present moment the State Universities have also colleges affiliated to them which are scattered over vast areas, but Government is content with the control exercised by means of common University examinations and occasional University inspections. The University hardly offers any inspiration to an affiliated college, and for all practical purposes the latter is a wholly independent and detached unit. If the Moslem University exercised the same control over its affiliated colleges, Government should have no reason to complain, because it is already tolerating the system in its own Universities. The only difficulty would be of greater distance; but so far as examinations are concerned distance hardly counts, and if the students of Burma can be examined by the Calcutta University, there is no reason why Aligarh should not be able to examine the students of the Islamia College at Lahore or of the Sind and Bombay Madrasas.

Not that we are satisfied with the existing arrangements, whether for purposes of examination or otherwise. The Mussalmans have long protested against such examinations and such laxity of control, and it does not require a Secretary of State to convince them of the inadequacy of the present arrangements in the State Universities. So far as examinations are concerned the promoters of the Moslem University are anxious to give greater importance to *and voce* examination and to practical work, whether in research or scientific knowledge. If all candidates for examination cannot be brought to one centre, it is not impossible to send a set of examiners for the *ricit voce* examination to very distant colleges. But it is the teaching and not the examination that is the most important feature of a University, and with regard to that we have already offered the suggestion of having "Peripatetic Lecturers" and "Circuit Professors," that is to say, Lecturers and Professors engaged in teaching at the parent institution, but going on a round of lecturing from time to time to outlying institutions. Thus it would be possible for the smallest institution to get

the benefit of the stimulus which the lectures of and contact with first-rate Professors engaged in teaching at Aligarh would provide.

But this is not all. It is not only teachers and examiners that provide adequate control in a University, and especially in one in which the under-graduates would be of one community and the majority of teachers and examiners, for a long time to come, of another. We have to a considerable extent to depend on the governing bodies also of outlying colleges and of the University itself. Here the Moslem University Constitution Committee has provided for adequate control. It is true that the Hon. the Member for Education is not very favourably disposed towards giving the Trustees of the University as great a control as circumstances demand, and he has not troubled himself to disguise his suspicion of younger and better educated men; though he has insisted more than once on entrusting the work of education to those who are qualified for the task.

If the Trustees of Aligarh who are elected from every province of India are capable of managing its affairs, those of them that come from a particular province are not likely to be incapable of managing the affairs of their provincial Moslem college affiliated to Aligarh. For instance, if the Trustees from the Punjab can guide successfully the work at Aligarh along with their colleagues from other provinces, they can guide still more successfully the work of the Islamic College at Lahore along with other Moslems of light and leading in the Punjab. In the issue of 3rd August last we quoted at great length from the Regulations drafted by the Constitution Committee in order to show that the Committee had not been unmindful of the necessity of proper control of affiliated colleges. Firstly, it laid down that an affiliated college shall be under the control of a regularly constituted governing body. Secondly, it insisted on the qualifications of the teaching staff and the conditions governing their tenure of office being such as to make due provision for the courses of instruction to be undertaken by them. Thirdly, it required the financial resources of the college to be such as to make due provision for its continued maintenance. Fourthly, it insisted upon residence and due provision for the housing of the students, the Principal and at least such members of the teaching staff as are in charge of the hostels. Fifthly, it required that the Principal and at least one Professor shall be graduates of a European University. Sixthly it laid down that the governing body of the college shall take two representatives of the University's Court of Trustees as its members. And lastly, it provided that the management of the affiliated college shall be entrusted to a committee consisting of (i) the Principal of the college; (ii) two Professors of the college in charge of hostels; (iii) two representatives of the University Senate; and (iv) such other members as the governing body of the college may appoint. If this is not adequate control we have yet to learn what it can be. It is much more than any Indian University has insisted upon, and it is intended to establish a more direct connection between the University at the centre and the affiliated colleges at the periphery.

The members of the Moslem University Constitution Committee, who had been selected from among the leading Mussalmans of every province of India, have met on no less than five occasions and have given their most earnest consideration to every aspect of the proposed University. The Constitution and the general Regulations drafted by them have been prepared by men of acknowledged ability and have run the gauntlet of many-sided criticism from the members of a Committee in which all sections and interests have been represented. But this does not meet with the approval of the Secretary of State in two or three very important particulars, and at the eleven o'clock it has been suggested that "the Constitution Committee should consider the Constitution *de novo* with reference to the main heads of discussion and not with reference to the drafts already prepared." Even then "His Majesty's Secretary of State still reserves his discretion as to the Constitution in all details not specifically mentioned in this (Sir Harcourt Butler's) letter and particularly in regard to the distribution of powers among the component bodies of the University." May we ask if this is not tantamount to saying that the Mussalmans will be permitted to have a University provided it is small and detached from the life of the community, and provided it is placed partly, and even then only nominally, in the control of a set of pliant gentlemen of "the good old school" that find their *Nirvana* in humble submission even to the most junior officers of Government, and perch their highest ambition on the eminence conferred by a title, the real arbiters of the "Aligarh University" being a set of excellent Club-men whom an evil fate has diverted from the high road of a *Zabardust* administration into the neglected by-paths of a sally pedagogy with the sole consolation that in India the benign Government dubs them "Educational Experts." If the Mussalmans are content with such a University they can have one, and can satisfy, into the bargain, their craving for "national work" by collecting adequate funds for the maintenance of such a

University in addition to the contribution they make to the State for educational purposes. At the end of it all, if Government Inspectors report that the University is innocuous and "won't harm a child," and the Government Auditors report that the milch-cow has usurped none of the milkman's milk for her calf, the benign Government "will be prepared, in view of their deep interest in the movement, to make a liberal annual grant to the University contingent." We are perfectly prepared to admit the possibility that such is not the purpose of the Government. But if this is so, the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State and the Hon. the Member for Education may be congratulated on having disguised the true intent and purpose of Government most successfully.

The Guilt of the Blood.

Every tragic event in history has inevitably had its apologist. He is, perhaps, Nature's best provision, for each succeeding generation, against intellectual decay and moral paralysis. It is necessary, for the innate optimism and self-respect of mankind, that an event should be justified by its results. The historian who quarrels with history at every step and points a stiff accusing finger at Providence the while he rakes up moral "trifles" from the wreckage of the past, is merely an intervening and industrious trifler. He is a weary burden to his age, which is seldom in a mood to add a depressing sense of the moral insufficiencies of its predecessor to its existing load of duty and desire. The Present refuses to recognise the Past as its master. And yet, the Past holds the present as a creature that has risen phoenix-like out of its will and emotion. The free-drama moulds its most absorbing incidents through the revolt of the living and the tyranny of the dead.

While history itself is a tissue of rival judgements, it is always exceedingly difficult to give a correct moral estimate of a big, contemporary event. It would, at best, be an arbitrary choice of a standpoint. Curiously enough, however, nothing in the whole range of opinion is so emphatic and insistent as a contemporary estimate. That is the price humanity willingly pays for its eminently human love of *obiter dicta*. One can afford to be a detached critic after the event. It is only a partisan that can have the privilege of bodily presence while the event is in progress. It is, however, possible to be a partisan without being blind. Only the person who thinks his standards and values to be absolute, turns his partisanship into a dangerous prejudice. This age of unparalleled human intercourse has unfortunately had a most narrowing effect on international manners and opinions, perhaps because the growth of contact and familiarity has evoked the petty egoisms of culture and race. Old sanctities have been destroyed. Of social toleration and humility there is hardly a trace. Strange gods have come to dwell in temples made with hands. Racial types of culture, civilization, politics, institutions, language, manners, modes of life and thought claim human worship.

The struggle now proceeding in the Balkans has, in the light of the foregoing remarks, a far deeper significance than the surface problems of the Near Eastern politics. The passionate Balkan war-cries that are now rending the air are, like every catchword, more mendacious than falsehoods. The entire press of Europe has formulated the case against the Turk; and as the case is not very obvious and just, hard words and hissing phrases have been freely used that it might look strong and formidable. The case, at its worst, is briefly this. The Turkish Empire was founded by force and conquest. As long as the nerve and fibre of the military caste that founded it lasted intact, the Empire was held together by force and repression. Throughout the period of its existence there has been a steady degeneration in the moral, intellectual and material conditions of the races that have had the misfortune to comprise it. It bears the primal curse of the oppressed nationalities whom it has broken in body but could not bend in mind. Its physical strength grew weaker as succeeding generations grew more impoverished and dwarfed on account of the cruelty and incapacity of the rulers and chronic maladministration. The Great Christian Powers of Europe were, meanwhile, rapidly growing in strength, in culture, in the general arts of peace and the standards of civilised wellbeing. The continued existence of a great military tyranny at their doors was to them a constant moral challenge. Thanks, however, to their secular jealousies, the boundaries of civilisation and good government have not been pushed wider in Eastern Europe than they are to-day. Yet the Turk in Europe is an anachronism. His presence on Christian soil has wrought incalculable misery, chaos and despair. His rule over the Christian races is nothing less than "the assertion of the devil." It is absolutely imperative alike in the interests of peace, civilisation and humanity that this "godless pandemonium" should cease and the "unspeakable" Turk be wiped out of Europe. If the Balkan States have at last combined to make war on him they have been driven to it by the intolerable and endless woe that continues to blast the lives of their nationals under the Turkish yoke. The Nation states

the moral case of the struggle with its characteristic impressiveness of phrase. It holds the Turk morally responsible :—

The aggressor is the Turkish spirit of racial domination, which has proved to the all but unanimous judgment of Europeans and Balkan Christians alike that the hopes of spontaneous reform in European Turkey, on an adequate scale within a measurable time, were chimerical. No party of innovation has ever started with braver chances than the Young Turks, and with an unexpected wisdom all the Balkan races, but more especially the Bulgarians of Macedonia, conspired to give a fair chance to their experiment. The event was the shiftest disillusionment in modern history. Europe must bear its full share of blame for the disaster, but the fact remains that this brilliant body of young men failed in its constructive work, reproduced on occasion the worst brutalities of the Hamidian regime, neglected in Macedonia, as in Armenia, to punish outrage and massacre, and concentrated its energy on a policy of ascendancy and unification, which assailed the mind of the subject races where Abdul Hamid had only reached the body. It fell with an impartial and simultaneous hand on all the subject races alike, and to day the unity of their liberated brethren in arms is the obverse of the unity of the persecuted nationalities in suffering.

This, in brief, is the case against the Turk as framed by the philosophical Radicalism of modern Europe. If true, no more damning indictment of a whole nation could be conceived. The Turk has verily offended God and man. He has been the arch-villain, the high-priest of Evil, in the chequered story of mankind. He should not only move out of Europe but also absolutely and entirely cease. Nothing could be more merciful and just than that the world were promptly rid of the monster. But is the case correct or truthfully assumed? One trembles at the awful verdict that breathes utter damnation for about ten millions of human beings who claim an indissoluble kinship of flesh and blood with the rest of humanity. The Turk may not be modern and up-to-date in the choice of his moral and political catchwords. He may have failed to recast his methods and may be, through the very fact of his presence, perpetuating a vicious system. That, however, does not and cannot deprive him of his inalienable right to live. We do not know if a people have any moral claim to organise a common life within certain geographical limits unless it be the *de facto* right of possession. The Turk's title to his territories in Europe is the obvious and simple one that they are his and have been his for many generations. If Radicalism were to search for title-deeds through history and traced original rights from the tombstones of dead races back to the birth of Creation, many a proud nationality would in the process be reduced to a mere gang of brigands. Right resolves itself, in the last resort, into possession upheld by might. We have yet to know of a conquest in history that has not given birth to a "spirit of racial domination." The rule imposed by conquest is not, surely, an unquestioning submission to the will of the conqueror. Every great empire of ancient or modern time was and has been held together by "the spirit of racial domination" which alone could create it. The Anglo-Saxon, the French, the German, the Magyar and the Slav dominate proudly and shamelessly over the races that comprise their respective empires and regard their ascendancy as the supreme glory of their race. To perpetuate this ascendancy is considered by them to be the noblest duty of their patriotism. Perhaps "the domination" of the Turk is condemned on the score of its being Turkish. The question, in that case, becomes simply a matter of personal or racial dislike to certain different ideals and stand-points. A doctrinaire discussion about the relative values of the different ideals that inspire different races would be as irrelevant as an attempt to assess the relative efficacy of rival faiths. Manifestly, therefore, the quarrel with the Turk is a quarrel with his history, environment and the type of culture that he has inherited or evolved. Even at its lowest plane the type represents but a different aspect of human development. It may incur the wrath of dogmatic Radicalism, but has enough vitality to withstand its intellectual onslaught. The Christian fanatic of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece or, indeed, of any other part of Europe, who talks of "crusade" and appeals to the race-hatred and creed-antagonism of the mobs, is much more honest and direct in the formulation of his "cause." He lays bare the heart of the struggle and reveals the real passions that have set the Balkans ablaze.

The case for the Turk, then, may be briefly summed up by the statement that he has aroused the undying hatred of the bigots of an alien civilisation and culture. His crime is not that he is primitive in political methods, crude in social organisation and obscurantist in his ways. He is not worse in these respects than his enemies who have warred on him or their great patron, the Muscovite. The things that seriously matter to him are not the things that matter to his foes and that is the essential, the unpardonable sin of his being. The purpose, the philosophy and the ideals of life that he stands for are repugnant to the Balkan races that claim the inspiration of Christianity. The very atmosphere that he breathes in Europe is charged with the passionate bigotry of the priest. As long as he was strong he was feared and hated. Since his political prestige began to wane, he has been flouted, harried and made the victim of gratuitous insults. Even the common courtesies and decencies of international relations have been denied him. And

yet, he could not have been inferior in his moral stature to his Christian rivals, who periodically refresh their fine patriotic emotions by the slaughter of the Moslems, and the pogroms of the Jews. He has been ceaselessly pelted with demands for "reforms". We would like to know the methods by which the great civilised Powers "reform" the nest of assassins, rebels and revolutionaries in their respective empires. History has not forgotten to chronicle the fate of the Finns and the Poles, though the agony of dying nationalities has not evidently been sharp enough to sear the conscience of Europe. The woe of Persia has not been entirely voiceless and dumb. The "reforms" proceeded gaily there not very long ago and were promptly accomplished by means of the drum-head court martial tempered by hanging. We know, again, how Tunis and Algeria were "reformed" and we have not yet ceased to hear of the great "reform" scheme that is being sedulously put into execution in Morocco. We know all this only too well and we can readily see what the Turk's greatest failing has been. He has been too democratic for an imperialist. And it is because his democracy was tolerant of the few and the helpless and not a disguised autocracy of the many and the dominant that he could not "reform" the subject races at the birth of his Empire. The failure has come home to roost; and the only solution that Europe can think of offering him is that he should reform himself out of existence. Proposals for reforms in Macedonia and other parts of European Turkey are so many lies that nevertheless proclaim the truth as if from the housetops.

In a larger and deeper sense, therefore, the present struggle of the Turk is against the intolerance and fanaticism that the political tendencies of modern culture have helped to create in some parts of Christian Europe. He represents a different culture and idealism of life and he is staking his all to establish the claim of that culture and idealism as a necessary part in the general scheme of things. The struggle has a very wide aspect. It extends to the whole range of relations between the West and the East. The Turk happens to be wrestling at the frontiers where the hostile forces have come into grips. The issue will be the most fateful for the future of the races whose battles the Turk has now been forced to fight single-handed. Europe has influenced Asia a good deal; but the individuality of every great Eastern people has persisted in spite of the shocks of new empires and alien creeds. It has passed through a period of pained life and gloom and is now palpitating with fresh hope and vigour :—

*Na hai shohi-i-andesha tdb-i-ranji-naumidi,
Kaf-i-afsos malai ahd-i-tajdid-i-tamadduni hai.*

(The audacity of my thought could not bear the grief of despair. The wringing of the hands in sorrow is, in fact, a pledge of the renewal of aspiration.)

A silent shiver of alarm has run through Europe as the East is moving to new life and desire. All the differences of race, culture, traditions, temperament and history have become dangerous irritants. An open struggle between the rival systems of life is just beginning. What the issue of that struggle is to be, will be decided by the fate of the Turk. The aggressor is the intolerant spirit of race and creed that moves Christian Europe and of which the Confederacy is the visible symbol. The guilt lies red and foul on the hands of the Balkan brigand, the priest, the racial fanatic and of those who have helped the trio by smooth word or deed. History will record its inexorable verdict in letters of flame whether the Turk perishes or survives.



Verse.

The Eternal Present.

While, trammelled by the senses, wearily,
I scan the infinite heavens star by star,
And cling to measured Time, as to a spar,
In my lone voyage o'er Being's boundless sea,
I hear a secret voice say, "Still with thee
The Infinite, th' Eternal—deemed afar;
The Past, the Present, and the Future are
Commingleing portions of Eternity.
Thy life, while drifting onward on its way,
Through calm, through storm, through changing
night and morn,
As on the bosom of successive waves,
Is in Eternity; thy Judgement Day
Is now, and every secret thought that's born
Within thy soul even now condemns or saves!"

NIZAMAT JUNG.

The War Supplement.

The War in Tripoli. News of the Week.

TRADES have been issued granting autonomy to Tripoli and an amnesty to the Yemen rebel Syed Idriss and his followers.

Britain has recognised Italy's sovereignty over Tripolitania.

Italy's Real Opposer.

(By ALAN OSTLER.)

SOMEWHERE in the great void desert between Azizia and Tripoli town lies a pleasant palm oasis, with lawns of short, sweet grass, and wells whose gypsum-whitened shafts gleam palely among the scarred palm-trunks. Cactus-hedges fringing the tops of broad clay banks mark off the garden plots from one another; and northward the plain in springtime glows with asphodels and wistful desert-crocus. The place is called the Gardens of the Sons of Adheim; and here, during the early months of this spring and summer, lay the greatest of the Arab camps.

The Turkish headquarters lay at Azizia, full twenty miles back; and the tents of those Turks who were stationed at the gardens were not a score in all. They lay in a sandy gorge, well clear of the encampment of the Arabs.

I sat one night in this Arab camp, in the gaily painted tent of an extraordinary man. He had the homely, high-cheeked face of a Scottish crofter. His hair was reddish and his eyes light-hued. He wore a black frock-coat, long riding-boots, and a faded Turkish tarbush; and he sat cross-legged on the ground, sucking at the amber mouthpiece of a narghieh, and talking to me, now in rather clumsy French, and now in purest Arabic. He was an Arab, though few accustomed to the Arab type would have guessed it from his looks. Even less would they have guessed it from his talk, and the familiarity he had with European affairs. For though he was an Arab—and, indeed, the most influential of all the Arabs engaged in fighting against Italian aggression—he knew his Europe well, and could, in all political affairs at least, assume the standpoint of a European.

We were talking about the war, and wondering what could be the end of it.

Mehemet Ferhat, pulling thoughtfully upon his pipe, looked up after a long silence.

"It must come to this in the end, monsieur," he said, "that the Turkish Government will have to agree to peace."

"But why?" I asked. "This war is costing Turkey nothing, or very little; whereas it certainly costs Italy two millions a month. Moreover, though Italy has landed an army in Tripoli, she has not dared to advance beyond the range of her own naval guns. Why should Turkey make peace?"

"Because," said he, "she will be forced to do so. Troubles will break out in Turkey itself. Threats of war will be engineered. It will be made impossible for her to deal with her own affairs till she has made peace."

He smoked in silence for a while, then:

"I don't know how she will make peace," he said. "If she abandons Tripoli, Syria and the Yemen will be in a flame. But diplomats are clever, you know. Somehow they will arrange a way; and Turkey will have to give up Tripoli."

"And then?" I asked.

"Why, then, monsieur," said Mehemet Ferhat, "then Italy's troubles in this country will begin. Has it never occurred to you, monsieur, that this war is not, strictly, between the Turks and the Italians, but between the Italians and the Arabs? I don't disparage the Turkish soldiers. They are brave, and their officers are clever. They have taught our Arabs much. But—how many are they?"

"They are very few. I may not say how many; but it is no longer a secret that, in all Tripoli and Cyrenaica, the Turkish troops do not amount to three thousand men and officers."

Mehemet Ferhat said:—

"Now, if Turkey makes peace, and these soldiers of hers are withdrawn from Tripoli, what do you think will happen? Will the loss of so few men stop the war?"

I urged that if the Turkish officers were withdrawn, the Arabs, no matter how numerous, would have their fighting powers much impaired.

"And, but for the Turkish cannon," I added, "you have no artillery."

"True," he said, dropping into Arabic as he warmed to his theme.

"True, dear friend, we have none but the Turkish guns; but, wallahi wa rasek! (by my God and thy head) those we do not give up. Let the Stamboulies make peace, if they must. Let them withdraw their soldiers—we will keep none who do not wish to stay. But ammunition, guns, weapons—those stay with the Arabs. Aye, and more; we shall have men to use them. How many of the Turkish officers, think you, will go back to Turkey? Some, no doubt, who have lately joined us here. But there are many who have long dwelt in Tripoli; they will throw in their lot with us."

"So," I said, "you will continue the war on your own account?"

"Aye, by Allah!" His eyes flashed. "Mashallah! Shall the Arabs be driven from their own homes? No, not if every Turk deserted us this night."

"If the Italian comes, he will take the fields and orchards and the little gardens, and work them with his own hands. What then, will become of our poor folk? This is a poor land. It barely nourishes us who live here now. One bad season and there is a famine for years. No, the Arab is fighting for his life; the Turk for his honour only. And therefore, though the Turk may be forced to make peace, the Arab never can."

Remembering this conversation, and knowing that a certain number, at least, of the Turkish officers now in Tripoli are pledged to stand by the Arabs, I have been wondering lately what end can possibly be served by the peace negotiations now being conducted by Turkish and Italian diplomats. Obviously, though formal peace may be declared between Turkey and Italy, the latter Power is no nearer pacifying the Arab population of Tripoli until she can come to some understanding with the Arabs themselves. I am pleased (being somewhat of a pro-Arab) that there is some talk of Italy's paying over handsome sums to the Senussi chiefs, ostensibly for religious purposes but really, of course, to "buy them off."—*Daily Express*.

The Turco-Italian Peace Negotiations.

(To THE EDITOR OF THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN".)

SIR,—With reference to the peace *pourparlers* between Turkey and Italy, of which we hear from time to time but which apparently get no further forward, I have been expecting to see some expression in the Liberal press of how shameful such a peace would be unless on the basis of Italy's absolute withdrawal from Tripoli. Yet a little consideration will show that it would be doubly shameful.

Italy, in the first place, has not conquered the country, even assuming military conquest to confer a moral title to ownership. She is still virtually besieged in the coast towns. Now to hand over the Arab population of Tripoli, without consulting them and against their desire, to an unsuccessful invader, alien in faith and openly proclaiming her desire to seize the land of the natives in order to plant there her own colonists, would be bad enough. But in this case it would mean that the Arabs, who have made as gallant a defence of their country as any people have ever made, would be henceforth regarded by Italy as rebels, and we know, unfortunately, the sort of treatment which she metes out to those whom she regards as such. When the Oasis horrors took place before any treaty had given a shadow of legal sanction to her occupation, we can guess what would happen after such a sanction had been obtained.

That the Tripoli Arabs will go on fighting, peace or no peace, is not questioned on any side. It is for this reason I say that peace on Italy's terms would be doubly dishonourable to Turkey; first, in disposing of a brave population behind their backs, and, secondly, in subjecting them to such known and terrible risks.—Yours, &c.,

FREDERICK RYAN.

9, Constantine Road, London, N. W., September 27.

The Italian "Victory."

AS AGAINST the official Italian version of the "great victory" at Derna, the special correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung" sends to his journal the following despatch, dated September 18:—"Yester-

day at daybreak the Turks and Arabs attacked the Italian east wing, which had recently been extended. They broke through it, occupied the centre of the Italian position, and defended it for several hours by means of militia troops against the enemy's artillery fire and assaults. Thereupon militia and regular troops penetrated still further, and two regiments, after vigorous firing, at eleven o'clock seized the Kasr Harun, and continued fighting till darkness set in. The extent of the fighting line was 10 kilometres. The violent artillery duel lasted eight hours. The Turkish artillery was opposed by Italian artillery six times as strong, which also contained heavy pieces. The Italians' aim was very good, but the Turks, too, accomplished remarkably cool work. Altogether the Turks lost two officers and 110 men killed and about 140 wounded. Prisoners relate that one Italian battalion was nearly destroyed, and that a battery of machine guns barely escaped capture by the Nizams. About 150 rifles and many other things were captured. The Italians remain on the defensive.

The War in the Balkans. News of the Week.

London, 18th October.

A CONSTANTINOPLE wire says that the Turkish regulars crossed the frontier on the night of the 16th at Kirdjali and penetrated several kilometres into Bulgaria. Fighting began at ten in the evening and still continues. A Constantinople message states that the Turkish advance into Bulgaria met with no serious resistance, the Bulgarian advance guard falling back on the main body. It is expected that a battle will take place today. The Bulgarians have destroyed two important railway bridges south of Philippopolis. A Sofia wire states that King Ferdinand has issued a manifesto calling the people to arms for the liberation of their Macedonian brothers. Special services are being held in churches to-day. The populace is seething with excitement.

A telegram from Podgoritza dated the 17th instant evening says that there is a pause in the fighting, the Montenegrins concentrating at Tuzi preparatory to advancing on Skutari. Numerous troops are moving out from Skutari to meet them and a battle is imminent. The ground is very unfavourable to the Montenegrins, being the marshy eastern shore of Lake Skutari and in the event of defeat the rear of the Montenegrins will be unprotected.

A Belgrade wire states that the Turks have recaptured Frijpolje, driving the Servians across frontier. A message from Constantinople says that the Servian losses were heavy and included rifles, ammunition and provisions.

An Athens wire states that the Greek gunboats were unnoticed by the Turkish troops who were working in a blaze of light completing the defences of the fortresses. Greece now commands the Gulf of Arta ensuring the supplies of the army in Epirus.

The position in regard to Greece is curious. The Greek Minister in Constantinople interviewed Noradunghian Pasha in the evening and asked why he had not received his passports like his Bulgarian and Servian colleagues insisting that the Greek note was identical with that of Greece's allies. Noradunghian promised to submit the matter to the Cabinet which is now considering the question. It is asserted that war with Greece may still be avoided.

On the contrary a telegram from Athens states that Serbia first and then Bulgaria declared war and Greece, not wishing to detach herself from her allies, instructed her Minister in Constantinople to declare war at the same time and sent a message of fraternal greetings to her allies.

Greece has declared war on Turkey. The representatives of the Balkan States have left Constantinople.

An Athens message states that the King to-day visited the fleet and was given an ovation. His Majesty wished it Godspeed. The fleet sails to-night under sealed orders. The Crown Prince reviewed the army. "To Deum" is being sung in churches, and prayers recited for the success of the troops.

The Rumanian steamer "Princess Marie" has been released and has arrived in the Bosphorus. It is stated in semi-official circles at Bukharost that Rumania has decided to prepare for the mobilisation of three army corps as she considers that the eventual success of Bulgaria might be dangerous to herself.

The Sultan in a proclamation invites the soldiers to respect the lives and property of non-combatants, also women and children.

Russia has made strong representations to the Porte and is also communicating with the Powers as to the necessity of keeping open the Dardanelles to neutral merchantmen.

The offices of the Red Cross Society in London are being inundated with applications for service at the front. A detachment will leave for Montenegro on Sunday. It includes Doctors Martin

Leak, V. O., of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, Frederick Goldsmith, Chief Medical Officer of Papua and Anthony Bradford, a leading London doctor.

London, 19th October.

Reports of fighting are meagre and are mostly being received from Turkish sources. The reports, however, show that fighting is general on all the frontiers.

The Greek army attacked the Turks yesterday in the region of Melruna, north of Larissa, and a battle is now in progress. There seems to be no doubt that Turkey used her utmost endeavours to the last moment to detach Greece from her allies, but failed in view of the firmness of M. Venezelos, the Greek Premier.

Three Bulgarian armies concentrated near Mustapha Pasha have advanced towards Adrianople where the Turks have left a garrison of 20,000. The bulk of the forces are holding field works stretching eastward to Kirk Kilisseh. Heavy fighting took place yesterday between Kirk Kilisseh and Ortakoi on the Arda River, west of Adrianople. A message from Sofia states that two Bulgarian battalions yesterday took Mustapha Pasha, an important position on the railway towards Adrianople. King Ferdinand and the Prince watched the taking of Mustapha Pasha from a hill through field glasses. The King met the first batch of wounded and congratulated and decorated them.

The Turkish fleet is blockading Varna and Burgas.

One Servian army is believed to be co-operating with the Bulgarians. Three others are invading Old Serbia, where fighting hitherto has been preliminary to a big battle. The Servians claim to have captured Prishtina. A Belgrade message says that the report of the capture of Prishtina by the Servians was premature. They merely captured a small town. The Turks are destroying the railway.

Non-Moslems in Turkey over 29 years of age have been exempted from military service.

London 20th October.

The bombardment of Varna is announced both from Sofia and Constantinople. The former declares that only three Turkish war-ships fired at the town without effect from a range of three miles and then drew off. While Sofia reports the capture of Mehonia in the district of Rezlog at the point of the bayonet, Athens announces the capture of Elassona, the Turks having been dislodged from the hills commanding the town, also the advance of the army into Epirus and the occupation of Grimbovo. Turkish telegrams describe the fighting hitherto as merely skirmishing in which the Turks have had the best. They declare that the capture of Tuzi by the Montenegrins was an empty success as there was only a garrison of four hundred who mostly retreated. The guns captured were valueless, being made of bronze.

Greece has notified the Powers of the blockade of the Turkish coast. The King of Greece in a message to his allies prays for the blessing of the Almighty on the new Crusade for the deliverance of their oppressed brethren. He suggests that they adopt the device "In hoc signo vinces."

A detachment of Cretans arrived at Athens yesterday and were received with an ovation.

A Podgoritza message says that the Montenegrins yesterday ambushed and cut up two thousand Albanians, under the command of Hassim Bey, who were trying to recapture Bernac. Hassim Bey and 280 men were made prisoners. A Cetinje wire says it is officially stated that the Montenegrins have captured Plava after two days' fighting. A Podgoritza wire says that the Montenegrins have captured Gusinje.

A Belgrade message says it is reported from Servian headquarters at Nish that all the Turkish trenches in Turkish territory around Vrania are in Servian hands, the Turks having been driven across the Morava valley.

A Sofia wire says that the well-known Macedonian band leader, Sandansky, has armed two thousand peasants in the mountainous district of Prin against the Turks. Their numbers are being increased daily.

Calcutta, 19th October.

The "Empire" published the following special cablegrams dated London, October 19:—

The British Press for the most part is very reserved over the war, but the "Daily News" and "Chronicle" are strongly pro-Confederacy. The former has started a fund which is now over £1,000 for the Red Cross Service. Military experts almost unanimously plump for a Turkish victory and a large section of the public is pro-Turk.

The Servians had a victorious march into Turkey, having captured Sienitza and Prishtina. The army is now massed before Kumanovo where a big battle is imminent.

London, October. 21.

While the main Bulgarian army is advancing towards Adrianople another army has proceeded southward from Sofia into the Struma and Nesta valleys. A third has marched via Agri Palanka in the direction of Uskub while simultaneously on the extreme east a smaller force has occupied Tirnovo south of Burgas. Hitherto, however, the Bulgarians have apparently not encountered serious resistance anywhere, the Turks everywhere retiring to positions along the fortified lines to the rear with which the Bulgarians have not yet come into contact. The same is true of the Greek success at Ellassona. The Turks abandoned two hundred tons of provisions at Mustapha Pasha and a large quantity of rifles and ammunition. It is officially declared that the reports of Turkish successes on Bulgarian soil are pure inventions. Not a single Turkish soldier has crossed the frontier. On the contrary the Turks are steadily retiring towards Adrianople. The Bulgarians, it is added, have already driven them back as far as the line of forts forming the outer defence of Adrianople carrying several heights at the point of the bayonet.

Sixty-four war correspondents and eight military attachés have been allowed to start for the front to-day.

A telegram to the "Daily Chronicle" from Constantinople says that Kiamil Pasha, in an interview, said that while Turkey was fighting the Balkan Confederacy for her life she was threatened by a new enemy. She appealed to England to use her influence to see that Turkey was not simultaneously attacked in another quarter. England's friendship for Turkey might shortly be put to a severe test.

Seven guns were captured at Ellassona and five at Mustapha Pasha. Turkey has notified the Powers of the blockade of Varna and Burgas. An Athens wire states that the capture of Ellassona was preceded by four hours' fighting. The Crown Prince commanded and received his baptism of fire. The losses were slight.

A Sofia wire states that the Turkish squadron at Varna is cruising in the offing. It has not renewed the bombardment.

A Belgrade wire states that the Servians have captured the heights of Dejanovatz southward of Vrania.

A telegram to the "Daily Telegraph" says that a column in the Mesta Valley has captured Neverkop.

2,400 Cretan militia have arrived in Athens.

A telegram to the "Times" from Sofia says that two Bulgarian torpedo boats sallied out from Varna and engaged the Turkish warships one of which immediately withdrew, apparently slightly damaged by a torpedo. Eventually the Turkish ships withdrew, and the torpedo boats returned undamaged. The Turks afterwards bombarded Balchick at long range. No damage was done.

A Belgrade wire says that the Servians under the command of General Jankovitch have taken Podujavo on the road to Prishtina. The Turks retired southward leaving colours, ammunition, oxen and forage. Prisoners state that two regiments of Nizams, six companies of Arnouts and three batteries took part.

An Athens wire states that the King of Greece has gone to the front.

A Constantinople wire states that a strong contrast is drawn there between the Sultan's proclamation to the army appealing only to Turkish patriotism and the manifestoes of the Kings of Bulgaria, Servia and Greece in which the religious character of the conflict is strongly emphasized. The Turkish Press bitterly denounces these appeals to religious passions.

The King has signed the declaration of neutrality.

A Sofia wire says that according to official despatches the Bulgarians are advancing in all directions. The Turks are retiring in disorder, abandoning rifles, howitzers, munitions and provisions. The advanced posts extend to the immediate vicinity of Kirk Kilisseh and to the line of fortifications round Adrianople. The despatches foreshadow that Europe is on the eve of a record battle in which probably well over half a million troops will take part. The "Times" correspondent indicates the magnitude of the operations, pointing out that Turkey before the end of the month will have seven hundred thousand men in the field. He adds that Turkey may counter the Bulgarian attack by invading Eastern Rumelia.

Turkish warships are hovering off the Bulgarian coast. They bombarded different points yesterday, including Euxinograd near Varna where they endeavoured to effect a landing. Two boats however were driven off by volleys from troops on shore.

A Pisa wire says that Count Von Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, arrived there to-day on an official visit. He was received by the Marquis di San Giuliano, Foreign Minister, and will be received in audience by the King to-morrow.

London October 22.

A Sofia wire says that great indignation is expressed there at the Turkish bombardment of Kavarna and other purely trading ports as being contrary to international law. Numbers of wharves, business premises and private dwellings have been damaged. Greece has also protested against the bombardment of Kavarna. The population is mostly Greek.

It is officially stated at Constantinople that fighting continues round Ellassona and that the Greeks have already lost over 1,500 killed. It is added that the Greek advance from Ellassona has not aroused any apprehension as it is probable that the Greeks will be encouraged to leave their base far behind in order that when the Turkish attack is delivered it may be absolutely crushing. The Governor of Adrianople has issued a warning to the inhabitants to be careful of food owing to the possibility of a siege. He recommends those who are able to do so to leave. An Athens wire says that according to official despatches the troops have occupied the heights commanding Grimbovo and Xirovouni, the Turks fleeing from Diskata. It is stated that the Turks abandoned at Ellassona a million cartridges, staff maps, wagons and tents. The despatches state that the Greek casualties were 19 killed and 75 wounded. An Athens wire says that the Greek squadron has landed a force on Lemnos and summoned the authorities to surrender. The blockade of the Island is proclaimed. The Greeks have occupied Diskata, west-wards of Ellassona, after meeting with stubborn resistance.

A Belgrade wire says that according to official despatches Serbia's three armies continue to advance against stubborn opposition. The easternmost advance guard has reached Kumanovo. The army in the Ibar Valley had a severe engagement extending from Raska to near Yenibazar. The enemy were estimated at forty thousand. Both sides lost heavily. The western army has captured blockhouses around Sen'tza. The King of Servia and the headquarters staff have arrived at Vrania. According to semi-official reports received at Vienna four hundred Turks fleeing from Servians through Novi Bazar crossed the Bosnian frontier and were disarmed.

A telegram to the "Daily Telegraph" from Sofia says that the Bulgarians have captured Kirk Kilisseh, also Chirmen southward of Mustapha Pasha. The army marching through the Struma Valley is nearing the railway between Salonica and Constantinople, having reached Lipnitsa, 45 miles south of the frontier.

The Turkish Government will issue a proclamation to-day in the shape of a reply to the Kings' manifestoes enjoining Moslems to be tranquil and assuring Christians that they have nothing to fear provided they remain loyal.

A telegram to the "Standard" from Smyrna states that a goods train collided with a troop train at Ephesus yesterday. 250 soldiers were killed and injured. The British seamen's hospital has been placed at the disposal of the authorities. The troop train which was derailed plunged into the embankment. The latest messages say that the casualties were 200 killed and 200 injured.

A Paris wire says that M. Poincare, Premier, conferred to-day with the British, German and Russian ambassadors. It is understood that their respective Governments are chiefly considering the position of Rumania. It is generally agreed that intervention in the war is impossible until one side is decisively beaten.

A Vienna wire says that in the Reichsrath to-day the Minister of Finance emphatically expressed confidence that the war would remain localised.

Owing to the war the Cunard, Ellerman, Papayanni and Moss lines have cancelled their sailings from Liverpool to Corfu, Patras, Syria, Constantinople and the Black Sea.

London, October 23.

Two hundred less seriously wounded Servians who were able to bear the journey have arrived in Belgrade. The third Servian Army has arrived before Prishtina. The Servians have captured Kotchava the scene of the massacre in August. Sofia newspapers say that the Turks massacred more Christians before abandoning the town.

The advance of the Montenegrins towards Skutari is still at a standstill. They have for four days been fruitlessly bombarding the forts of Tarabosch which are barring their way.

A Varna wire says that the Servians entered Prishtina yesterday afternoon after hard fighting. A Belgrade wire says the villages and towns of Old Servia are welcoming wholeheartedly the Servian invaders, pressing refreshments and tobacco upon the soldiers and placing everything they possess at the disposal of the military. Great importance is attached to the storming of the so-called George heights near Novi Bazar which are regarded as the key to future operations. A Belgrade wire says that the Servians have captured the town of Novi Bazar after severe fighting. There were heavy losses.

The Greek torpedo boats have seized the British steamer "Penpol" from Carli for Varna and have taken her to Piræus on the ground that her cargo is contraband. The Greeks have occupied Castro the capital of Lemnos after a short engagement. 45 prisoners were taken. An Athens wire says that the Greeks advancing from Elasea attacked the pass of Sarayaporon at ten o'clock yesterday morning. The enemy were strongly posted and made a vigorous defence. The attack was still in progress at three in the afternoon. It is officially stated at Athens that a big battle near Serfidje has resulted in the retreat of twenty-two Turkish battalions and six batteries. A general pursuit of Greek troops has been ordered. The losses are even on both sides. The Greeks have apparently forced the passes after a whole day's fighting and are now pursuing the Turks to Serfidje. There is great jubilation in Athens.

The message to the "Daily Telegraph" announcing the capture of Kirk Kilisseh by the Bulgarians was premature. It is officially stated at Constantinople that there was heavy fighting at Kirk Kilisseh all yesterday. The Turks recaptured two Bulgarian positions inflicting heavy losses. A Constantinople wire says rain is hampering the movements of troops. It is stated that the fleet is about to refit before meeting the Greeks. A Sofia wire says that desperate fighting has taken place along the whole line from before Kirk Kilisseh to Novi Bazar. The Turks have everywhere been driven from their positions and the Bulgarians are pressing on Adrianople from every side. They have reached Arda to the westward of the city, the Turks having fled in disorder leaving a hundred killed and 160 prisoners. The Bulgarians have also captured several positions to the north-east after a fierce struggle. The Turks, broken and disheartened, fled. Meanwhile a Turkish column which made a sortie east of Adrianople was annihilated.

Military critics are busily engaged in elucidating such information as comes from the seat of war. They are disposed to think that appearances for the moment suggest that the Bulgarians are concentrating for a main attack upon Kirk Kilisseh rather than Adrianople, believing that a success in that quarter would lead to better results, actual and prospective, than an assault upon the extremely strong position at Adrianople which is thoroughly garrisoned and supported by a great army under Abdullah Pasha. On the other hand, last night's telegrams from Constantinople talk of an irresistible Turkish advance from Kirk Kilisseh and the capture of Bulgarian positions with heavy loss. The Censorship on all sides prevents any decided conclusions being drawn. Meanwhile the Servians and Greeks are steadily advancing and overcoming the obstinate resistance of the Turks.

London, October 24.

A Belgrade wire says that the capture of Novi Bazar was preceded by three days' desperate fighting, the Turks holding strongly fortified positions. One hundred and eighty more wounded have arrived in Belgrade and been placed in hospital. Their arrival was welcomed by enthusiastic crowds. It is officially stated in Constantinople that the Turkish Western army near Kumanovo attacked four Serbian divisions and that a sanguinary battle followed. The Serbian losses were enormous. The enemy were routed and the Turks are pursuing. The Serbian version issued in Belgrade, however, is that the Servians captured part of the fortress after desperate fighting which is still proceeding round the town. Servians are evidently finding the fortifications of Kumanovo a hard nut to crack. To-day's despatches leave the issue there uncertain. General Jankovitch's capture of Novi Bazar after three days' hard fighting constitutes an important factor in the Serbian campaign. A Belgrade wire says that describing the fighting south of Prepatz on the 18th instant the wounded men there say that an artillery duel with heavy rifle fire went on for thirteen hours. The Turks got to within 150 yards of the Servians who leaped from the trenches and attacked the Turks with bayonets. The Turks left over a thousand dead. The Serbian losses were considerable, though not so severe. It is officially stated at Belgrade that the Servians have captured Kumanovo after three days' fighting in which the Turkish batteries were annihilated.

Greeks continue their victorious advance with marked success crumpling up Turkish forces which apparently have abandoned the passes, fearing to be taken in the rear by the Greeks advancing from Diskata. It is officially stated at Athens that the Greeks have captured Serfidje and occupied the bridge over the river Aliakmon, thus cutting off the Turks' retreat. Twenty-two field guns and a large number of prisoners were captured. An Athens wire states that elation over the victory has been damped by the news of the massacre of seventy Greeks at Serfidje. It is feared that this may signify a general massacre of Christians.

Although Bulgarian despatches make it clear that troops are engaged in battle over the whole of a front thirty-five miles long before Adrianople and that fighting has been severe, critics consider that in view of the comparatively small losses mentioned

the struggle has been confined hitherto to covering troops behind which armies are massed. Turkish despatches are reserved concerning all this fighting and confine themselves to stating that decisive result is not expected for many hours. One unexpected result appears in the Bulgarian despatches in the form of a brief allusion to Bulgarian troops invading Turkey along the shores of the Black Sea and that they have occupied Vassiliko and Malkotirnov and have advanced towards Visa. It appears also that a force has been detached from the Bulgarian army in the east to repel any Turkish invasion from the Black Sea coast. It is officially stated at Sofia that in Monday's fighting at Kadikeni near Mustapha Pasha the Turks lost 73 killed and 64 prisoners and five machine guns. The Bulgarian artillery is now heavily bombarding Adrianople. Two of the outer forts have already been captured. A Constantinople wire states that heavy fighting took place all yesterday between Kirk Kilisseh and Adrianople. The utmost bravery was displayed on both sides. No decisive result is expected before this evening. A telegram from Sofia states that the Bulgarians have captured Kirk Kilisseh. The Turks made a sortie yesterday north-east of Adrianople but lost heavily, leaving twelve guns on the field. The Bulgarians, three to five miles from the fortress, are fortifying their positions. They have captured hundreds of prisoners. A Sofia wire says that the Turkish garrison of fifty thousand men and two Pashas were captured at Kirk Kilisseh.

The Porte has decided to raise the Import duties from 11 per cent. to 14 per cent. Telegrams from Adrianople say that there is continuous rain throughout the seat of war. The Turks claim two successes. The Montenegrins have reached to within 8½ miles of Skutari. Two days heavy rain has hampered operations. The King and his three sons held a council of war at which Prince Mirko was appointed to the command of the Zeta brigade. Addressing the troops he said:—"We are almost under the walls of the famous town of Skutari. My father the supreme War Lord, commands me to lead you there and to bring liberty and new life to the people." The King then embraced and bade farewell to his sons and wished the troops a rapid success.

The Third French squadron has left Oran for Algiers. It is stated that the hasty departure is in connection with the situation in the Near East.

A Rome wire says it is semi-officially stated that conversations between Count Von Berchtold and Marquis Di San Giuliano have established perfect identity of views on the Balkan crisis, also regarding the collaboration of the Powers for the re-establishment of peace and harmony, evidence of which cannot but strengthen the close friendship between the two allies.

In the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey said that the Government was doing its utmost to secure the continuance of passage for neutral ships through the Dardanelles, but it would be necessary to have an understanding with both belligerents before he could say definitely that there was no danger of the Straits being closed. Asked whether there would be an appeal to an impartial tribunal in the case of a British ship being seized and condemned by a prize court in Greece or Turkey, and whether Britain had made representations to Turkey on the subject, Sir Edward Grey said that such a tribunal did not exist. The only course was the establishment of an international court of appeal such as was contemplated at the Hague Conference in 1907. Britain was anxious for such a court and until it was established was not able to secure an appeal.

A St. Petersburg wire says that the Holy Synod has authorised a collection in all Russian churches on Sunday on behalf of the Slav Benevolent Societies and Red Cross Societies. A Red Cross expedition of nine members and fifty beds left for Greece yesterday, another of 110 members and 400 beds leaves for Bulgaria to-day. The Moscow Municipality has voted £5,000 for "Suffering Slavs." The St. Petersburg Municipality has voted £10,000 for the field hospitals in the Balkan States and invites the co-operation of all Russian Municipalities. Despite official discouragement there are signs of an incipient ebullition of pro-Slav enthusiasm.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Amir Ali, writing to the *Times*, deploras the use which is being made of the symbol of Christianity by partisans in England to justify aggression and slaughter in the Balkans. He points out the incalculable mischief which is being done both in England and India by studied malevolence and says it is painful to read ecclesiastical and newspaper effusions against Turkish Government. He describes as an atrocious libel the statement that the Indian Mutiny was largely the work of the Indian Moslems which, he adds, is being circulated to discount feelings of the Moslems in India as a factor in the consideration of British policy.

A Gazette of India Extraordinary publishes a communication from the Foreign Office forbidding the use of British harbours, ports, coasts or waters for any warlike purposes in connection with Turkey or the Balkan States or Greece.

Moslem Feeling.

Over five thousand Mohamedans were present on the 21st Inst. public meeting held at the Anjumani Islam School, Bombay, to express deep sympathy with Turkey. Many leading Mohamedans took part and expressed the opinion that the war against Turkey by the Balkan States was wholly aggressive and unrighteous. The following resolution were passed:—

The Moslems of Bombay pray for the success of the Turkish arms and express a strong hope that the British Government will maintain the same friendly relations with Turkey which they have hitherto done and will use their good offices to bring an early end to the war. This meeting resolves to call for subscriptions from Moslems in aid of the Red Crescent Society to relieve the sufferings of sick and wounded Turkish soldiers.

A committee of leading Mohamedans was appointed, and about ten thousand rupees were collected on the spot.

It was further resolved that prayers should be offered in various mosques in Bombay on Fridays for the success of the Turkish arms.

At a meeting of Mohamedans held in Calcutta the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: That this meeting offers its best thanks to the Agā Khan for voicing the sentiments of Moslems and gladly welcomes his suggestion that Indian Mussalmans should lay aside all projects and concentrate their efforts on the Balkan crisis; that this meeting emphatically protests against the manifesto issued by the Balkan Committee and the utterances of some irresponsible Christian Missionaries from the pulpit and platform which are sure to arouse the just indignation of Mussalmans.

At a meeting held in Calcutta, it was unanimously resolved to raise fresh subscriptions for the "Red Crescent Society" in connection with the Balkan War. The Hon. Mr. Ariff headed the list with another instalment of ten thousand rupees. Great enthusiasm prevailed. Coolies, maid-servants and men belonging to the working classes, voluntarily contributed one month's wages. A beggar contributed his day's earnings. The promoters of the meeting hope that the subscription in Calcutta will amount to a lakh of rupees.

The following resolution was adopted in an emergency meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League:—

"That the Council of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deepest sense of sorrow for the embarrassment into which Turkey has fallen by the perfidious action of the Balkan Confederacy, and earnestly appeals to all Indian Mussalmans to give a practical form to the sympathy which they are well known to possess towards their brethren in Turkey by contributing liberally to the funds of the Red Crescent Society in order to alleviate distress among the wounded defenders of Islam."

The Balkan States.

The following statement shows the area and population of the Balkan States.

Political Divisions.	Area in sq. miles.	Population in 1903.	Population in sq. miles.
Croatia (South of the Save and Kalpa).	8,200	1,200,000	146.3
Servia	18,782	2,493,770	132.2
Bulgaria (with Eastern Rumania).	37,240	4,028,239	88
Rumania	5,896	258,242	43.9
Dalmatia (Austrian) ...	4,923	59,197	120.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina (Austrian).	19,696	1,568,092	70.9
Sanjak of Novi-bazar (Turkish).	2,840	153,000	53.5
Albania, Macedonia and other Turkish possessions.	62,744	2,812,300	92.6
Greece	24,400	2,631,952	107.8
Total	187,976	19,048,756	101.3

The Peninsula is inhabited by a great variety of races. The Turkish population is descended in part from the Ottoman invaders of the 14th and 15th century. It is diminishing in Thessaly, and it has entirely disappeared in the rest of Greece, almost entirely

in Servia and it continues to decrease in Bulgaria. The total Turkish population of the Peninsula scarcely exceeds 1,800,000. The Slavonic population, including Bulgars, etc., exceeds 10,000,000. The number of the Serbo-Croats may be estimated at about 5,600,000. The entire Ruman population may be put down at 600,000 to 1,000,000. The whole Albanian nation possibly numbers from 150,000 to 1,600,000. Next to the Albanians, the Greeks are the oldest population in the Peninsula.

The whole Moslem population of the Peninsula is about 3,800,000.

More detailed information about each of the members of the Balkan confederacy is given below:—

Bulgaria.

Approximate Population:—

Bulgars	2,888,219	Jews	33,661
Turks	531,240	Tatars	18,884
Rumans	71,063	Armenians	14,581
Greeks	66,635	Other nationalities ...	30,451
Gipsies	89,549		

The Bulgarian inhabitants of the Peninsula beyond the limits of the Principality may perhaps be estimated at 1,500,000 or 1,600,000 and the grand total of the race possibly reaches 5,500,000.

Bulgaria is a Constitutional Monarchy. By Article III of the Berlin Treaty it was declared hereditary in the family of a prince "freely elected by the population and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the assent of the Powers." The Sabranje is elected by manhood suffrage in the proportion of 1 to 20,000 of the population, for a term of 5 years.

The peace strength in 1905 was 3,800 officers, 54,000 men and 8,000 horses. The War strength amounts to 180,954 exclusive of the Reserve and 5 Regiments of cavalry and naval force. The naval force includes:—

One Princes Yacht, one Armoured Cruiser
Three gun boats
Three Torpedo Boats and
Ten other small vessels with a complement of 107 officers and 1231 men.

Servia.

The population rose from 2,161,961 in 1890 to 2,493,770 in 1900 and to 2,750,000 in 1910. More than four-fifth of this number belongs to the Serbo-Croatian branch of the Slavonic race. The remainder is composed of 160,000 Rumanians; 74,000 Gipsies; 8,000 Austro-Hungarians and Germans and 5,000 Jews.

The National characteristic of Servia is the complete absence of an Aristocracy or the Middle Class. In 1900 there was neither a pauper nor a workhouse. It is said of them that of politics they never tire.

The Government of Servia is an independent Constitutional Monarchy, hereditary in the male line and in the order of primogeniture. The executive power is vested in the King advised by a Cabinet of 8 Members. The national assembly has 130 Members. A general election is held every fourth year.

On a peace footing the strength of the Army is 35,000 men but in war it might reach 225,000.

Rumania.

In 1910 the population of Rumania was estimated at 6,850,000 inhabiting an area of about 50,720 sq. miles—of which 6,000,000 were Rumanians. The rest are Jews (300,000) Armenians, Gipsies, Greeks, Germans, Turks, (22,989) Tatars, Servians and Bulgarians.

The Monarchy is hereditary in the family. The Parliament consists of a Senate elected for 8 years and a Chamber of Deputies for 4 years.

The peace strength in (1909-10) was 4,415 Officers, 89,227 non-commissioned officers and men and 18,920 horses. On a war footing the field would contain 225,000 combatants. The naval strength comprises one cruiser, 7 gun boats, 8 torpedo boats and 6 coast guards.

Greece.

The population of Greece extending over an area of 24,400 Sq. miles is given as 1,324,942 males and 1,307,010 females (or 50.3 per cent. males to 49.5 females) of which Jews are 26,52 and Moslems 5,000. The number of illegitimate births is 12.25 per 1,000.

The Government is Constitutional Monarchy, hereditary in the male line. There are 177 elected Deputies in the Chamber who sit for a term of not less than three months and not more than six months.

The peace strength of Greece may be put down at 1,939 officers, 19,416 non-commissioned officers and men and 2,661 horses. The war strength includes 77,000 reserve and 37,000 men.

The following is the naval strength of Greece:—

3 Armoured ships.	3 Transport Steamers.
1 Cruiser.	7 Small gunboats.
2 Gun boats.	8 Mining boats.
4 Corvettes.	5 Torpedo boats.
8 Destroyers.	1 Royal yacht.
2 School ships.	

The personnel of the navy was composed in 1907 of 437 officers, 26 cadets, 1,118 petty officers, 2372 seamen and stokers etc.

The population of Albania may be estimated at between 1,600,000 and 1,500,000 of whom 1,200,000 or 1,100,000 are Albanians. Of the other races the Slavs (Serbs and Bulgars) are the most numerous, possibly numbering 250,000.

The Military Situation.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

The general mobilization of the armies of Bulgaria and Serbia was ordered on September 29, and October 1 probably represents the first day of mobilization. Greece has apparently taken similar measures. Montenegro is always more or less mobilized, and this morning it is announced that Turkey, which has the advantage of a practical soldier at the head of its Government, is taking the same means to meet a very dangerous and critical situation.

Mobilization is not war, but it is the prelude to war. A few days, perhaps a week at the outside, intervene during which the Concert of Europe, if it exists, can by a firm attitude and energetic language arrest the threatened war, but once the rival forces are concentrated upon the frontiers the rifles will go off by themselves, and no amount of diplomatic pressure will be able to check the outbreak of a war which is certain to be extremely costly in human life and will revive animosities and rivalries which European diplomacy has striven so long to avert.

The Turkish Army is practically intact, for it has found no opportunity of intervening in the war against Italy. The fighting qualities of the Turk are universally admired, and Turkey is a military Empire capable of great things in war. She does not lack men, and would have in her disposal, were her resources equal to her military pretensions, not less than 1,200,000 men. Of these she should be able to align 500,000 men in European Turkey after a certain delay, with not less than 1,000,000 if she can horse them, but her adversaries, who are probably well posted in the Turkish situation, will no doubt drive to open the war, if war comes, by an early success. Turkey is hard set to meet her enemies because the strain of the war against Italy has depleted her limited resources, and among all the aspects of the threatened hostilities, the financial aspect must give Mukhtar Pasha's government the greatest concern.

Were the Turkish armies led by a capable general with an efficient staff, and were the war with Italy concluded, success against the armies of the four Balkan States would not be hopeless. Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece are not easily able to combine the movements of their armies, and the Turkish forces, holding a more or less central position, should be able to make a great fight. The Turks can hardly doubt that Bulgaria is the enemy most to be dreaded, and it can be assumed that it will be around Adrianople and on the Lower Maritza that the first decisive actions of a war should take place. The natural course for the Turks to pursue at this moment is to mass their main force on the line Mustafa Pasha-Adrianople-Kirk Kilesa, to meet the Bulgarians eastward of the Rhodope Mountains, and so bring on a decisive engagement. The Turkish game is to hold off Serbia and Greece with detachments and to risk everything to bring about the defeat of the principal enemy.

The Turkish forces in Europe are usually distributed widely for political reasons, and the difficulty will be to consent to abandon momentarily minor interests in order to make sure of success in the principal theatre. Could Turkey deal an effective blow against Bulgaria the Balkan alliance might break up, and we must assume, until we have evidence to the contrary, that it will be on these broad lines that Turkish strategy will be based.

Bulgaria, with an available strength of 400,000 men and an efficient field army which may amount to 250,000 men with 700 guns, is by far the most formidable of the Balkan allies. Almost all experts who have visited Bulgaria speak in high terms of the Bulgarian Army, which in organization, armament, and spirit appears to be formidable. It has always been assumed that in case of war with Turkey Bulgaria would strive to profit by her superior organization and rapidity of mobilization, and, if

war comes, an offensive campaign on her part is probable. Serbia is the next most considerable military State among the allies and may be able to place in the field an army of 150,000 men with over 500 guns, out of double that number of men available for service. Greece, if she acts, will act before her military reorganization has had time to take effect, and her field army will scarcely exceed 80,000 men, with 350 guns. Finally, in Montenegro, every able-bodied man is a soldier, and these hardy mountaineers, though not well organised for offensive war, will be a thorn in the side of the Turks as they have ever been. These four States have not, all told, as many fighting men as Turkey, but for prompt operations in Europe their strength is superior to that of Turkey and they should have a marked numerical superiority in artillery.

A central and united Power acting against allies has always advantages which must not be under-estimated, least of all in this case, when the allies, if united against Turkey, are far from united in their designs if they succeed in war. There is also to be considered the attitude of Roumania, which has views of her own, with power to back them, and a field army approximately as strong numerically as Bulgaria and with an even larger reserve of trained men. Roumania is capable of playing a very important part in the threatened war and her attitude is a subject of wide discussion.

Standing apart and behind all these rival States there is, last of all, Austria-Hungary, which is, in effect, the dominant military factor in Balkan problems and is likely to shape events to her will. It is not probable that the four Balkan allies will move unless they feel assured of the neutrality of Austria and Russia, and as the interest of Russia is peace and it is against all her traditions to oppose a combination of Christian States against Turkey, her position is delicate, and her ultimate action uncertain. When the combatants have exhausted one another, Austria, with an extremely efficient and intact army, will doubtless have much to say in the final settlement.

Turkish Dispositions.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

With little or no trustworthy news of military proceedings is allowed to pass over the wires we are reduced to speculation upon the probable course of events in the Balkans, but speculation can to some extent be controlled by a general knowledge of the character of a mobilization in the rival States and by an estimate of the probable direction which will be given to the troops when mobilized.

Mobilization is a delicate act, and an army engaged upon it is not ready to fight. Consequently the first necessity for all the rival States is to establish at the critical positions on the frontiers covering forces which will prevent the act of mobilization from being interfered with. These covering troops may at the same time be given some offensive mission if the chance arises of causing trouble to the mobilization of the enemy, but these preliminary combats must not be mistaken for the onset of the mobilized armies.

The communications throughout the Balkan States are none too good, and though the localization of corps facilitates the rapid influx of reservists, most of these people must trudge to their depots on foot, and there is always much to be done before units are ready for despatch to the front. With our highly strung nervous system due to the telegraph, our thoughts travel much quicker than events, and we place armies on the frontiers before they leave their barracks. Men have to be clothed, armed, and medically inspected. Horses, carts, and mechanical transport have to be requisitioned and food and ammunition have to be collected. All these operations take a certain time, except in Montenegro, where arrangements are somewhat patriarchal and 24 hours suffices for preparation. It is during this preliminary stage, which may last a week or ten days, that the last opening is left to European diplomacy to intervene, for the transport to the frontiers begins almost automatically as soon as mobilization is completed, and when armies are on the frontiers of their enemy, and have not felt the taste of his steel, they are in no humour for holding back. The ardour of departure is particularly keen among armies and people who have not fought for a considerable time. We can, however, expect before war breaks out the usual bombardment of notes, ultimatums, excuses, explanations, and manifestoes. It is the last little flutter of the diplomatic dove before it gives way to arms, and no one can grudge it its customary consolation. It is a poor little thing, this dove, at best. The Concert of Europe, were it determined and united, could arrest

this war if it pleased, but there is no sign yet of such union or of such determination, and the sands are very rapidly running out.

On the Turkish side, subject to fresh dispositions which may recently have been made, we should expect to find the 7th Nizam Division at Kirk Kilise, the 10th at Adrianople, and the 9th at Baba Eski, with strong detachments of the new rifle battalions and the cavalry holding the many roads and tracks which traverse the frontier eastward of the Rhodope Mountains. Behind the screen thus formed the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, Turkish Army Corps are probably assembling, and will be completed by reservists as rapidly as the situation permits. The need to hold the Gallipoli peninsula and Dedeagatch, as well as the Bosphorus and the capital, may result in the four Army Corps named not being as yet complete, but there are two divisions of Redifs of the first category at Constantinople, and these should soon be available to replace the active troops. Five divisions of second-category Redifs are probably mobilizing at Baba Eski, Adrianople, Gümüldjina, Kirdjali, and Bulair, and the above troops will probably bear the brunt of the first operations in Thrace.

According to the latest plan of organization the present Turkish Army Corps includes three divisions of infantry, each of three regiments of three battalions, a rifle regiment of two or three battalions, a brigade of cavalry of two or three regiments, about 36 guns, a battalion of engineers, bridge train, and auxiliary services. Actually not all corps have three divisions, nor have all divisions the 12 battalions which they should possess; but in the First Army Inspection, which includes the four Army Corps named, nearly all the battalions exist, and it is only the strength which is doubtful and cannot at present be definitely stated. Possibly the Turkish generals cannot state it themselves.

These four Army Corps, aided by some of the Redif divisions and with the fortified position of Adrianople to pivot upon, will assuredly offer a serious resistance to a Bulgarian attack, but they would hardly take the offensive until reinforced, and if war comes soon they will probably be attacked before reinforcements from Anatolia can arrive in large numbers. Subject to diplomatic conveniences, it is the army which is ready first which will attack. Should events so befall that time is allowed to Turkey to complete her preparations, it is anticipated that she might conceivably mass the 12 divisions of the four corps named, amounting to 182 battalions, and 17 divisions of Redifs of 133 battalions, for a campaign in Thrace. The knowledge which the staff of the allies must possess that every day gained by Turkey will improve her chances is one of the most likely causes to precipitate war.

Macedonia is also full of Turkish troops. Here there stand the 5th, 6th, and 7th Army Corps of the new organization, with headquarters at Salonika, Monastir, and Uskub respectively, while three independent divisions at Kotehana, Yanina, and Skutari practically add the value of another corps. The 7th Army Corps at Damascus belongs to this Second Army Inspection, but for obvious reasons cannot at present be counted upon. We must expect that the 24th Division at Skutari and the 18th at Dibra will hold the frontier against Montenegro, while the 7th Corps, with its three divisions at Uskub, Mitrovitza, and Djakova, will act as the covering force against a Serbian irruption. Against Greece the 23rd Division at Yanina is isolated and exposed, but can be reinforced from Monastir or Salonika. All told, there stand in Macedonia 15 Nizam divisions, four Redif divisions of the first category and 13 of the second. If time is allowed to bring up troops from Asia Minor, it is expected that the Turkish forces in Macedonia will eventually number 162 Nizam and 267 Redif battalions, with other arms to match, a force more than enough to control the situation on this side if the internal state of affairs, or bad leading, do not influence matters to the detriment of Turkey. It seems probable, however, that long before the troops from Asia Minor can arrive the war will have begun.

The geographical position of the Turkish territory in Europe constitutes a double theatre of war against the Balkan allies. Of these two theatres the Thracian is far the most important, and the supreme interest of the military situation at this moment is whether Turkey can concentrate with sufficient rapidity such a large force round Adrianople that a Bulgarian attack will fail. No one can answer this question without a glance at the Turkish "States," and news of the orders given to the Army Corps of the Third and Fourth Army Inspections in Asia Minor, but if Turkey can mass from 200,000 to 250,000 men on this side before she is attacked, and if she keeps her army clear of the Adrianople fortress, she should be able to hold her own. She is greatly injured by want of command at sea and by the poverty of her financial resources, but Turkish troops live where others would starve, and we must not sell the skin of the Turkish wolf before it is killed. The Young Turks have not worried themselves to death

about reforms in Macedonia, but the reforms in the army have been uninterruptedly carried out.

It is supposed that the Bulgarians will make their chief effort east of the Rhodope Mountains, but that a secondary attack will be made south-westward from Sofia in combination with a Serbian advance from Nish upon Uskub, an operation in which Montenegro may take her part if she does not limit herself to getting hold of territory which she covets. The movements open to Greece depend to a large extent upon Italian plans at this moment. If Italy means to join actively in the war of the allies, at all events with her navy, many combinations are open to Greece, but in view of her last war with Turkey her first endeavour will probably be to re-establish her military reputation by some striking success under the Crown Prince against the Turks in the Yanina and Monastir districts. The war takes place at a bad moment for Greece. Her new military law, designed to give her a total strength of nearly 300,000 men and a field army of 150,000, has not yet had time to take effect, and the military action of Greece is consequently somewhat limited in its scope. This may partly account for the fact that Greece appears to be less enthusiastic for war than her allies, and to have mobilized rather out of sympathy with these allies than of her own free will. It is the habit of the burnt child to dread the fire.

There is one consideration which may or may not assume importance. The allies have apparently agreed to make war in common and only to make peace by mutual consent. This is the usual formula of alliances, but in practice it is not so easy as it sounds. Which of the allies will be the first to have the hardihood to bell the cat? The simultaneous entry into the field of four separate armies in different stages of military organization is not too easy to effect, and our experience of allied operations gives us very ample evidence of the practical difficulties of effective co-operation. We generally end, in short, by hating our allies more cordially than we hate the common enemy.

The Turkish Supreme Command.

HUSSEIN NAZIM PASHA, War Minister in the present Mukhtar Cabinet, whose appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces is announced, was born in Constantinople 64 years ago, and received his military training at the French Military School at Saint Cyr. During the Russo-Turkish War his aptitude attracted the attention of Redjeb Pasha, who appointed the young officer his Chief of Staff. After the war he joined the Young Turkish organization and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a fortress for openly professing its principles. After a further subsequent period of exile at Erzerum under Abdul Hamid he returned at the beginning of the new régime to be commander of the 2nd Army Corps at Adrianople. A few days before Kiamil Pasha's fall he was appointed War Minister, but when the Grand Vizier fell he too had to go. In 1910 he became Governor of Baghdad, and, upon his return, President of the Army Council.

The remarkable influence of this sturdy soldier over the rank and file was never better manifested than during the period between April 13 and 23, 1909, when his appeals to the mutinous soldiery saved Constantinople from plunder if not worse, while the energy shown by him at Adrianople the year before made him a popular figure with the commissioned ranks. His appointment as War Minister last July was generally welcomed. As illustrating his views on military matters it may be noted that he has long favoured the combination of the office of Generalissimo with that of War Minister.

The Turkish Higher Command.

PROMINENT among the officers who have held or who are holding high command in the Turkish army are the present Grand Vizier, Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha, and his son, Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha, the War Minister, Nazim Pasha, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, Abdullah Pasha, Shakir Pasha, Pertev Pasha, and Essad Pasha. The Grand Vizier's record as a veteran of the Crimean and Russo-Turkish wars is well known. His son, who has commanded the Guards and other Metropolitan corps, served for seven years in the 2nd Regiment of Prussian Foot Guards, in which he held a regular commission, after passing through the officer's school at Metz. He was the hero of the historic charge at Velestinis in the Greco-Turkish War.

Ferik Abdullah Pasha, whose name is now being mentioned in connexion with the supreme command, is one of the older and more efficient survivors of Abdul Hamid's Palace favourites. As chief of the deposed Sultan's Military Cabinet and principal Aide-de-Camp, he represents the pick of the military element under

the old regime. He was for many years a friend and coadjutor of Field-Marshal von der Goltz Pasha. After the Revolution he distinguished himself particularly as commander of the 4th Army Corps at Erzingjan, where he succeeded Marshal Sekki Pasha. He discharged the duties of this appointment, which is rendered peculiarly difficult by the necessity of keeping in check the Kurdish irregular levies, with sufficient credit to warrant his appointment to be Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in Albania, in the room of the ironhanded Torgut Pasha. In 1910 Abdallah Pasha commanded one of the opposing armies at the grand manoeuvres which were held south of Adrianople under the direction of von der Goltz Pasha. He is said to have handled large bodies of troops with considerable skill.

Essad Pasha has likewise held temporary command in Albania. But better known as a soldier is Pertev Pasha, who has served twice on Abdullah Pasha's Staff and who is one of the most brilliant senior officers of the generation which owes its training to von der Goltz Pasha. His abilities mark him out for a high Staff appointment in any forthcoming campaign. His career is an interesting one. After holding a lieutenant's commission in the 67th Prussian infantry regiment at Metz and subsequently in the Ziethen Hussars, of which the Duke of Connaught is honorary colonel, he served for a time on General von der Goltz's staff at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Count Haeseler, the veteran Prussian Field-Marshal, has likewise been a source of inspiration to him. He was present at the siege of Port Arthur as Turkish Military Attache with the Japanese army, and was wounded during the campaign. He has likewise travelled widely in Asia Minor. More recently he has done good work as Secretary-General at the Ministry of War in Constantinople.

Bulgaria's Case.

A GENTLEMAN with inside knowledge of Bulgarian official quarters, who has good reason to be acquainted with what is going on, gave to a London representative of the "Manchester Guardian" in answer to questions, a full and interesting statement of Bulgaria's position in the controversy. He was anxious, he said, that the Bulgarian case should be understood by the people of this country, and particularly by the English Liberals, who are regarded in Bulgaria as the traditional friends of the cause.

Asked in the first place to explain the nature of the reforms which Bulgaria demands should be put into operation in Macedonia, this gentleman said that Bulgaria based her case upon article 23 of the Berlin Treaty, which secured autonomy to the Macedonian provinces. "The non-observance of that article—which was, of course, sanctioned by the Congress of Berlin—is the root of all the trouble. A commission was appointed in 1880 to elaborate a scheme of administration in virtue of that article, but nothing has been done beyond promises. Nothing has been done for twenty-five years. If autonomy means anything it means the possibility of the various races and nationalities developing themselves more or less on national lines. All the various nationalities in Macedonia have their own schools and religious organisations. Autonomy means placing them in conditions which would enable them to develop freely on lines of self-government. We are told that the conduct of the Bulgarian Government is inexplicable, because the Powers are advising the Turkish Government to introduce reforms. We are told that it is therefore not fair to say that nothing is being done to remedy a state of things which the Powers admit to be impossible. We don't in the least suspect the sincerity of the Powers in their wish to introduce reforms, but we say that the only way in which reforms can be introduced into Macedonia is that the Powers should take the disturbed provinces under their immediate control and supervision, the Turks having repeatedly shown themselves incapable of carrying out these reforms themselves. We are quite ready to grant that many Turks—perhaps even the present Turkish Government—are quite sincere in their desire to introduce reforms; but we consider that they are incapable of doing it. The Turkish Government in the past has had hundreds of opportunities of introducing reforms and has always lamentably failed, and the conditions now are such that the task is much more difficult than it was, not to say impossible.

Under the Hamidian regime Christians suffered persecution, but there is this to be said in favour of Abdul Hamid—that at least he did not bother very much about the consciences and minds of the Macedonian Christians. He was simply a typical Oriental despot. When things came to such a pass that the new regime of the Young Turks became inevitable, there was no country which greeted the rise of the Young Turks with more goodwill and enthusiasm than the Bulgarians. Everyone knows that at that time Turkey might have been attacked by Bulgaria with less risk and a better chance of success than at any time before or since—if we had been as bellicose as people now try to make out. Instead of that, the Christians, especially in Macedonia, greeted the Young Turks as liberators, and did everything possible to create the most favourable conditions for the application of those ideals and principles

of freedom and justice in the name of which they had come to power. The Young Turks were young men; most of them had suffered at least as much as the Christians in Turkey; they had been brought up in the West of Europe, and had imbibed European ideals. If ever Turkey had any chance of reforming itself from within it was then.

"The history of the Young Turks is too fresh to need any recapitulation. No one now regrets their fall—not even the English Liberals. They did nothing to establish the security of life and property which was lacking during the reign of Abdul Hamid. The only fresh element which they introduced into the method of Turkish Government was that they attempted to violate freedom of conscience in a way not even attempted by Abdul Hamid. The guiding principle of their conduct and policy was the ambition of blending all the Christian nationalities with the Turks and forming a new Ottoman nationality. To this end they began to attack Bulgarian schools and to persecute the religion which stood in the way of the consummation of their ambition. They simply made things worse and introduced new methods of torture which had for their object the stifling of every feeling of nationality and every aspiration of ethnical progress. Things got so bad that at last a party which had risen to power amid general sympathy disappeared from the scene without exciting the least regret.

"The Young Turks have been succeeded by a Government whose most prominent member is a man who had made his reputation and who one would have thought had spent his last energies in doing faithful service to Abdul Hamid—Kiamil Pasha, a man nearly 80 years old, whose only qualification seems to have been his reputed leanings to England. That is the only security he offers for his new-fangled zeal in the cause of reform. How can anyone seriously believe that a man who has spent a long life in faithfully obeying the will of Abdul Hamid will set about the work of reform in Macedonia? How can he be taken seriously by the Christian nations of the Balkan Peninsula? The Turkish Prime Minister is a very brave soldier who has spent twenty-five years as the representative of the Sultan in Egypt, and who has lost all touch with the realities of the situation in Macedonia. It is not a vice to be old, but it is absurd to believe that Kiamil Pasha and the Prime Minister will succeed where younger and more energetic men have so miserably failed.

"The Bulgarians are not a hasty or impracticable people. They do not insist upon reforms being introduced in twenty-four hours, nor do they say that reforms can only be undertaken by altogether ousting Turkey from Macedonia. They say that the only way to make the Turks undertake the work in a serious and earnest manner is to insist on placing the provinces under the control of the Powers in such a way that the Powers may make their influence felt in the administration at every moment and in every place. The Powers must take Macedonia in hand, as it is commonly known England, Russia, and France had decided to do at the time of the meeting of King Edward and the Tsar at Reval. It might involve the appointment of Christian Governors in some places, although the Christian races do not propose to adopt the policy which Turkey has been following as regards themselves by treating the Turkish population as non-existent. In places where Turks predominate in population they would of course get the benefit of their numbers, just as in other places Bulgarians and Serbs would be in the ascendancy. But in that case it would be the local populations that would get the benefit and not the Administration in Constantinople. The Turks in Macedonia have suffered from this government at least as much as the Bulgarians. It is certainly not to their interest to maintain the present regime. We suffered as victims, the Turks suffered from the general misgovernment that affected the ruling race as much as those who were oppressed.

"The active intervention of the Powers is considered to be the more indispensable because, although the Young Turkish Administration has disappeared from Constantinople, it is notorious that the government of the provinces continues to be largely in the hands of adherents of the Young Turks. There are not many trained administrators available in Turkey, and the present Government were almost forced to utilise men who for the past four years have been trying to inculcate Ottoman notions into the heads of the Christians. It is unlikely that such agents would prove efficient or willing instruments in carrying out reforms. Reforms may be promulgated at headquarters, but they are executed in the provinces as it pleases the Young Turks.

"Bulgarians, Greeks, and Servians spent 20 years in wrangling over their shares in the Turkish succession and the history of those years proves conclusively that there is no basis of agreement on territorial partition. The Servians were convinced that what the Bulgarians claimed as their share really belonged to them by the test of population, the Greeks maintaining that the entire population belonged to their race, and the Bulgarians insisting that there were only Bulgarians in all these provinces. These insoluble difficulties are as acute now as ever. If these nations

have realised community of action in the present crisis, it is not on the basis of a territorial division, for that would lead at once to a revival of old quarrels and to forgetting the need of tackling the Turks. The only condition on which the Christian races can present a solid front is on that of autonomy for Macedonia, which would enable their respective compatriots to work out their own destiny in the future.

"Bulgarians do not entertain any feeling of enmity towards the Turks. Bulgaria includes a Turkish population of 500,000 souls, and ever since Bulgaria became master of its own destinies there has never been a proved case of the oppression of Turks by Bulgarians. Bulgaria has followed a policy of absolute toleration towards the Turks. While in Turkey Bulgarian schools are being attacked, in Bulgaria the Government pays for the Turkish schools and teachers and maintains the Turkish priests. If a struggle is to come it will not be a struggle of Christians against Turks as Turks, but against Turkey as representing a vicious form of government which has impeded the development of the Christian races for the last 25 years and has beset the path of their progress with almost insurmountable obstacles. The Bulgarians are not easily stirred by racial hatred, and indeed they cannot afford to waste their national energies in cultivating a fanatical hatred of the Turks.

"Europeans have for years preached union between the Christian races as the best solution of the problem. Now what seemed only a short time ago to be an impossible dream has been realised, and is being proved in undeniable ways. That is the new situation in the Balkans, and it ought to make the task of the Great Powers easier, because they can no longer fall back on the old excuse that so long as Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians were engaged in internecine struggles in Macedonia it could not be expected that Turkey would undertake reforms in that country. The union of the three races makes an ideal opportunity for the application of the scheme of self-government guaranteed by the Treaty of Berlin. Bulgaria is practical enough to realise that the work of carrying out the details of the scheme will not be undertaken by her, but by the Great Powers. It will be for the Powers to secure the elementary rights of self-government to the Christian populations. Although it is still the fashion to regard Turkey as an independent State, the fact is that she ceased to be so long ago so far as the individual interests of the Great Powers are concerned. The same application of control could be enforced now as regards reform in Macedonia, and so it is not exaggerated optimism to hope that even in this eleventh hour some way may be found out of a dangerous situation whose prolongation can only have one result.

"So far as Bulgaria is concerned, if war breaks out it will not be due to a fever of enthusiasm in our country. It will be a war coldly and calmly undertaken as the sole issue out of an impossible situation. The present state of affairs in European Turkey is a gaping wound in the body politic of Bulgaria, through which she has been the prey of various diseases. We have 300,000 Bulgarians in Macedonia, and we are forced to give constant attention to their grievances at the expense of our own internal problems. We are forced to keep up an army far beyond our resources. It is a question of life and death for Bulgaria, and if there is war it will be a war dictated by necessity if ever war was.

"It is sometimes said that our demands are exaggerated. Well, they have been formally put into an international treaty subscribed to by all the Great Powers in Europe, and if they were considered to be indisputable 35 years ago to one who knows anything about national psychology or the details of the situation will venture to deny that they are more pressing and indispensable now.

"The recent massacres undoubtedly have had an exciting effect upon the Bulgarian population, but they could not have produced the results which they have done if there were not many other elements which already made for a dangerous situation. The massacres were simply the last straw. The time has come when something must be done. We have waited and waited. The Powers have given promise after promise, and have afterwards employed all their political and diplomatic skill in running away from them.

"We have at present in the Balkans all the disadvantages of war with none of the advantages of peace. If what we hope may even yet be avoided happens and war breaks out, the best justification lies in the fact that it should have occurred at a time when the destinies of Bulgaria are presided over by people whose love of peace has become proverbial, and with a Cabinet which for the first time in history has solemnly given the first place in their programme to the maintenance of friendly relations with Turkey. If such a Government fails in its efforts, there can be no better proof that friendly relations with Turkey have become impossible. Some of the worst of the massacres have happened under the present Administration in Turkey, and that seems to be the reply of the Turks, to the peaceful policy of the Bulgarian Government.

"The case of Crete is, of course mainly the concern of Greece. If the Greeks are anxious for the union of Crete with Greece, they have the justification of the attitude of some of the Great Powers, which

for many years encouraged the hope of the Greeks that one day their national ambitions would be realised and Crete would come under the government of Greece."

The Case of Greece.

London, October 2nd.

A Greek of importance in London, whose position gives him every right to express authoritatively the case of Greece in relation to the present crisis, was interviewed to-day by a London representative of the "Manchester Guardian." To him he gave the following outline of the Greek position as it is presented by the Greek leaders:—

"We, in common with all the other Balkan States, feel acutely the condition of the provinces peopled by our own flesh and blood. It was impossible for us, who have in our midst the fathers, brothers, and relatives of all these people, who form part of our Administrative Service, of our Civil Service, our army and navy—it was impossible for us not to be deeply touched by their sufferings and by the absolutely hopeless and tragic conditions in which they live. Murders, assassinations, robberies, violations are taking place daily, and their is no prospect before them of any better future. This, of course, is what constitutes solidarity between us and the other Balkan States. Beyond that there is the matter of Crete, which has been an open wound in our side, paralysing and disorganising our national life, and for which the Powers either could not find or did not find any permanent and just solution. Our claim is that the Cretans have vindicated their independence as completely as any people who have ever risen against foreign dominion. For instance, the people of the different parts of Italy did not attain their independence more worthily or justly than the Cretans; but Crete has been always foiled by the indecisive action of the Powers. The condition of things is now unlivable, even for the Cretans. The Cretans are told they are impatient and must wait. Remember what happened in the case of Italy. They had achieved complete unity, they had become a great Power, they had a magnificent capital in Florence, the Pope was the god on earth of hundreds of millions of Christians; yet the Italians declared that it was impossible for them to exist unless they had Rome as their capital. That was perfectly natural. The aspirations of a people cannot be submitted to the cold ordeal of logic or to mathematical calculations. Sentiment is a strong power almost as strong as material hunger. The Cretans within the last century have revolted on six different occasions, and on each occasion have been compelled by the policy of the Powers to remain under the impossible Turkish dominion. They have been far more patient than the Italians, and to no result.

"Then, again, lately it was evident from the measures taken by the Turks on our frontiers and from the open declarations both in the Turkish press and influential Turkish quarters that Turkey intended to seize suddenly any favourable movement in order to pay herself at our expense by attacking us and thus finding an issue out of her trouble with Italy and the danger from Bulgaria. This has been openly stated in many influential journals, some of them gloating over our fate. We were therefore compelled to take measures for our own protection, and we have to express our most sincere thanks to the Young Turkish party for having accomplished a remarkable political feat and for having brought about what was previously considered a mere dream—an entire and cordial understanding and co-operation between normally inimical nationalities in the Balkan Peninsula. This is the only political achievement upon which the Young Turks—who have been so applauded and pampered by the English and European press—can be justly congratulated.

"We are told that we ought to wait for the intervention of the Powers and to see the fruit of their good counsels. We are told that Turkey is really this time sincerely bent upon making reforms, and that the only thing necessary is to give them time and to supply them with money. We know all this by heart—it is a very old panacea. Ever since the beginning of last century, and even before, Turkey has put forward this plea at every crisis. All the treaties between Turkey and the Great Powers include articles which not only promised but minutely defined the reforms to be introduced. Two big Blue-books of 1880 give the elaborate results of the International Commission on the reforms to be introduced in virtue of article 23 of the Berlin Treaty. Where are the promised reforms? When the Young Turks came to power the whole of Europe welcomed them and we in the East were perfectly sincere in our desire to second them. There never was a moment of more sincere *rapprochement* between the Christian and the Turk. What have the Young Turks done? They are considered the flower of the Turkish nation, but we have discovered them to have been the scum of the cafes of the Quartier Latin. They imagined a dream of Turkification which means the debasement of all the Christian communities, who are far in advance of the Turks in civilisation, to the level of the race which has been the cause of the greatest political complications which Europe has known ever since they crossed the Dardanelles into Europe. Their administration was so tyrannical that people began to sigh for the return of the time of Abdul Hamid, who, with all his barbarity, must be admitted to have been a statesman. A few weeks after the advent of the Young Turks

we had the terrible massacres of Adana. At that time English and French ships were close by. What has been done? Who has been punished? Lately there was the massacre of Kotehana, but not a single soldier has been identified as having participated in that awful deed. What reliance can we be expected to place in an intervention of the Powers?

"Then there is the case of Samos. Samos has been constituted an autonomous principality by a treaty signed with the sacred signatures of three of the Great Powers—England, France, and Russia. One of the principal clauses was that the Turkish Government had not any right on any pretence whatever to maintain troops there. Last year the Young Turks among other reforms planted a whole regiment of Turkish troops there. The Samiotas protested and appealed to the three protecting Powers. The Powers replied: 'Oh, we must not worry the Turks now. They are going to introduce reforms'. The Samiotas at last rose in arms and they were naturally properly helped by their Cretan brethren. If the Isle of Wight were invaded, you would expect the islanders to be helped by Scotsmen. The Turks immediately began massacring there, and at last France and England sent ships to restrain the Turkish garrison, which they might have done with far more justice and effect a year ago. In to-day's 'Times' there is printed a statement on the Samos matter. It would be impossible to have contained in so small a space a greater number of quibbles, of chicanery of prevarications and perversities of the truth. When those who know what is taking place in Turkey and who have suffered as no other people in Europe have suffered meet with this treatment from the European press which expresses the minds of their Governments they may well lose faith in the intervention of the Powers.

"What credit can you expect these people to place upon the assurances of reforms? The state of Naples which Mr. Gladstone described in his famous letter to the Duke of Newcastle as 'the negation of God' would have been a godsend to these unfortunate people compared to what they suffer under. The state of affairs in Turkey is the affirmation of the devil. Patience is exhausted, and anyone who has read history knows that there are moments when nations prefer to incur the chances presented by the greatest of dangers rather than submit to to an absolutely intolerable state of things. And consider our own case. It is owing to Turkey that Greece is still denied railway communication with the rest of Europe. For fifteen years we have been negotiating with the Turkish Government, pressing for a junction of railways at some point on the boundary between the two countries, but we have never been able to obtain Turkey's permission for such a junction. We have been put off from year to year, and so Turkey has made us the only country in Europe deprived of railway communication with the rest of the Continent.

"All the things I have been telling you about what is happening in Macedonia and the other parts of European and Asiatic Turkey are wellknown to the Chancelleries of Europe. They have faithful and exact reports which they have never published. The London press has them also, and suppresses them. They have never given us a fair chance of putting our case. They repeatedly publish statements emanating from Turkish, Levantine and Jewish sources which absolutely prevent the truth. The fair dealing which is characteristic of the London press in all other public discussions is denied to us. Our replies and rectifications are not printed, and we have no chance of a fair hearing except as a rule in the 'Manchester Guardian' and in 'Truth'.

"We prefer annihilation to a continuance of the present state of affairs. We are quite agreed with our Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin brethren. The achievement of this joint simultaneous action has made the deepest impression. Our opponents and Europeans generally kept up the belief to the last moment that it was all bluff, and that joint action was impossible. They will see, if Turkey does not admit our just demands that will be presented presently, that our action will be as combined and determined in war as it has been in diplomacy.

"The seizure of Greek ships by the Turks is simply a declaration of war, and will be so treated."

Turkey's Defence.

London, Oct. 2.

The interview in to-day's 'Manchester Guardian' giving the official Bulgarian view on the crisis has aroused great interest in diplomatic quarters. The interview was submitted to-day to a prominent Turk in London—one qualified from his position to represent the official standpoint,—and he was asked to give a reply to the statements contained in it. In response he gave the following summary of the Turkish view, explaining that Turkey had not explained her position earlier because, being on the defensive in the matter, she has waited to hear the case of her assailants.

"The Balkan States, and Bulgaria in particular, are striving to justify their criminal action in troubling the peace of Europe by

accusing the Turks of having refused for 35 years, whether intentionally or not, to effect reforms in Macedonia. In support of their grievances they put forward many sophisticated arguments. As a matter of fact, at no moment whatever have the Turks been left sufficiently free or tranquil to put the necessary reforms into operation. Each time that a Turkish Government, either Young or Old, decided to do something in Macedonia, Bulgarian and other bands intervened with the sole aim of provoking disorders among the Moslem populations, whose national and religious sentiments have always been offended in the most brutal manner. The present Ottoman Government, whose sincere wish it is to endow all the provinces of the Empire with reforms according to their local customs and requirements, has beyond doubt recently decided to the general satisfaction to extend the reforms granted to the Albanians to all the other provinces of the Empire. This decision, whose execution will be prompt and immediate, has not satisfied the bomb throwers, because they do not really desire reforms but territorial advantages in proportion to their political aspirations. The public opinion of Europe, knowing very well political ambitions of the Balkan States, will not allow itself to be influenced by sophisms disguised under so called humanitarian objects accounts of which have been published lately by interested parties.

"As to the suggestion of endowing the provinces of European Turkey with autonomy, we may recall the example of Eastern Roumelia, which by the Treaty of Berlin obtained privileged administration which was to serve as the model of a prosperous and well-administered province, and also the case of Crete. These examples show what would be the fate of autonomous provinces in European Turkey.

"Turkey, really and sincerely pacific, will give effect to all the reforms which are required by all its provinces, and will do so in spite of all the outrages and the bombs of her neighbours. She will disturb the peace under no pretext whatever. In spite of her pacific intentions if provoked she will most decidedly be able to defend her honour and dignity."

A Turkish Deputy's View.

Reuter's representative has had an interview with Mr. Halil Hulusi, deputy in the Turkish Parliament for Angora. Mr. Halil said:—

"Though I have just come from the Peace conference at Geneva, circumstances force me to talk about war. Turkey is not a belligerent nation, but if forced to take up arms she will fiercely defend her rights. Bulgaria, Greece, and Servia demand autonomy for Macedonia, and that Turkey cannot grant. The history of the Ottoman Empire shows that autonomy is always the prelude to severance. Both the present and the last Turkish Governments have done their best to put into effect the policy of administrative decentralisation, whereby the various portions of the empire acquire an extended measure of local self-government. But the fact is that a reformed and contented Macedonia under Turkish rule is the last thing our Balkan neighbours desire. They want the situation so aggravated as to lead to intervention by the powers for their benefit. The agitation they are carrying on in Salonika is almost incredible. Bombs are among the ordinary affairs of everyday life. The Kotehana incident, which is now advanced as one of the causes of war, was an instance of the use of bombs in provoking reprisals at the hands of the Mahometans. No people of whatever country can be blamed for actively resenting such outrages.

The Turks, as I have said, do not wish war, but if a quarrel is forced upon them they are all, irrespective of party, prepared to do their duty, and the Albanians, who are at heart loyal to the throne, may be counted upon to come to the defence of the empire. The Young Turks have been blamed for the amount of their military expenditure, but events show the wisdom of their action, and Turkey is now as well prepared for war as she has been at any time in her history. The Tripoli campaign has in no way exhausted her resources.

Roumania's Position.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

ASK a man who knows something of the Balkans whether the coalition of the four States against Turkey must needs mean war, and he will probably answer your question, Scots fashion, by asking another: "What is the position of Roumania?" There was a moment when Turkey and Roumania were believed to have concluded at least a defensive alliance. On the day when a Bulgarian army of liberation moved southwards to Adrianople a Roumanian army of intervention would cross the Danube and occupy Bulgaria. That fear may have availed for years to keep the peace, and nothing so far is publicly known to prove that it has passed. There are omens, indeed, which suggest that Roumania will be a tranquil spectator of a Balkan drama, but as yet they authorize nothing more than a guess.

It would be difficult indeed to give any adequate reason why Roumania should intervene to rivet Turkish dominion on any part of European Turkey. She has no direct interest to serve. There are, it is true, scattered over the mountains of the Pindus, from the Greek frontier up to far Prizrend, shy little communities of Wallachs, whom Roumanians in a patriotic mood are pleased to consider as their countrymen. They certainly are the descendants of Roman colonists. They speak a Latin dialect mixed with Greek and Slavonic words. They say "Can" when they call the dog under the table, and "Pan" when they fling him a crust. But they never have lived in any historic connection with the Roumanians of Roumania. Their culture is Greek, and such Roumanian sentiment as they possess is recent and fictitious. No competent authority would assess them at more than 300,000 souls all told, and few would rate them so high. They cannot authorise any Roumanian claim to a status in a Turkish settlement.

Sentimentally the Roumanian army was in its natural place when it marched on Plevna in the Russian van and broke the brunt of Osman Pasha's resistance. The traditional feeling of the race is anti-Turkish, but the shabby share which Russia allotted to her little ally in the settlement made a current of anti-Russian feeling which survives to this day. The governing class, moreover, is profoundly jealous of the more competent and formidable Bulgaria. Roumanians may be anti-Turkish, but they are also anti-Slav. There mixes with their naive jealousy a snobbish feeling which would fain think of their race as something a good bit above Balkan level. They are Latins above everything, and the ruling class has carried its European sentiment so far that it even speaks and writes French rather better than its own mixed Slav-Latin mother tongue. It is these cross-currents which doubtless explain the success of Roumania's Hohenzollern dynasty in making the kingdom a semi-detached partner or satellite of the Triple Alliance. That tie has held in the absence of any call for action in spite of the standing grievance which Roumania has against Hungary on account of the continual and intolerable persecution of the Roumanians across the frontier by the Magyar party of ascendancy.

But there are omens which suggested that Roumania is not now fatally connected with Turkey or solidly bound to the Triple Alliance. In the first place, the King has just accepted the honorary position of a Marshal in the Russian Army—a courtesy which seems to revive the memories of an alliance which once was gallant, victorious, and happy. In the second place, while all the other Balkan States are mobilising Roumania has actually countermanded her own annual and regular peace manoeuvres. They will not be held at all this year "on account of the bad weather." Is it the physical or the political weather which is so peculiarly inopportune? One is inclined to interpret this announcement as a rather ostentatious declaration of neutrality. It may well turn out that Bulgaria has paid the price in advance. If she wins and gains territory in the South she will give Roumania a slice of her own Danube frontage. These are guesses. But the Bulgarians are calculating realists; and one may be sure of this—that they have counted all the risks before they courted war. The one risk which they could not have afforded to face was Roumanian intervention in the midst of their critical struggle with Turkey.

The Financial Question.

IF THE first requirement of a war is money, and plenty of it, it is safe to assert that with the exception of Roumania none of the Balkan States is in a fit condition to make war. The position of Turkey is well known. Her budgets, even before the war with Italy, had to be balanced by means of loans, and the recently published returns of revenue for the past eight months show a considerable drop in the figures, at the same time as the expenditure has increased owing both to the war and, still more, to the Albanian revolt. There is, however, this to be said about Turkey, that her resources are much larger than those of her rivals, while the maintenance of her troops would cost her considerably less.

With regard to Bulgaria, it is notorious that, having borrowed in July £1,000,000 from Paris banks, she was going to raise a much larger loan this autumn, but would not obtain it now. As an internal loan is out of the question, Bulgaria will have to fall back on the issue of notes, but even so the position of her banks is not quite favourable. According to the latest returns, the Bulgarian National Bank has in its vaults only £1,600,000 in gold and about £700,000 in silver, while the note circulation amounts to about £5,000,000. Metallic currency is, even now at a premium and is bound to increase considerably in case of a further large issue of notes.

The situation in Serbia is similar. Serbia has recently made no loan, and her various State Régies yield a considerable revenue, some of which has probably been saved up. But the cash will certainly

not suffice for the campaign, and, an internal loan being out of the question, recourse will also have to be had to notes. It is, however, sufficient to point out that the Servian National Bank also has only about £1,650,000 in gold and less than £800,000 in silver, while the circulation of notes amounts to £2,800,000. In Serbia, too, coin is at a premium.

Of the Montenegrins nothing need be said. They have nothing, but perhaps they need nothing. If they should need anything they may probably get something from one or the other numerous relatives of their King.

As for Greece, the official statements are very pessimistic. The last two years were financially very good, and there is a free balance of a few millions in hand. But the recent journey of King George is said to have been connected with an effort to raise a loan, which if it is true, shows that Greece, too, is in financial difficulties.

It is worth noting that the expenses of mobilisation for Bulgaria and Serbia are estimated at about a minimum of 8s. 4d. a day per man, excluding the expenses on railway transport.—*Manchester Guardian*.

The Future of Macedonia.

A TREATISE ON "Individual Initiative", written in Turkish by a local Jewish author, is noticeable for a remarkable preface which it contains from the pen of Hussein Kiazim Bey, the ex-Vali of Salonika. Those who were in close contact with the late Governor-General know him as a man of singularly independent views, but few will be prepared for so pessimistic a declaration concerning the existing situation or the suggestion of so heroic a remedy as he now puts forward.

Hussein Kiazim Bey was a partisan of administrative decentralization. He realized, as did few others in the Young Turk Party, the impossibility of applying the same laws and organization to Salonika as to Bassorah, to Skutari as to the Yemen. He threw himself with enthusiasm into the work of his vilayet council—the first and only serious attempt of the Turkish Government to grant to the provinces a voice in their own affairs. But the policy of decentralization inaugurated in Albania by Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha's Cabinet fills him with dismay and foreshadows to him the dismemberment of the Empire.

"After the granting of these privileges to the Albanians, privileges which one will be compelled to extend to every province in the Empire, it will be impossible to resist the current which will carry the country towards its dissolution".

And again, "behind the clamours of joy from the few Albanians to satisfy whom these concessions have been granted one hears the terrible voice of Borcholt". For the remedy which shall save "Macedonia and the Ottomanism which it represents" from the clutches of "the Greeks, the Bulgars, and the Serbs, who are already discounting their profits", Hussein Kiazim Bey looks only to the *écrasement* of the State which is chiefly responsible for the disorder existing in the country. "The Osmanli who entered Rumelia by force of arms must keep it by the same means". The Balkan Federation, which he once backed with all his might, he now sees to be an impossible ideal, and he considers that "only the war will permit the continued existence of the Turk in Macedonia". The idea of devolution inaugurated by the Cabinet of Mukhtar Pasha must be destroyed at the roots or it will impose itself on us sooner or later, and will draw us under the tide of internal and external difficulties which is rising over our heads".—*Manchester Guardian*.

Persia.

News of the Week.

REPLYING to Colonel Yate in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey said that negotiations for a concession for a railway from Mohammerah to Khorramabad were still in progress.

The Government troops appear to have lost touch with Salas-ud-Dowleh. A constant look out is being kept from the city gate where guns have been posted. Bakhtiari scouts have been sent out in all directions.

Replying to questions regarding M. Sazonoff's visit, Sir Edward Grey said that the need for a new loan to Persia was fully recognised and the matter was still being considered. The question of a new financial adviser had not been specifically raised, but it was recognised that if financiers stipulated for a strong treasury control Persia would have to consider them. The British Consul at Tabriz reports that Russian troops have begun to withdraw and that 2,800 have left Tabriz during the past two days.

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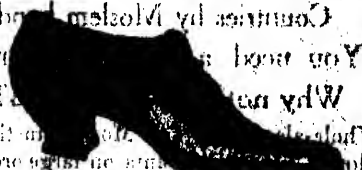


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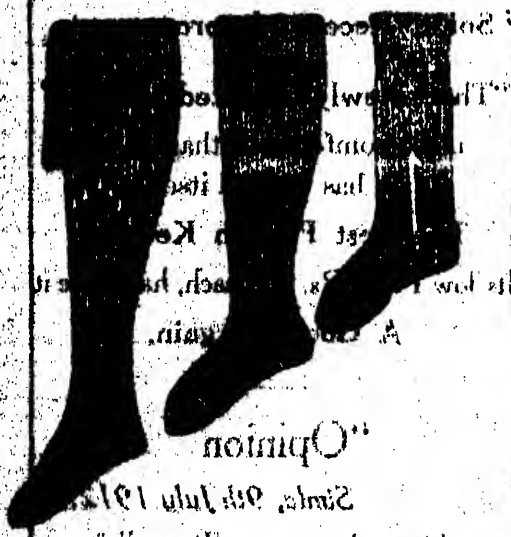
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Balfour describing it as legislative insanity. An amendment to delete the sub-section was rejected by 306 to 209. The remainder of Clause 5 and the whole of Clause 6 were then adopted by means of the closure rule, the proposal to apply which was not discussed.

Morocco.

AFTER months of negotiations, which often threatened to lead to a serious rupture between France and Spain, a Franco-Spanish agreement, with regard to Morocco, has been concluded. *Inter alia*, it provides for territorial concessions from the Spanish zone to compensate France for the latter's sacrifices in the Congo.

Mr. Gokhale.

THE Mayor presided at a large meeting when an Indian organisation presented addresses to Mr. Gokhale. Senator Schreiner delivered a speech of welcome. Mr. Gokhale, in reply, said that his compatriots in South Africa would find that India would support them, but they must do nothing to jeopardise the real interest of the Empire.

At a banquet given at Kimberley in honour of Mr. Gokhale, the latter said that the treatment of Indians throughout the Colonies was generally speaking most unsatisfactory. Unless their grievances were remedied, there would be serious discontent in India, which was bound to affect the internal administration of India. He, however, thought that South African statesmen were on the right track.

Mr. Gokhale was welcomed at Klerksdorp by four hundred Indians and then attended a public reception. Subsequently he proceeded to Potchefstroom, Krugersdorp and Johannesburg.

Mr. Gokhale was welcomed at Johannesburg by the Mayor and many citizens. An elaborate arch had been erected near the station. Many addresses were presented to Mr. Gokhale, including one from the British Indian Association engraved on a golden plate.

Afghanistan.

THE high price of food grains in Eastern Afghanistan has lately been the cause of some discontent among the troops serving in the Jellalabad district. Recently some of the men sent a petition direct to the Amir at Kabul, stating that their monthly pay of Rs. 10 (Kabuli) was not sufficient to meet their wants, and asking that it might be increased. The petitioners have been informed that the Amir on arrival at Jellalabad in November will look into the matter. Meanwhile they are warned that all future petitions must be sent through their officers, otherwise they will be severely punished.

China.

A MESSAGE to the *North China Daily News* from Tachiealu says that the Chinese expedition to Tibet has been ordered to withdraw. The official explanation is that peace has been concluded, but the more probable reason is the lack of funds, and the reluctance of troops to accept paper money.

The Week.

Home Rule.

CLAUSE 2 of the Home Rule Bill defining the powers of the Irish Parliament was carried under the guillotine by 328 votes to 222. All proposals made by the Opposition in the direction of restriction were rejected except one. This was accepted by Mr. Redmond and the Government and deprives the Irish Parliament of powers of legislation regarding Trinity College, Dublin, Dublin University, and Queen's College, Belfast. The Government also promised an amendment strictly limiting Irish control of the Post Office internal arrangements in Ireland. Clause 3 of the Home Rule Bill, providing religious safeguards, was adopted under the guillotine closure.

The Commons debated the first sub-section of Clause 5 of the Home Rule Bill, which provides for eventual Irish control of the consular service. The Opposition vigorously denounced the proposal, Mr.

A proclamation has been made in Lhasa, declaring that East Tibet is now peaceful, and calling on all to assist in establishing the new provinces which is being formed west of Tibet and western Szechuan.

Answering a series of questions on the subject of the Chinese loan, Mr. Acland said that the Imperial Government regarded the negotiations between China and the Six Power Group as merely in abeyance. The Government was not prepared to support other parties desiring to lend money to China. The papers regarding the negotiations with the Six Power Group would be laid on the table of the House. The Group, Mr. Acland stated, held that China was still bound by the Agreement concluded on March 9th, and reaffirmed on May 17th.

The Bihar Legislative Council.

A BIRAR paper understands that the total strength of the Bihar Legislative Council will be 41, out of which 21 members will be elected in the following manner:—Municipal Boards, 5; District Boards, 5; Zemindars, 5; special Mahomedan Electorates, 4; Planter 1 and Mining Industry 1.

White Slave Traffic.

THE Government of India in the Home Department is circulating the Hon. Mr. Madge's Bill relating to the white slave trade to Local Governments and the High Court, Calcutta, and inviting their opinion thereon. The Hon. Mr. H. Wheeler, Secretary, in the course of a covering letter writes:—I am directed to forward herewith a copy of a Bill to suppress the importation of foreign women for prostitution and to punish the importers, and others profiting thereby, which was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Madge at a meeting of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General held on the 18th September, 1912. Attention is also invited to the proceedings of that Council in connection with the Bill which were published in the "Gazette of India" of the 28th ultimo. I am to request that the Government of India may be favoured with an expression of the opinion regarding the desirability of the legislation proposed after such consultation with representative provincial opinion, official and non-official, as may be deemed necessary. Criticisms should deal with the substance of the measure rather than with points of drafting, and as it is desirable that a decision should be arrived at regarding this Bill before the close of the approaching legislative session, it is requested that a reply to this letter may reach the Government of India not later than the 15th January, 1913. While the Government of India are in complete sympathy with the object which the promoter of the Bill has in view and recognise to the full the desirability of taking all practicable steps to prevent or mitigate the evil at which it is aimed, they wish expressly to refrain at this stage from any approval either of the substance of the Bill or of the procedure which it prescribes. Without entering upon a detailed criticism of the measure it would require revision before it could be passed into law and in point of substance there is much that requires most careful consideration. In particular the Government of India notice that the procedure prescribed by the Bill is not in accordance with the general law of criminal procedure in force in British India and that the penalty of deportation which it imposes might in many cases be unsuitable and in certain cases impracticable. The evil which the Hon. Mr. Madge desires to suppress is presumably confined in the sea-port towns, though there is some evidence that women of the class the Bill seeks to protect have occasionally found their way upcountry. The Governor-General in Council, therefore, desires that all Local Governments, while criticising the Bill, should ascertain the relevant facts concerning the existence and extent of the abuses which it is intended to check and will furnish information as to how far the present laws on the subject either suffice or, if more strictly administered, could be made to suffice to combat such abuses so far as they can be combated. If in any other manner than that contemplated by the hon. member it is possible to amend or supplement the law so as to secure the objects in view, the Government of India will be glad to accord to any such a thorough and most careful examination.

New Delhi.

The following Press communiqué is issued in the Foreign Department:—

"General lines of the programme of the State Entry of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge into Delhi on December 23rd, 1912:—

Their Excellencies will arrive at the Delhi main station about midday (actual time not yet fixed) on December 23rd. They will be received on arrival by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, also His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and the principal officers of the Punjab Government and such Punjab Chiefs as are present in Delhi. An address of welcome

will be presented to His Excellency by the Delhi Municipal Committee at the station. At the conclusion of the address, Their Excellencies will proceed in elephant procession to the Delhi fort, where a Durbar will be held in the Diwan-i-Am. They will be accompanied by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and staff, members of the Executive Council, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and the Punjab Chiefs. The route of the procession will be via the Queen's Garden, the Town Hall, Chandni Chowk, through the Lahori Gate of the fort to the Naubatkhana. At the Naubatkhana Their Excellencies will be met by the Governor-General's Legislative Council. The elected non-official members of such body will present His Excellency with an address of welcome. While the address is being presented, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and staff, and the Punjab Chiefs, will proceed on in procession to the Dewan-i-Am and take their seats in durbar. At the conclusion of the address Their Excellencies will proceed in procession to the Dewan-i-Am. The procession will consist of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and staff, the ordinary members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the members of the Legislative Council and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. At the Durbar His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab will deliver an address to His Excellency, formally handing over Delhi to the Government of India. No presentations will be made. After His Excellency has acknowledged the address, the Durbar will be closed. Their Excellencies will leave the Dewan-i-Am in procession and on arrival at the Naubatkhana will mount their elephants and proceed in the same manner as before to the Mori Gate. The route to be followed will be the Delhi Gate of the fort, the Khan road, past King Edward's statue, round the Juma Masjid, leaving it on the right, Esplanade road, Chandni Chowk, Dufferin bridge, Mori Gate. On reaching the Tishazari maidan, outside the Mori Gate, the elephants of Their Excellencies will be halted in order that Their Excellencies may take farewell of the Punjab Chiefs and have an opportunity of viewing the procession which will pass along the boulevard road. After the procession has passed, Their Excellencies will alight from their elephants and proceed by motor to the Circuit House, via the Alipore road. The Durbar will be attended by all the principal officers of the Government of India and the Punjab Government; the Headquarter staff of the Army and the heads of the Civil and Military departments. Admission will be by tickets, and ladies and members of the official and non-official community will be invited to be present in such number as the limited space available will permit. The wives and the families of the principal officials will be provided with seats in the gallery of the Naubatkhana. All attending the Durbar must be seated in the durbar hall by 12 noon. The Government of India are making no arrangements for the attendance at these functions of persons other than those officially connected with the ceremonies. Stands to view the procession will be erected by the Delhi Municipality, seats on which can be obtained on payment. There will be a fireworks display in the evening in front of the Juma Masjid, the time for which has not yet been fixed."

The Chief Commissioner of Delhi has notified December 23rd as a public holiday under the Negotiable Instruments Act.

The Hindu University.

THE Maharaja of Darbhanga, President of the Hindu University Society, has replied to Sir Harcourt Butler's letters of August 9th conveying the Secretary of State's decision regarding the University.

The Hindu University Society, after considering the letters, authorized the President to give a reply in the course of which the Committee first thank the Government for accepting the proposal for the establishment of a University for the Hindu community at Benares.

On the question of name, the reply says that while the members of the Executive Committee fully recognise that a change of name will in no way involve any change in the essential features and the scope of the proposed University at Benares, they cannot help feeling that the new name proposed for it will not appeal to the Hindu public at large throughout India to the same extent as the one by which it has till now been proposed to be called. Located at Benares the sacred city of the Hindus, the association of the word Hindu with its name will not only satisfy a much cherished sentiment, but will also indicate and point out that it will be for the benefit of the entire Hindu community of India. The Executive Committee has consulted donors, and they find that public opinion is very strongly in favour of retaining the name originally proposed. The Committee hope that the Government will be pleased to allow them to do so.

The reply further says that the decision that the University will have no power of affiliation outside the locality in which it is established has caused deep disappointment, and the Committee feel extremely reluctant in soliciting reconsideration of that point. The Committee point out that the first of four principal objections to the grant of the power of affiliation outside the locality is very much mitigated by

the facts—(a) that affiliation of outside Colleges would only be granted under rules approved by the Government to institutions as well equipped as one of the University Colleges in any branch of learning and science; (b) that institutions applying for affiliation will be required to make religious instruction an integral part of their work; (c) that they will be residential Colleges, fully equipped as such; (d) and lastly, that affiliation will depend, after all, on the final sanction of the Government. The number of institutions likely to fulfil all these conditions will, at any rate for a long time, be inconsiderable. With proper safeguards there is little fear of conflict of territorial jurisdiction or of undesirable competition.

With regard to the second objection, that outside affiliation would keep down the standard and destroy the hope that Colleges would become genuine seats of learning, the reply says that such would not be the case. The great distances in India make it extremely difficult for students from every part of India to come over to Benares. It is only in case of the higher studies that such concentration is most beneficial. If the post-graduate studies were concentrated at Benares while the study for degrees were also permitted in well-equipped Colleges, much of the objection would be obviated. The Government will also have the power to limit the application at any point it likes. But if no Colleges are affiliated outside Benares, the cherished hope of the promoters to shape the curriculum which will conduce to the development of Hindu culture will be realisable in Benares alone. The Committee further point out that it would be absolutely necessary for the proposed University to hold matriculation examinations at various centres in India, and it would also have power to recognise schools.

In conclusion, the Committee feel disappointed that the Viceroy cannot be the Chancellor, and they hope that this point may be reconsidered; but in any event they would feel gratified if the University were permitted to place at its head as its protector the august name of the King-Emperor, and they hope that the Viceroy will become its first patron. As to other points, the Committee submit their constitution in the form of a draft Bill and memorandum, with a suggestion that preliminary details can best be settled by a conference and discussion between the representatives of the Committee and the Government.

The total sum collected up to date for the Hindu University is nearly seventeen lakhs and eighteen thousand rupees. The revised constitution has been drafted on the lines of the constitutions of the Universities of Manchester, Sheffield and Birmingham and the proposed Aligarh University. Special provision is made for the representation on the governing body of the University of Jain and Sikh religions and for instruction in those faiths. The Maharaja of Kashmir has sanctioned an annual permanent grant of Rupees twelve thousand in aid of the University.

Jum'a Prayers.

The following resolution was passed by the Anjuman-i-Hind-ut-Tarbiyyat-i-Masabunan, Lahore, at a meeting held on the 22nd October:—

"In view of the fact that Islam commands its followers to abstain from all occupation except prayer at the time of the Jum'a prayers, this Anjuman respectfully begs the government to issue a standing order granting government servants of the Moslem persuasion leave for two hours every Friday from 12-30 p. m. to 2-30 p. m."

The Moslem University.

(FROM THE LONDON "STANDARD'S" MADRAS CORRESPONDENT).

From a trustworthy source I learn that there is extreme dissatisfaction in Hyderabad with the Secretary of State's decision—announced last month by the Government of India—regarding the Mohamedan University. By that decision the power of affiliating colleges in other parts of India to the Aligarh College when raised to the position of a university was denied, and the effect is to turn what was to have been the Mohamedan University of all India into merely the Aligarh University.

Sound the reasons stated by Sir Harcourt Butler may be, and it is clear that the original scheme would have been out of accord with the new principles of university education enunciated by Mr. Montagu in his Indian Budget speech; but the promoters of the scheme find themselves in the very awkward position of having gathered funds from all parts of India on the tacit understanding that there would be affiliated institutions all over the country in time, when actually there are to be none. The Hyderabad nobles who contributed liberally to the funds are said to be inclined to demand the return of their subscriptions; I am even told that some are for dropping the whole idea in pique. Somewhat similar feelings of disappointment are general among Mahomedans in all parts of India, but attention is drawn particularly to Hyderabad

of the premier Native State of India, and because they are at present keeping silent, and may be supposed to be acquiescing in a decision they very strongly dislike.

Nothing for a long time has stirred Indian Mohamedan opinion so much as the Secretary of State's decision that Aligarh may not affiliate institutions in other parts of the country. It is well, therefore, to point out that the organisers of the fund have chiefly themselves to blame for their position. It is true that the Government of India might have made their objections to that part of the scheme informally known to the Mohamedan leaders at an earlier date, but there is a good deal of evidence that the latter purposely concealed their suspicion that there would be objections in order to secure subscriptions from all parts of India. Early in March last it was stated on the authority of a prominent supporter of the scheme that there were objections.

The statement was at once contradicted by the "Comrade," the Mohamedan weekly, which, however, has now acknowledged it "knew all the time" that the Secretary of State objected to grant powers of affiliation. It should be added that no prominence was given originally to the idea of affiliation which is now declared to be so essential. In view of these facts, the vehement protests which are expected as soon as attempts to alter the Secretary of State's decision fail ought not to be taken too seriously, unless they come from those who did not know that such a decision was probable, and these last should blame the organisers of the scheme rather than the Government of India.*



The McCormick Case.

THE memorial which is being sent up to the Viceroy on behalf of Mr. C. Arnold bears so far some twenty thousand signatures. Mr. Arnold, through his counsel (Mr. Hamlyn) has been the recipient of numerous letters and telegraphic messages from Burma and India, containing expressions of sympathy, encouragement and surprise at the result of the recent trial.

A mass meeting was held on the 26th October at Victoria Hall, Rangoon, Mr. B. Cowasjee, Barrister-at-Law, presiding. It was attended by all classes of the community. The chairman explained that the object of the meeting was to express their deep sympathy with Mr. Channing Arnold, editor of the "Burma Critic." Numerous messages of sympathy were received, three of which were read to the meeting. The first was from the editor of the "Comrade" (Delhi) asking the Arnold Release Committee to convey his heartfelt sympathy to Mr. Arnold and enquiring if his journal could be of any service and requesting to be supplied with a verbatim report of the Chief Court proceedings. The second was from the Vice-president, Calcutta Institute of Journalists, in which they strongly support the movement for Arnold's release. The third was from the Senior Chaplain, Rawalpindi, in which he asked his name to be added to the memorial to the Viceroy and expressing eagerness to join the subscription list. The Chairman spoke in eulogistic terms of the services rendered to the public by Mr. Arnold in his career as journalist. He asked those present to join in continuance of their respect and love for Mr. Arnold who, when he came out of jail, sooner or later, would find them exactly where they were in their love and esteem for him. Six other speakers spoke in support of the first resolution which was "that the meeting consisting of citizens of all races in Rangoon, desired to express their deep sympathy with Mr. Channing Arnold in his suffering and assure him of their undiminished love and esteem for him." Seven others supported the second resolution: "That this meeting pledges itself to endeavour to obtain an early release of Mr. Arnold by all constitutional means." Both resolutions were carried unanimously with acclamation. The chairman next reminded the meeting of their having to take the matter up to His Majesty's Privy Council if they did not succeed here, for which a large sum would be needed by way of expenses, and subscription lists would be issued as early as possible. The meeting closed with three hearty cheers for Mr. Arnold.

At this meeting most of the speakers, it may be stated, were not personally acquainted with Mr. Arnold. Dr. Cote, M. B., in the course of her remarks, said that she had carefully followed the "Burma Critic" during the past year and a half, and realised that Mr. Arnold was a man of very superior mind, a man who had tried to do all he possibly could for all nationalities in Burma. She would stand as a woman and praise Mr. Arnold for the effort he had made in protecting childhood and womanhood in the province. All nationalities' women in Burma owed Mr. Arnold a great deal of gratitude for his efforts in trying to place women in a position, sacred and holy, before the whole world. She would not condemn

*The Standard's Madras correspondent has neither understood us nor the situation. The only one to blame is the Secretary of State who alone "knew all the time" and took so long to announce his views. But that is an old story, and we are not going to rewrite half a dozen leaders to

the proceedings in the case, but would say that if Mr. Arnold had a jury of women he would not have been behind the walls of the jail. She hoped that the meeting would prove beneficial to the man who was suffering from a great wrong, a man who had tried earnestly and sincerely to improve the morals of the country (loud applause).

(FROM THE "BURMAH CRITIC.")

MR. CHANNING ARNOLD, Editor of the *Burma Critic*, after a ten days' trial, was found guilty of defamation on Saturday, the 19th, by a jury and sentenced to simple imprisonment for a term of one year. The verdict has caused great surprise, but if the sentence results in the improvement of the administration of justice in Burma, and greater regard being shown to the feeling of the poorest classes of the community, we know it will be gladly undergone. Mr. Arnold as he lays his head on his pillow in the Rangoon Jail to-night is probably a happier man than the proudest of his assailants. His facts may have been right, or they may have been wrong, but he had courage to publish his convictions, they were honestly given and the very suffering for them in the cause of a poor Mohamedan woman and her daughter, will stir up the minds of English-speaking men and women all the world over, and we may be assured will bring about a happier state of things in such distant places as Victoria Point on the confines of the British Empire.

Many of our readers have been disappointed that we have not published the proceedings of the Case that has been going on in the Chief Court, in which Mr. Arnold has been the principal. On the other hand, there are those readers who have become tired of hearing of the Case. To enable the public in general to thoroughly understand the Case, we are having the facts of the principal points in the evidence, as given in Court by the witnesses, together with the summing up of the Chief Judge tabulated. The law of defamation will also be dealt with, so that the public will have an opportunity of judging the merits of the case for themselves and so enable them to clear up any points that may have been only partly understood by them.

The Verdict.

A word, and only one is to be said,
He did not court, nor wish for, well earned praise.
On other men's acclaims he never fed,
He only thought to right the wrong.

Fearless in every thing he thought was right,
Regretting not the fame he could have earned,
His spur, injustice—urging him to fight,
He only thought to right the wrong.

Ambition, place and gold he deemed as dross,
To him all men were true until proved false,
Forgetting self, not knowing gain from loss,
He only thought to right the wrong.

And then the verdict. All know how it ran,
Praise it or comment—one great fact remains,
The verdict of the world upon the man,
"He only thought to right the wrong."

MISCELLANEOUS TURKISH RELIEF FUND COLLECTIONS.

Name of place	Name of person in charge of the fund	The weeks progress.						Progress upto date.						Remarks.	
		Amount collected			Amount forwarded			To whom forwarded and through what agency.	Amount collected.			Amount forwarded.			
		Rs.	as	p.	Rs.	as	p.		Rs.	as	p.	Rs.	as		p.
Kanack	Soth H. A. Haroon.	13	9	4494	2	7	British Red Crescent Society by a D/D	37116	8	5	28618	5	10		
							Miscellaneous Expenditure								

TETE À TETE



WE PUBLISHED in our last a cablegram from the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali most earnestly appealing to Indian Moslems to put forth prompt and whole-hearted efforts to raise funds as it was apprehended that the war would cause frightful suffering and distress. That apprehension has proved only too real in fact. As we go to press we have received the following cablegram from His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Ameer Ali: "Foreign Office informs Red Crescent many Turkish wounded lying untended in Philippopolis and Sofia. Mercy's sake send funds. Appalling destitution. Don't let Moslems starve and die." It should, we think, be superfluous by any comment to bring home to every Indian Moslem the heart-rending appeal of these words. They are not meant for tears. If ever there was a genuine spark of fraternal feeling in the hearts of the Indian Mussalmans, if they have not forgotten the glorious teaching of their faith, that sacrifice is the supreme test of sympathy, they would not let thousands of their fellow-Moslems perish of pain and hunger. The Ottoman soldiers who are cheerfully facing the unimaginable horrors of a wicked war and shedding their blood in defence of their honour and faith have a right to expect that their brethren in India will at least forego some luxuries to help them in their dire need. The blood of the martyrs is at least worth the price of the tobacco that a well-to-do Moslem consumes daily or of his weekly dish of plau, if not of a higher value or worth a higher sacrifice.

THE tribulations of the Turks have quickened the heart-beats of the Indian Moslems, but their purse strings have not been loosened wide enough. The funds that are being raised in Moslem India have not yet reached a figure that the urgency of the occasion and the duty and honour of the Indian Moslems alike demand. We are saved from utter despondency by some act of pure sacrifice—very rare and very precious—that now and then comes to light, though such rare acts can hardly be regarded as acts of redemption for 70 millions. The very recent example of such sacrifice that has come to our notice has been set by a Moslem lady whose love of Islam and active sympathy for her suffering brethren should suffice to teach every Moslem the duty he owes to Islam. Mrs. Syed Burhan Hyder's letter which we reproduce below has not surprised us. Sympathy with suffering and sacrifice for a righteous cause are amongst the privileges of a true-hearted woman. Mrs. Syed Burhan Hyder writes from Barabanki:—"I, with the consent of my husband, offer for sale his share of the pucca-built house in the town of Nehtaur in Bijnaur District with all the boxes, clothes, brassware, books on religion and all other articles and furniture in the house with a view to help the Turks in the Balkan war. Those who wish to buy should write to the following address, but the intending buyers should bear in mind that we are giving up everything we have and that they, too, should treat the offer generously for it is meant for a religious object:—Mrs. Syed Burhan Hyder, c/o Syed Nasir-ud-Din Hyder Sahab, Deputy Collector, Barabanki. The address of my husband is:—Syed Burhan Hyder, Tahsildar, Tahsil Bhadmar, Mahmudabad Estate, District Sitapur (Oudh). Ladies should write to me while gentlemen should communicate with my husband." We always knew that there was genuine Islam behind the Purdah; but have the sons of Islam hidden their faith also behind the veil?

A CORRESPONDENT writes to us:—"All Indian Mussalmans must welcome the idea of an Indo-Moslem Red Crescent Mission for Turkey. This, indeed, would be a living embodiment of our sympathy for the Turks in their hour of sore trial. It has moreover a great educative value and

would be a living example of the new spirit of humanity and co-operation which is abroad in India. May India produce many more sons like Dr. Ansari and many more Moslems like him who would sacrifice every material prospect for such an admirable object pleasing in the sight of both God and man. May his efforts be crowned with that success which it fully deserves. Every Moslem should see that he gets all the funds and the Mission is really equipped in the most up-to-date manner, for it would be representative of Moslem India and should be the best of its kind." Our correspondent wishes to "know further details as to who is collecting the subscriptions for it, for we are eagerly awaiting further particulars of this happy idea." We have already published Dr. Ansari's letter outlining the scheme and we may inform our correspondent that the funds for the purpose are being collected by us. The whole scheme depends for its success on the character of the response it evokes amongst the Mussalmans. The funds should be forthcoming as soon as possible and they should be large enough to equip an efficient Mission.

The Meerut College. The annual report compiled by Mr. William Jesse, Principal of the Meerut College, for the year 1911-12 is a record of steady progress in the work of that institution. The number of students shows a marked increase this year in

consequence of which a new Professor has been added to the staff. The results of the last University examinations were on the whole satisfactory and compared well with those of all the other colleges in the University. The Law Department and the Business Department of the institution seem to be doing useful work. Considerable attention has been devoted to the equipment of a suitable library and every Boarding House has its own regular reading-room which is well supplied with newspapers and magazines. The Meerut College Society has played considerable part in the corporate life of the college. The finances of the college are in a sound condition and the Government grant has been increased; but, as the Principal says, "much still remains to be done, in fact, the greater the improvement the more our needs and ambitions increase". Among the more pressing needs of the college are a General Endowment Fund, a new Hall, a Biological Laboratory and a number of new Boarding Houses. With the steady rise in the number of students it is becoming increasingly necessary every year to provide suitable hostel accommodation. The present quarters allotted to the Mohamedan boarders are in many ways unsuitable for their requirements. Out of the Government grant of Rs. 20,000 a new Mohamedan Boarding House will be commenced almost immediately, and we hope wealthy Mussalmans of the Meerut Division will liberally help the authorities of the college in completing the proposed hostel.

The Calcutta Madrasah. The recent Press *Communiqué* dealing with the examination scandals in the Calcutta Madrasah throws an ugly light on the administration of an institution which has long outgrown the stage of usefulness. In consequence of the complaints received by the Bengal Government regarding the conduct of the examinations held at the Madrasah during last March and April, the Governor in Council appointed a Committee to inquire into the matter. It appears from the report of the Committee that some of the examination papers leaked out in March and had to be reset and that some of the papers set for the final examination in April also got into the hands of some of the candidates several days before the examination. The papers were reset and cyclo-styled copies were prepared under the supervision of the Head Maulvi with the assistance of some of the Maulvies and two Baktaries; but they leaked out again. The Committee have been unable to bring the guilt home to anyone in particular. But, though willing to absolve the Head Maulvi of any charge of dishonesty, "the Governor in Council is clearly of opinion that after the two previous leakages, the Head Maulvi ought to have taken special precaution so as to prevent a third repetition and that this failure on his part cannot be excused." The Governor in Council has, therefore, directed that the Head Maulvi should be compelled to retire from the service of Government. It may be satisfactory to learn that arrangements for examination in future years will be reorganised in order to prevent the recurrence of incidents of such nature, but it would leave the larger question about the type and quality of the education imparted in the Calcutta Madrasah altogether untouched. The Madrasah in its present condition is a costly luxury. In a sense it is doing more harm than good to the true interests of Moslem education in Bengal for it is, on account of its antiquated methods and defective ideals, turning out men of feeble stuff who are rarely fit to take an enlightened lead in the affairs of the community. Lord Carmichael's interest in education is well-known, and the Hon. Syed Shams-ul-Huda, who is in charge of the Moslem educational interests, knows best the educational needs of the Mussalmans. Should it then be difficult for the Bengal Government to overhaul the whole system of

education now in vogue in the Madrasah and turn it into an efficient institution for the higher education of the Mussalmans?

The Mohamedan Orphanage at Delhi. The Hon. Mr. Hailey, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, paid a visit to the Mohamedan Orphanage on the 25th October. He expressed his pleasure at finding the institution in a good condition and he congratulated the members of the Orphanage Committee on the efforts made by them to maintain the Orphanage on practical and useful lines. We trust the Orphanage authorities will never slacken their efforts to carry on their work on the lines noted by the Chief Commissioner. The main object of an orphanage should be to train orphans for useful occupations in life, in accordance with their personal or hereditary aptitudes. It should be a home of useful arts and industries. The institution that fails to train its inmates as bread-winners and depends for its existence on promiscuous charity rather than on its own self-created resources is evidently far from the ideal. We hope the Mohamedan Orphanage in Delhi will continue to be run on the lines that will speedily raise it to the status of a self-supporting institution.

The Peace Congress. The International Peace Congress, that met at Geneva towards the end of September, gave rise to a remarkable incident. The Egyptian delegates attending the Congress submitted a resolution at one of its sittings, urging England to evacuate Egypt and confer self-governing institutions on the Egyptian people. The resolution was harmless in intention and was well within the scope and competence of the Peace Congress to discuss. It seems, however, that some of the British delegates refused to allow any discussions about the freedom and rights of Egypt to form part of the Congress programme. But they could not have their own way, and consequently they left the meeting as a mark of protest. The resolution was passed by a large majority of votes. We have no quarrel with Englishmen differing from Egyptian nationalists in their views about the duties of England towards young nationalities. But, then, the politicians who cannot listen to discussions about the duties of the British Empire have no business to figure in peace congresses as champions of popular rights and of the hopes and aspirations of humanity. The *Times* correspondent informs us that the best known British delegate who left the Congress after the first day's sitting owing to the presence of the Young Egyptians was justified in describing it as an amorphous gathering. Apparently, any one who paid a subscription could attend and express opinions or ventilate a grievance. We do not know whether the Peace delegates are required to sign a solemn declaration of their political creed before they are admitted into "the Palace of Peace." If any declaration of the kind were found to be necessary we are sure it would contain a definite clause prohibiting the entry of those whose pride of race and power lies at the root of a great many woes and miseries of the world. If the International Peace movement has no concern with freedom, it might well be turned into a club of international Imperialists, where such great lovers of human progress as the *Times* correspondents would lecture on the rights of those that have and the duties of those that have not.

In a previous issue we noted the great need that existed in Rangoon for the establishment of an efficient High School for the education of the Burmese Moslems. Mr. C. Arnold, Editor of the *Burma Critic*, who had begun to take an active interest in the creation of a residential High School for the Rangoon Moslems has through some malign fate been condemned to suffer "in duance vile." But we trust the project that he had outlined some time ago will materialise. A correspondent from Rangoon informs us that the idea of a High School has been in the air for the past three years. "The movement was started with some enthusiasm and, as usual, meetings were held, committees appointed, rules framed and large donations promised by leading Mussalmans." But the donations were never realised and consequently the scheme has been hanging fire. Even after the Rangoon session of the All-India Moslem Educational Conference no practical results ensued and the state of Moslem education has continued to be as unsatisfactory as ever. Through the generosity of a donor who had paid his donation, "a suitable land with a house on it was bought at Victoria Lakes and the Madrasah-i-Rifah-i-Am was transferred there with the hope that the donations promised by the leaders of the Moslem community would be paid up speedily." Had the promises been realised, sufficient sums would have been available for the creation of a well equipped High School with a number of hostels attached to it. But the promises have never been realised. Our correspondent asks "if there is no law by which such men could be made to make good their words." We still hold in spite of our correspondent's scepticism and in spite of all that has recently happened that the moral law is as binding in Burma as anywhere else.

The Comrade.

The Sacrifice.

When amidst the world's idol temples the first House of God was to be built, as Iqbal puts it, Abraham was required by Allah to make a sacrifice of that which he loved best, and, as every Mussalman knows, it was Ishmael, his dearest son, that was chosen by a loving father for this sacrifice to his Maker. In that trial the ancestor of the Prophet of Islam proved himself worthy of the choice of Allah to be the builder of His first dwelling on earth, and nothing that history has recorded or romance has invented has yet equalled the sublime nobility of the sacrifice of Abraham. The time is fast approaching when the anniversary of that great sacrifice would be celebrated throughout the Moslem world, and in India too the old convention will be carried out just in the old way. But is it not a fitting time to consider whether the demands of the Islamic creed can be satisfied with the observance of mere conventions? Is nothing happening to-day which was not happening a year ago that the Mussalmans of this country can be content with slaughtering a few sheep and goats and quarrelling as usual with the Hindus over the sacrifice of a few cows? Those of them at least that offer their prayers to the God of K'aba repeat five times a day the prayer that He should bless Mohamed and the posterity of Mohamed as he had blessed Abraham and the posterity of Abraham. God has already blessed Mohamed and he stands in no need of Moslem prayers. But the spiritual posterity of the Last of the Prophets is in dire need of fervent prayers for Allah's blessings. Never in the whole history of Islam has its worldly prestige been so low as to-day, and the successor of the Prophet according to many, and the Protector of the Sacred Places according to all, has unfurled the banner of Islam for the protection of such temporal power as he still wields in the name of Allah. Need we describe in detail the horrors of the stricken field and the woes and miseries of the soldiers of Islam who lie maimed and bleeding after their valiant struggle against the foes of the Moslem faith in order to rouse Indian Mussalmans to the supreme sacrifice that is demanded of them to-day? That would, no doubt, provide us with an opportunity for much studied eloquence which would earn us the poetaster's meed, and our Moslem readers with an occasion for tears that are the only weapons of a woman. But if the temporal power of Islam, for the continuance of which the Mussalmans pray when they ask for *hassanat-ul-dunya* (good in this world), is to be saved, tears and eulogies are equally unavailing. Islam has not lacerated the affairs of this world from those of the next, and temporal power is as good an index as any other of spiritual salvation. The Mussalmans cannot, therefore, console themselves over the loss of temporal power by promising themselves the Kingdom of Heaven. This, therefore, is for the present their only world, and if Heaven can ever be purchased, the price can now be paid on the earth to-day. All that is required is that in support of the defenders of K'aba the Mussalmans of India should nerve themselves for the supreme sacrifice such as was willingly offered by the builder of K'aba.

We do not sound the trumpet for a muster of the forces of Islam to wage a bloody war. Of that there is no need in India, and we trust there would never be. Moreover, the God of Islam is not a Moloch propitiated only by human sacrifice. On the altar steps of Allah there is no need to sprinkle the blood of Indian Mussalmans, and their brethren in Turkey do not require it. But money, which the whole philosophy of the East far more than that of the West has taught us to regard as dross and filthy lucre, can to-day bring to the soldiers of Islam the munitions of war and to the wounded and ailing much needed food and medicine. We have already published more than one appeal and our contemporaries have been not a whit less enthusiastic in this matter. Some money has been collected, but there is no central organisation which could control and direct these widely scattered agencies for the collection of funds. It is, therefore, not possible for us to form even a rough estimate of the aggregate amount hitherto collected. We would incidentally suggest that the All-India Moslem League should organise a central body for the purpose, and in the meantime we would repeat our earnest desire to be placed in a position to publish from week to week the progress of various Turkish Relief Funds. But in the absence of a well-established organisation it is not easy to collect as large a sum as the situation urgently demands, and it is necessary to look somewhere else for speedy aid. Now it is only too well known that the hopes of the best Mussalmans of India are centred in the proposed Moslem University, and even the delay that has taken place in inducing Government to accept the Draft Constitution has caused them a disappointment unparalleled in its magnitude. Many who are no doubt as keen in their enthusiasm for the Moslem

University as ourselves have rushed forward ere this with schemes showing how the thirty lakhs collected should be spent, as if it was the spending and not the collecting of money that was the task worthy of the efforts of educational enthusiasts. We have ourselves deprecated in no uncertain manner such schemes of expenditure, and we trust we are permitted to believe that in a considerable measure our steadfastness has prevented the coming scramble that the wild-cat schemes of some leaders had clearly indicated. But the situation has entirely altered, and to-day it is we who beseech the leaders to scatter their hard won treasure, and that too in the name of something other than the education of Indian Mussalmans. We refer to the need of Turkey and our conscience is clear when we appeal to the Mussalmans to sacrifice, even the University to the cause of Islam abroad. For our part, we trust we shall be believed when we say that this decision has been arrived at after much consideration, and that it has caused us many a pang in the process. We have, however, nerved ourselves to this great sacrifice, and it is now for those who have contributed lavishly out of their wealth to nerve themselves for the same. A poor man's mite comes out of his bare sustenance while the rich man's gift mostly comes out of his superfluity. Nevertheless if the rich men who have contributed in lakhs and thousands to the Moslem University come forward with the request that their contributions should be sent over to Turkey, we are sure the poor men will not say "nay" as regards their small change. "Will the rich be bold enough to do it?" is now the only question.

It may be said that if the money so assiduously collected is spent so easily the Mussalmans may never be able thereafter to endow a University. We, therefore, suggest that the Moslem University Fund be sent to Turkey in the first instance only as a loan. With reference to this, the correspondence which we have had with Government will, no doubt, be read with keen interest and elicit in favour of Government which has acted with such conspicuous fairness and justice the same enthusiasm that swept over Delhi when His Excellency the Viceroy's declaration, wired after clearing the line of all other traffic, was announced.

The following telegram was sent by us on the 1st instant to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy:—

"Some Mussalmans are anxious to advance a loan to Turkey. I understand such action would not contravene His Majesty's declaration of neutrality. May I beg you to place this telegram before His Excellency the Viceroy to ascertain if such action is in any way contrary to law or British policy. Indian Mussalmans gratefully recognise the great efforts made by England to prevent Balkan aggression and are convinced of her desire for the preservation of peace. An authoritative declaration that Government will not oppose the contemplated loan will confirm their confidence in the good-will of England towards Turkey and such sympathy as is not inconsistent with neutrality. I beg you to kindly send the reply by express telegram to enable me to announce it in the Jami' Masjid after Friday prayers and publish in Saturday's *Comrade*."

The following reply was received from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy:—

"Clear the line. The advance of a loan by Mussalmans to Turkey would not contravene His Majesty's declaration of neutrality."
"P. S. V."

We telegraphed to the Private Secretary to His Excellency as follows:—

"Please convey my hearty thanks to His Excellency for the message of assurance regarding advance of a loan by Indian Mussalmans to Turkey. The message was read out to a large congregation in the Jami' Masjid and elicited great enthusiasm and grateful recognition of Government's sincere sympathy. Shams-ul-Ulania Syed Ahmad Saheb, Imam of the Jami' Masjid, invited the congregation to express the thanks of the Mussalmans of Delhi for this clear declaration by His Excellency and the congregation authorises me to convey their respectful gratitude."

There is now no let or hindrance, and if after this clear and authoritative declaration the Mussalmans fail to succour their brethren in the fighting line, nobody in the world would give a straw for the international position of the community out of which much capital has at times been made, and Mr. Montagu would have good reason to take back his reputation. If this is not the time for the display of Moslem solidarity, let them rest assured no other would ever come. If the community offers thirty lakhs as a loan to Turkey and the leaders gird up their loins to collect more for the real "Ransom of Islam," Turkey would have a useful loan in her hour of need and the coffers of the Moslem University would also be replenished. We have every confidence in the generous devotion of the masses and the classes to Islam and have no fear of failure. But if the worst comes to the worst, would it be a matter for deep regrets that Indian Mussalmans did not try to cure themselves of fevers and colds and such other minor ailments when Islam itself was done to death? With a dagger at their throats they must either be abnormally cool or abnormally stupid if they can think of pills and poisons.

Is this the End?

It is just as well for humanity that the future is so thickly shrouded that sometimes not even the most piercing glance can penetrate behind its folds. Gladness is not staled by prolonged anticipation, nor does sorrow paralyse the arm of action through fore-knowledge of the inevitable. But, however great the mercy of the Creator in this scheme of destiny, grief has an added sting if it is sudden, even if unexpected gladness does not kill as it is reputed to do. Many would no doubt prefer to meet with a sudden and swift death rather than see the sands of life running out slowly through a long course of sickness and misery. But the Poet did not err in his estimate of things when he said,

موجہاں غالب بلائیں سب تمام
ایک مرگ ناگہانی اور می

(All afflictions, O Ghalib, are over. One only remains, a sudden death.)

We do not desire to create despair in the minds of our readers, nor do we despair ourselves. But who that had felt the pulse of a rejuvenated Turkey even a week ago and had heard the regular beatings of a sound and strong heart could have said that this was the Sick Man, much less a patient whose end was near? We do not yet believe that it was a Sick Man that was moving in our midst but yesterday, and we earnestly believe that even to-day Turkey is by no means dead. But Turkey lies maimed and bleeding, and, no matter how unexpected the blow, we must confess that we suspected no more than the rest of the world that there were so many joints in the Turkish armour and that a single blow would so stagger the Turk. Those of us who have always associated the Turk with the best qualities of a soldier and a psychology which knows not the name of fear no doubt overlooked the difficulties and disadvantages of Turkey when war was declared. We recapitulate them not with a view to offer a belated and wholly unavailing apology for what has happened, nor do we care to adopt the facile jargon of a prophet after the event. Many of our readers have but the faintest acquaintance with military matters, and the succession of reverses which has made the last fortnight such a melancholy one for the Mussalmans is the hardest puzzle which could have been set to them. It is this that we must assist them to solve.

Since the last Russo-Turkish War of a generation ago, Bulgaria, which then came into existence, had been progressing at a rapid pace not only in the arts of war, but, comparatively speaking, also in those of peace. But she had never had an opportunity of displaying to the world what she had achieved in the way of military organisation, though her soldiers had always been credited with dash and courage. She could, therefore, have been considered only as a dark horse on which it was dangerous to lay considerable odds. Serbia, too, had not distinguished herself prominently during the last thirty years, and, if her internal politics would have been taken as an index of her military capacities, there was no reason to believe that she could cause many tremors to the Turks. Montenegro had always been a remarkably plucky principality, and the dwellers of the Black Mountains had had in the Balkans the reputation of some of the best highlanders of our North-West frontier. But the size of Montenegro was sufficient to restore tranquility to the most nervous of Turkish soldiers and statesmen, and at the best the success of Montenegro could no more endanger the existence of the Ottoman Empire than the victories of the Boers in the "Black Week" of the Transvaal War imperilled the continuance of the British Empire. The only State that had had a taste of war during the last thirty years was Greece, and her experiment in blood-letting was not calculated to make the Turks tremble in their shoes. It is true that the aggregate of the Confederates was a considerable quantity which no sane person could underrate. But it is not, and cannot be forgotten that none of the great Powers in Europe could afford to despise the Turk if it came to a single combat. Even in the last great war when Turkey was forced to accept the terms of peace that were imposed on her at San Stefano, Plevna and, Kara had sufficed to redeem the military reputation of Turkey. It was not, therefore, unnatural or unreasonable to place odds on a Turkish victory against the combined armies of the Allies, and if to some extent it was the case of the wish being father to the thought so far as Mussalmans were concerned, they erred in good company, for expert military opinion also favoured the chances of the Turks.

Military experts, however, recognised that it was one thing for Turkey to have an absolute superiority in numbers as compared with her enemies, and quite another to have a superior force with which to oppose the first shock of battle. Although the absence of international morality has made Europe an armed camp, and it is one of the truisms of realpolitik that preparation for war is the

best guarantee of peace, it has to be remembered at the same time that no country which has a large conscript army can afford, or make acceptable to its people, an arrangement in time of peace which resembles mobilisation for war. What may bring home to our readers the position of Turkey is the hypothetical case of a man roused from his sleep by the unwelcome intrusion of a burglar. The intruder comes prepared for the struggle that may take place, and before the sleeper roused so unexpectedly has time to snatch the loaded revolver from under his pillow, the burglar has as good a chance of blowing his brains out as anyone with a murderous intent could desire. Although it was Turkey that declared war on Serbia and Bulgaria, it was manifest that she had anything but a desire to wage another war. Partly with a view to guarantee an undisturbed mobilisation for the Adrianople Army by keeping the Bulgarians in check, and partly to avoid the humiliation of being challenged by her former subjects, Turkey declared war on these States. But her desperate efforts to detach Greece from the Confederates were clear evidence of the fact that Turkey was not ready for war when she declared it. This opinion has been confirmed by military experts whose letters and telegrams have appeared from time to time in our columns. We publish to-day among others a very informing article on the probable course of the war by Colonel Maude, C. B., which appeared in the *Saturday Review*, in which he says that "in all the previous wars the real problem for the Turks has lain in the difficulty of bringing into the fighting line her resources in men and material from the centre of gravity of her Asiatic Empire."

In addition to the difficulties of mobilisation, Turkey has the further disadvantage of having to defend her frontiers against more Powers than any other European or Asiatic Power. The hand of every Christian nation is at her throat and the most determined enemies of each other can combine, as the present Confederacy has itself proved, against the solitary non-Christian Power in Europe. The manner in which the Greek has combined with the Bulgar, and the Serb with the Montenegrin, while Roumania—which was at one time declared to have concluded at least a defensive alliance with the Porte—has remained neutral, and Austria—which showed such natural horror at the disturbance of the *status quo* when the war broke out—is now declaring the Sanjak of Novibazar to be too meagre a thing for which to quarrel with the Allies, has confirmed every belief and suspicion that where the Turks are concerned all Powers and Principalities can be relied upon to combine. Turkey cannot in her hour of direct need to-day concentrate all her forces in Europe, because there is still Russia to reckon with, and because in every other Power there is a little Muscovite which can develop extraordinarily fast where the Turk is concerned. It is, therefore, not only unsafe but absurd to expect that the whole of the fighting power of the Turk can be utilised in repelling the onslaughts of the Confederacy. Leaving Egypt out of consideration—though Egypt is an integral part of the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman Viceroy is bound to the Sultan to provide 18,000 troops in time of war—Turkey has a total population of about 25 millions, and her resources ought to have been ample for the trial to which she is put to-day. But until recently all the Christian population of Turkey was exempted from military service, and, according to European opinion, "this religious distinction had cramped the Ottoman Empire in the development of its military strength". Again, Arabia and the Kurdish and Arab tribes in Asia Minor, and the district of Constantinople and of Scutari in Albania are also exempt from compulsory military service, so that the burden of defence until recently fell on about 11 millions of Turkey's Moslem population. We do not know if it would be accounted to the Young Turks as a virtue that they removed the "religious distinction" which is stated to have "cramped" the Empire in its military development. But it is certain that when the hour of trial came, all non-Moslems above the age of 20—that is to say, all the Christian Redifs (Landwehr) and those in the third line of defence (the Mustahfiz or Territorial force) had to be declared exempt from military service, and of those that were in the first line or the Nizam, a good many could only be utilised on guard duty in Asia and in the Capital. Thus reduced the Ottoman army not only came down to its former strength, but the exemption decided upon at the eleventh hour must have disorganised the forces considerably. But this is not all. Everywhere the same story is repeated—and it is one that cannot set on excellent example to the subject races of a different faith that have hitherto served European Powers most loyally and cordially—and it says that when Moslem Ottomans surrendered sulkily in ones and twos, the Christian Ottomans came to lay down their arms in batches. The *Statesman* published a special cablegram to-day according to which it is alleged that the demoralisation of the Turkish troops has been due at least partly "to the mistaken policy of enlisting non-Moslems who were unreliable throughout and deserted to the enemy in great masses." If this is true, can one avoid the suspicion that many an important military secret leaked out from the Turkish camp from the same source which has supplied a constant and copious stream of deserters?

Add to this a Christian civil population which has been an unfailing source of supply of Turkish rebels and anarchists, and it is not difficult to appreciate the worries and trials of a Turkish General. But after all these disadvantages have been described, in detail, there still remains the broad and undeniable fact that the Turks are everywhere hemmed in by the Allies, and that, apart from the protection which the Lord God of War, who is also the God of Righteousness, gives to those who fight for truth and righteousness, the lines of Tchataldja are the only barrier between the Bulgarians and the Capital of the Ottoman Empire. Throughout the fortnight that the war has been going on, from the respective Capitals of the Allies has emanated news of a rapid succession of successes which not even the most pro-Confederacy journals in this country could wholly credit. The Bulgarians succeeded at Mustafa Pasha, Mehonia, Tirnova, Neverkop, Kirk Kilisseh, Chirmen, Bala Eski, Istib, Bunachissar, the Kreshna Pass in the Struma Valley, Demotika, Lule Burgas and now in what appears to have been the most decisive battle hitherto fought that took place in the area enclosed by Viza in the north, Redosto in the south and Tcherln and Istranga in the east. The Serbians, although not endangering the existence of Turkey in Europe to the same extent as the Bulgarians, have been stated to have captured Prietpolje, Vrania, Dunjanovatz, Podujevo, Novibazar, Kumanovo, Sienitza, Vutshitria, Gilan, Uskub, Mitrovitzza, Kimpri, Novovarosh, Ferizovitch, Kratovo, Kotehana and Plevlie. Little Montenegro, although she has slowed down for the present, began very well with Detchitch, Tuzi, Bielpolje, Houn, Plava, Gusinje and Rogova. This is not all. Even the Greeks whose last military effort made them the laughing stock of Europe, claim to have succeeded at Elassona, Grimbovo, Diskata, Serfidje, Kozani, Strebins and Verria. Many of these places are insignificant and most of the engagements which ended in the success of the Allies must have been in the nature of skirmishes. But the success of Serbia at Kumanovo, of Greece at Serfidje, and particularly the successes of the Bulgarians at Kirk Kilisseh and in the big battle fought between Adrianople and the lines of Tchataldja are such as leave no room for doubt that in Uskub, Salonica and Thrace the Turks have suffered most serious reverses, and that Constantinople itself is in imminent danger.

There are, however, still some sources of hope. The first of these is the reputed impregnability of the Tchataldja lines. The *Times* Military Correspondent even suggested the possibility of the Turks' leaving Adrianople to take care of itself with a strong garrison of three or four divisions and going back to the Tchataldja lines to await reinforcements from Anatolia to a strength adequate for offensive war. The writer went so far as to say that "it would be a bold and patient strategy, worthy of a great military nation." That strategy may not now be possible if the main Turkish Army is already beaten and demoralized. But if the entrenched camp of Adrianople has not yet fallen, the fortifications round Constantinople may safely be presumed to hold out long enough for the advent of reinforcements and—winter! For the weather is an essential consideration in a campaign such as this, and it was this consideration which evidently induced the Bulgarians to push on their attack on the main Turkish Army. The Balkan War has been expected for more than a decade to commence "when the spring flowers bloom." A campaign in the Balkans must needs commence then, but if it is not concluded before winter sets in, the defenders would suffer less from the rigours of the climate than their assailants.

In this connection it is worth while taking note of what Col. Maude writes in the *Saturday Review*. He assumes for the sake of argument that everything goes wrong with the Turks and they fall back before the Allies, part towards Salonica, and part from Adrianople to Constantinople. "Constantinople now becomes what Lisbon was a century ago, the Allies will be brought to a stand before the lines of Bayrak Tehekmedje, as Massena was held by the lines of Torres Vedras—the parallel is almost absolute." He thinks that "if Wellington did not hesitate to drive the whole of Southern Portugal to make a waste before the French, we may be certain that the Turks will not be hampered by the moral responsibility involved in this act of destruction either." If at this moment the Turks land a new army at Varna and advance to Shumla where they may create a new Plevna, they need do nothing more, for just as Plevna inhibited all Russian action until it fell, Shumla will compel the Bulgarians at least to relinquish what advantages they have obtained and march eastward to cover their own territory. "As the Allies gather round Shumla," says Col. Maude, "or wherever the new Plevna may happen to be—automatically the pressure on other portions of the Turkish frontier will be relaxed and circumstances will decide at which particular points the Turks will bring their numerical preponderance to bear. If the Greek fleet fails, as it probably will, a fresh army of 250,000 men will soon re-establish matters in Macedonia; if not, an advance from Burgas south of the Balkans would produce good results." According to the writer the essential feature of the situation is not the numerical relation of the opposing forces but the undisputed Turkish control of the Black Sea.

While accepting the broad facts of the Confederates' success during the last fortnight as published to the world, we must

confess we have certain doubts about matters an account of which has not been given equally generously to the world at large. The first of these is the reason which has prevented the Christian Majesties of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro from trusting such of the sixty-four—presumably Christian—War Correspondents and eight Foreign Attachés as have been assigned to the armies of the Confederacy to chronicle for the glory and joy of Christendom a true and exact account of the unchecked march of the Christian armies in their twentieth century Crusade. The Turks, whose misplaced trust in their own Christian population has already borne such evil fruit, may not screw their courage to the trusting point where non-Moslem War Correspondents are concerned; but that is no reason why the Confederates should so much mistrust these semi-military journalists—whose occupation, like Othello's seems to have gone—as to leave them well out of the earshot of Christian cannonades. The second puzzle that still remains unsolved is why a single War Correspondent, and that too of an insignificant Vienna journal, should be accorded special facilities for the publication of war news. We have our own theory for all this, and hazard its publication in the absence of any official explanation. We suspect that Lieutenant Wegener has been secured to publish exaggerated accounts of the success of Bulgarians simply because the paper that he represents enjoys the favour of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Heir-Apparent of Austria, and Bulgaria is not only anxious that before winter sets in Europe should be made to believe that she has secured a decisive victory over Turkey, but is also eager to impress upon Austria that the time has arrived when she should urge Europe to intervene. Lieutenant Wegener has been at pains to make us believe that the last thing which Bulgaria desires is European intervention. But that is just the reason why we believe that intervention is the thing which she most desires. She has secured all the initial success that her sinister designs cloaked under the pacific intentions of her Premier and secret early mobilisation could give her. Winter has not yet set in and Turkish reinforcements from Asia Minor have not yet entirely arrived. If the earlier *status quo ante* is dead beyond resurrection, what could suit Bulgaria better than the *status quo* existing to-day? If those who hold the ring can be induced to accept as final victory the first blow struck at the Turk before he was ready to receive it, the Allies get all they want without the risks that the siege of a reinforced Constantinople during the winter months and the diversion created by the landing of Turkish soldiers at Varna and Burgas would involve. As it is the Dual Kingdom which as one of the residuary legacies is equally anxious with the Sick Man for the integrity of his possessions, the best course for the Bulgar is to convince the successor of the aged Emperor that unless he accepts Bulgaria as a co-sharer to-day, he may lose the reversion of to-morrow altogether. This theory may appear far fetched and unconvincing, but there are more things in the tortuous diplomacy of Europe, and specially the diplomacy of the Muscovite School, than our philosophy has dreamt of, and unless we get some other explanation of Lieutenant Wegener's good luck and significant messages, we are entitled to believe in our own theory.

All this may, however, be nothing, more than the proverbial straw at which the drowning man catches. But it seems so difficult to believe that the same Turk has suddenly become a coward to whom a well-known English War Correspondent denied the virtue of courage for the unique reason that the writer believed him to be devoid of the nerve of fear. Has it come to this that the Turk will have to confess

"I am not valiant neither,

"But every puny whipster gets my sword."

Will he have to repeat the wail of Othello,

"I have seen the day

"That, with this little arm and this good sword,

"I have made my way through more impediments

"Than twenty times your stop:—but O, vain boast!—

"Who can control his fate? 'tis not so now.

"Be not afraid though you do see me weapon'd;

"Here is my journey's end, here is my butt,

"And very sea-mark of my utmost sail,

"Do you go back dismay'd? 'tis a lost fear;

"Man but a rash against Othello's breast,

"And he retires. Where should Othello go?"

"Where should Othello go?" That is the question which will have to be answered if the Cross is replaced on the domes of St. Sophia after four and a half centuries of Islam and of the Unity of God. Where will the stricken Turk find an asylum? Constantinople is not only the key to Turkey's European possessions but also to her Asiatic Empire. The sea-horses of Marmora require the manly grip of one who rides astride, and cannot be controlled with a lady's side saddle. If Europe is lost to the Turk, Asia too is lost. According to the tradition of Gladstone and Freeman, the Turk may still be regarded as an anomaly in Europe. But we see regards Europe and Christianity as an anomaly in Asia to-day. "A place in the sun" must be found for every European nation. The Turk may still be bidden out of Europe, but it will not be "with bag and baggage to Baghdad"! Yes, "where should Othello go?"

CORRESPONDENCE



Turkish Relief Fund.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

Sir—My only child—a daughter—has just finished her Quran. In honor of the occasion I had a mind to invite friends to dinner. But I thought that at a time when the Mussalmans all over the world were worried by the war I could not possibly enjoy anything. Therefore, I decided to devote all the money that I would have otherwise spent in giving a dinner to friends to the noble cause of the Turks and the Arabs. I had just made up my mind when Mr. Ross Masud happened to call on me, and informed me that he intended to start a War Fund in the district of Aligarh, but that he was himself unable to see the scheme through as he was shortly leaving for Bankipur, having already sent his things there. He said he had to be in Bankipur by the 4th November and, therefore, asked me to take the work in hand.

At his request I have decided to appeal to the Moslems of this district for funds for the relief of the Turks.

I herewith send you through Mr. Ross Masud all the money that has been collected together with a list of subscribers and of those who have promised donations. In the future I will send you all the money collected and will let you know of promises made.

Will you please publish this letter in the "Comrade" and also in the "Hamdard" when it is issued.

SWALIN SHERWANI.

DIOGY BUNGALOW,

Aligarh, 30. 10. 12.

Indian Moslems and the War.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

Sir—A more critical moment than the present for Islam can hardly be imagined, especially because the prestige of Turkey is synonymous with the prestige of Islam, and the existence of the Ottoman Empire is essential for the secular progress of the Moslem races. Not only have the Balkan States conspired to make common cause against Turkey as a State, but they have (nothing can be more evident) determined to make war upon Islam as a rival religious force.

We need not be concerned with the utter want of international ethics in the European Nations, which do not seem to get tired of vaunting their shallow enthusiasm for the "cause of civilization," because the present is the time when our attention should be concentrated upon our own weaknesses, so that we may strengthen ourselves to meet the enemy. There are certain questions which naturally arise in every Moslem's mind at this time, and the following are some of them:—

(1) Is Turkey the back-bone of Islam? and does the defeat of the Turks mean the lowering of its prestige?

(2) What can I do to ease my conscience under existing circumstances?

(3) Does an Indian Moslem owe a duty to the Turks?

These and a stream of other questions surge up in every Moslem's mind in India and he tries to answer them as best he can according to his lights.

There cannot be two answers to the first question. Islam as a civilising force will disappear with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. And it necessarily follows that as soon as an "Independent Caliphate" yields place to a "Vassal Caliphate"—a consummation that is well within the ambition of a section of European diplomacy—Islam will become a byword for hypocrisy. It would mean the substitution of the spurious for the genuine, and will gradually lead to a complete demoralisation of the Moslem world. If Turkey falls, Islam cannot stand. Turkey is, therefore, the back-bone of Islam, and this does not leave the answer to the other half of the first question in doubt. I need not repeat the oft-quoted example of the poor Hebrews or other people who are in the same plight. Our prestige cannot survive a great disaster to the Turkish armies. If ever there was a time for the Moslem units to range themselves on the side of their religion and the cause of righteousness, that time is now. The present world is slowly forgetting that the Moslem can sink all paltry differences (and we have so many schools of theology) before he is sunk. He is sinking now, and it is high time for him to come to the rescue of his faith, be he a Shia or a Sunni. It matters little what his particular sect is as long as his essential creed is summed up in "God is one and Mohammad is His Prophet." The common tie which binds us all together is this external formula, and no matter what the details of our beliefs are, if we do not all feel like one man then that formula is in jeopardy.

We can all best think out for ourselves what each of us can do to help those who are fighting for the cause of righteousness, and for the cause of the Prophet's faith, but I desire to draw the attention of the Indian Moslems especially to the fact that Islam, when it is in peril, has the strongest claim upon them, as they form the largest number of the Moslem population inhabiting any single country, and, again, because they have ever so many things in their power to do. They have all along been boasting of their solidarity and the influence they claim to possess as a living body; should they suffer anything to stand in the way of their religious sentiments? If then Islam has a strong claim upon us, and since Islam owes its dignity and status to the existence of Turkey, each and every Moslem owes a duty to the Turk, which if unperformed to-day shall make every defaulter accountable to his conscience and to his God.

Some leading Moslems are, we know, afraid to express their religious sentiments, not because they consider such an expression seditious or in any way illegal, for it is not, but because they seem to associate the cause of the Balkans with Christianity and they associate Christianity with British Raj, and they fear they might earn the displeasure of the rulers and lose the last chance of getting the long coveted "title".

If this is the logic of their argument, there is a still "shorter cut" to their goal. But there are others, and they mistakenly think that an Indian's duty at all times lies in India! This is a noble but misinterpreted sentiment. There are times when our duty calls us more imperatively outside India. We live in the land of "peace," and now our duty lies in the land of war.

MUHAMMAD ASAFALI.

Delhi.

Moslems and Social Reform.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE COMRADE."

Sir,—I know so little English that it is not often that I read an English newspaper, yet since July last I have been reading a few pages of your esteemed paper every week—with the help of a dictionary! In your issue of Oct. 19th I read with much interest the letter of a "Moslem Lady." I entirely agree with her in all her views as regards the Purdah System and polygamy. It is, however, a great pity that so far people have only talked or written in papers. Few have even the courage, and I feel sorry to find your most worthy correspondent to be one of them, to publish their names, fewer still do anything practical. Often have I heard people talking of doing a thing and then, when the time comes to do the same, only to say that they could not do it on account of the public opposition. If everybody said, as people seem to do, that he would not or dare not take the lead, the procession would never start.

With due respect for the learning and ability of my worthy sister, a "Moslem Lady", I feel bound to say that it is not time now for mere arguments or articles. Something practical should be begun now. I would like to suggest that we should form an "Anti-Purdah League" or "Ladies' Social Reform League" or whatever name should be found most suitable, with the object of bringing together Moslem ladies of advanced views and spreading these views in our families, and among our friends.

In the matter of the Purdah System it must be said that women themselves are more to blame than men. The League should have a centre in Delhi, with its branches in as many places as possible, and should hold an annual meeting at one of the big cities to promote its objects. Gentlemen of advanced views sympathising with the objects of the League may be invited to become honorary members. Moslem women in India should know that the abolition of Purdah is more to their advantage and should act on the Holy Quran which lays down "God never changes a people unless they change themselves." This is as much true as regards women as with regard to a community of which men and women are the component parts.

I am prepared to do what I can for the carrying out of the objects of the League which I have suggested. Of course, the details and programme of the League are not a day's work. But I should like to hear how my suggestion is received. Only till then I withhold my name from the public.

K. A. M. K.



TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Through Ziauddin, Esq., St. Stephen's College Delhi.—			
Messrs. Wazirahmad, Aminuddin, Abdur Rashid, Murtaza Ali, Abdur Rahim and a 3rd year student rupees one each. ...	6	0	0
Mohamed Siddiq, Esq., ...	4	0	0
A third year student, ...	4	8	9
Pir Wilayat Shah Sahib and a first year student rupees 2 each. ...	4	0	0
A. Swiss made watch also. ...			
Petty sums from 15 persons ...	3	9	3
Abdul Kabir, Esq., Allahabad ...	5	0	0
Masud Alam, Esq., Allahabad, ...	1	0	0
M. S. Huq., Esq., Dacca, ...	2	0	0
Abdul Ghani, Esq., Paschimnagon ...	7	12	0
Mrs. Mohamed Amin, Agra, ...	5	0	0
Shamsul Huda, Esq., Bankipore ...	1	0	0
Through Zamiruddin, Esq., Mohammdabad—			
Mussalmans of the Town, ...	5	8	0
Through A. Delare, Esq., Lucknow—			
Abdul Ghafoor, Esq., ...	16	12	0
Sirajuddin, Esq., Aligarh, ...	26	0	0
Through A. B. Hanafee, Esq., Chanda—			
Poor Mussalmans of the Town, ...	17	2	0
Through Ghulam Yasin Khan, Esq., the following—			
Mussalmans of Pipalgan Raj and Ghodag. ...	21	0	0
Gulam Yasin Khan, Esq., ...			
Messrs Md. Satt, Syed Sardar, Sardar Khan Sahib, Saifulla Khan Sahib and Mirza Murad Beg Sahib rupees ten each. ...	50	0	0
Messrs Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Salamullah Khan, Ghulam Ahmad Khan son of Madar Khan, Abdul Ghani, Ghulam Ghausi Khan, Rasul Khan, Eusuf Khan Akbar Khan and Chanu Khan Rahim Khan, rupees five each. ...	40	0	0
Ghulam Nabi, Esq., ...	7	0	0
Miscellaneous Collections ...	82	0	0
Nur Ahmad, Esq., Delhi ...	50	0	0
Badruddin Ahmad, Esq., Ichapur ...	5	0	0
Ghulam Rasul, Esq., Ichapur ...	5	0	0
Ata-ul-Haq, Esq., on behalf of M. Shah Din Esq., of Ludhiana ...	5	0	0
Moin-ul-Haq, Esq., Calcutta ...	5	0	0
Through Syed Ross Masud, Esq., Aligarh—			
Mrs. Haji Md. Yaqub Khan Sahib, Shervani, Datsoli ...	500	0	0
Haji Md. Swaleh Khan Sahib, Sherwani, Datsoli ...	1,000	0	0
Abdur Ruff Khan Esq., ...	115	0	0
Abdul Majid, Qureshi, Esq., ...	95	0	0
Akhtar Adil, Esq., ...	10	0	0
Manzur Ahmad, Esq., ...	5	0	0
Abul Hasan, Esq., (as Sadqa-i-Idul-Fitr) ...	2	8	0
Syed Ross Masud, Esq., ...	15	0	0
Mahmud Begum Saheba, on behalf of her self and her late mother ...	30	0	0
Mohamed Ismail, Esq., Agra ...	2	2	0
Mohamed Hassan Jan, Esq., Lahoria Sarai ...	10	0	0
Chhote Khan, Esq., Badoun ...	12	0	0
Through M. Zamiruddin, Esq., Mohammdabad			
Mussalmans of the town ...	26	12	0
Amount received during the week	2,182	10	0
Amount previously acknowledged	23,912	4	0
	26,094	14	0

Persia.

News of the Week.

A Teheran wire says that the Governor-General of Fars has authorised the despatch of 800 men under Swedish officers to open the road between Shiraz and Kazerun.

The Persian Premier recently telegraphed to Saad-ed-Dowleh, now in Geneva, who was exiled by the Nationalists in 1909, offering him a high post, probably the Premiership. Saad has accepted. It is understood that his appointment will be approved by the British and Russian Legations, but it is not expected to produce a universally favourable impression.

At the request of the Persian Government, the Porte has consented to prolong the delay in the Turco-Persian frontier negotiations for three months and to withdraw the Turkish troops from the contested zone.

On the other hand, a telegram from Teheran says that the Porte has informed Persia of its intention to withdraw the troops on certain conditions, one being that no other foreign troops shall replace them.

In the House of Commons, Sir John Rees asked whether steps were being taken to occupy the neutral zone in Persia with concessions. Mr. Acland, replying, said that the Imperial Government itself was not seeking to obtain concessions in Persia, but it would support, where feasible, desirable applications from British subjects for concessions outside the Russian sphere. The only new concessions for which an application was now being made was a railway between Mohammerah and Khoramabad.



Latest News of the War.

A London message dated November 2nd says that a cablegram from Constantinople of eleven p. m. on the first of November says:—After prompt reports of initial Turkish successes in the battle which was raging uninterruptedly for four days and three nights in the light of a waning moon the dearth of news on October 30th and 31st depressed the inhabitants of Constantinople, but official despatches to-day relieved the tension. Nazim Pasha has wired that "the Turks are not merely holding their own but are threatening the Bulgarian rear. The Turks have recaptured Bunar Hussar and Mahmud Mukhtar's corps has overwhelmed a Bulgarian column, capturing many guns and ammunition. Our corps," he says, "have now been ordered to take the offensive and the Bulgarians are being gradually hemmed in on four sides." The desperation of the fighting is evidenced by the arrival of five thousand wounded while seven thousand others are due to arrive to-morrow. While the Turkish despatches imply that the battle ceased owing to the exhaustion of both sides, and that the arrival of reinforcements has enabled the Turks to assume the offensive, Bulgarian telegrams are most emphatic in their reports of a great victory.

Lieutenant Wegener wiring on the evening of October 31st concludes by saying: "Probably only a fraction of the Turkish Army will reach the shelter of the Tihataldja lines. Thus the plan of the Bulgarian generalissimo to destroy the Turkish Eastern Army may be regarded as completely successful in spite of Nazim Pasha's counter measures. The question whether the Powers will intervene and prevent the victors from entering Constantinople will probably be taken out of their hands by the Bulgarian troops who are determined to get there." According to a telegram from Sofia, the Turks on October 31st made a desperate effort to retrieve the situation, rallying between Tchorlu, Istranja and Rodosto and being reinforced by a division from Constantinople, but they were completely defeated by the Bulgarians who captured Tchorlu, Istranja and Rodosto. Sheket Torgus Pasha landed at Midia with twenty thousand troops and attempted a diversion on the Turkish right on Thursday. He advanced on Viza where he was defeated by the Bulgarians under General Kusincheff. It is not known whether he regained his ships. It is estimated that 40,000 men took part in the big battle.

The War Supplement.

The War in Tripoli. News of the Week.

THE Turkish officers and Arab chiefs have come into Tripoli and are amicably discussing the future arrangements with the Italians.

The War in the Balkans. News of the Week.

London, October 25.

A Sofia wire says that Kirk Kilissh fell at eleven o'clock in the morning. The Turks retired in disorder in the direction of Bunar Hissar, fifteen miles south-east. They left a battery of quickfiring and quantities of ammunition and stores. Official despatches do not confirm the taking of 50,000 prisoners at Kirk Kilissh but merely state that many Turks were captured. A telegram from Constantinople dated the 24th instant says "It is officially announced this afternoon that the battle was resumed this morning along the whole line from Adrianople to Kirk Kilissh." An official *communiqué* issued this evening says that the Ottoman army opposing the Bulgarians eastward of the river Tunja is in retreat. The Tunja flows south, joining the river Maritza at Constantinople. The War Office explains that the Turkish offensive movement eastward of the river Tunja on Wednesday was unsuccessful because the Turks encountered the main force of the Bulgarians. The latter had also left a covering force in front of Adrianople which attempted to work round the Turkish rear and menace communications with Constantinople. Mahmud Mukhtar attempted to deliver a surprise attack but when he found that the enemy was in infinitely superior strength he did not push it but retired in good order to positions further south. The Turkish War Office issues the following *communiqué* with reference to Kirk Kilissh:—"In order to gain time pending the arrival of reinforcements the Eastern army attacked the heads of the Bulgarian columns also the flank, compelling them to retreat. The object thus achieved, the Turkish forces afterwards abstained from engaging in a regular battle because the issue would have been doubtful. They therefore retired in good order in the direction from which reinforcements were coming. With a view, however, to disguising the object of these tactics some of our detachments delivered fierce attacks. The Bulgarian counter attacks were gloriously withstood." The news of the capture of Kirk Kilissh was received at Sofia with great rejoicing. Church bells were pealed and the city was decked with flags. Crowds bearing the flags of the Confederacy paraded the streets, cheering and singing the national hymn outside the Royal Palace, the Legations of the allies and the British and Russian Legations. The crowd met the Greek Minister in the street and carried him back shoulder-high. A Constantinople wire says that all non-combatants not possessing two months' provisions have been ordered to leave Adrianople. Many are already arriving in Constantinople. All the inhabitants who are able to do so are leaving Uskub. A Sofia wire says that the Bulgarian losses at Kirk Kilissh and around Adrianople are unofficially estimated at three thousand. In an interview with Ruter's representative the Bulgarian Premier said that the significance of the fall of Kirk Kilissh lay in the fact that the elite of the Turkish troops under the ablest Generals were there. If they failed to hold that stronghold they would scarcely do better further south. The Premier deprecated mischievous talk of a war of extermination. If the Powers were sincerely desirous of pacifying the Balkan Peninsula peace could soon be concluded. Although military experts make some reservations respecting what still awaits the Bulgarians at Adrianople, and from the field armies, the consensus of opinion is that the capture of Kirk Kilissh marks a success of capital importance inspiring the Bulgarians with faith in their own qualities and the leadership of Generals Savoff, Dimitriaff and Ivanoff who took great risks and won, while the Turks must have suffered a severe shock to their morale from a defeat after prolonged and desperate fighting. A Sofia wire says that in addition to prisoners the number of which is uncertain quantities of guns, rifles, ammunition and provisions were captured at Kirk Kilissh. The Bulgarians expect now that they will have less difficulty in cutting communications between Adrianople and Constantinople. It is hoped that they will be in possession of the former in a few days. The Turks are doing their utmost to stem the Bulgarians and all forces are being

withdrawn from Asia Minor and concentrated towards Adrianople. The assaults on Kirk Kilissh began on Monday and lasted without intermission for twelve hours when torrents of rain fell and the troops rested until Thursday afternoon. Meanwhile the Turks were kept engaged along the whole front by which the main objective of the Bulgarians was concealed. The question is now asked whether the Bulgarian plan is to mask Adrianople and march direct on Constantinople. In this connexion the doings of the force advancing along the coast of the Black Sea excite curiosity.

A Belgrade wire states that the Servians have occupied Sienitza. The opinion is expressed by the War Office in Constantinople that after the crushing defeat at Kumanovo the Servians need no longer be reckoned with. The capture of Kumanovo is thus evidently unknown in Constantinople. The fighting before Kumanovo was continuous throughout Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. Fully 25,000 Turks were engaged and repeatedly made desperate onslaughts. Their losses are estimated at five thousand, besides twelve guns and much ammunition. The Crown Prince Alexander commanded the Servian Force. The brilliant capture of Kumanovo by the Servians in the face of the splendid and obstinate defence leaves the road open to Uskub where the Turks are expected to make a firm stand. But the victorious Servians who are encouraged by their own successes in Novi Bazar and by those of their allies will encounter at Uskub a garrison disheartened by the disorderly retreat from Kumanovo under the fire of the Servian Cruesot guns which proved extraordinarily effective. The occupation of Sienitza and other places in the Sandjak of Novi Bazar is noticeable in view of the fact that Servian administrators are being appointed to the occupied towns.

The Greeks had a sharp setback at Arta. The Turks surprised them at night and drove them back from the defile of Kumnatsades. This, however, does not effect the general situation. The Greek Crown Prince formally entered Serfidje yesterday amid the cheering of the Army and Christian population. Newspapers in Athens hitherto have adopted a waiting attitude, but they are now loud in their praises of the Prince's generalship. The Greek victories are ascribed to the rapidity of the movement of the infantry and cavalry and the precision of the long range guns.

M. Dragumis, Greek ex-Premier, has been appointed Governor-General of Crete. He has already arrived there being welcomed with enthusiasm.

A wire from Rjeka, South Montenegro, says that the Montenegrins have surrounded Skutari and have begun the bombardment.

A wire from Rjeka says that the Montenegrin infantry yesterday morning under the cover of artillery attacked Skutari but encountered an annihilating fire from the Turkish guns and were compelled to retreat. They, however, immediately prepared for a renewal of the attack on three sides. The Crown Prince and staff had a narrow escape from a shell which burst within ten yards.

London, October 26.

The Turkish forces forming the line of defence at Kirk Kilissh appear to have withdrawn to the second line running from Kuleli Burgas through Baba Eski to Luleh Burgas parallel with the railway. The new headquarters is at Baba Eski, where the Turks are stated to have 160,000 men. It is evident that efforts are being made in Constantinople to conceal the extent of the eastern army's reverse. The loss of Kirk Kilissh has not yet been published, though the rumour that it has fallen is spreading. It was authoritatively stated yesterday evening that communications with Kirk Kilissh were working with the utmost regularity, and that the rumour of its capture was a Bulgarian fiction. Concealment, however, will not be possible for long, as already 4,000 refugees from Kirk Kilissh and Adrianople have arrived in the capital. Hundreds of others are coming in from the frontier villages. There were 1,500 yesterday in a single train. They presented a pitiful spectacle, being composed of men, mostly old and feeble, and women, mostly carrying babies and surrounded by children, all clinging anxiously to their few remaining possessions, consisting of beds, blankets, cooking utensils and bundles of clothes. The authorities are doing their best to provide shelter and food. A message to the *Times* from Sofia states that the Bulgarians have reached Karagach on the south bank of the Maritza within 8½ miles of Adrianople. They have

نقشہ ریاستہائے بلقان و مملکت عثمانیہ یورپ



THE BALKAN STATES & TURKEY IN EUROPE.

begun the bombardment of the city, a portion of which is burning. Expert criticism is suspended before the veil which at present shrouds the great events has been lifted, but speculation is active. The Bulgarians have undoubtedly lost very heavily at Kirk Kilisseh. Their onslaughts were repulsed for two days. Then General Savoff told General Dimitrieff that the place must be taken. The order was carried out, but at severe cost. The question is asked how far the effort has exhausted the Bulgarians and can they sustain further shocks at Adrianople. It is also asked what are their real plans. It seems, however, pretty certain that a large Bulgarian reserve was not engaged at Kirk Kilisseh and with victory behind them the Bulgarians are well capable of facing Abdallah's army. The weather and season compel rapidity of action. Thus there can scarcely be a cessation of fighting until the issue has been decided. A message from Sofia says the Bulgarians have taken three forts at Adrianople, namely Maraseh, with 1,500 prisoners, Havaras and Suilar. They have also taken the railway station outside the city. It is noteworthy that the forts are situated to the south-west, north and north-east respectively. The Bulgarian artillery is bombarding the town, part of which is on fire.

News from Belgrade reports that the Serbian third army has captured Vushitrim to the north-west of Pristina, and Gilan to the south-east. A message from Belgrade states that 500 wounded, mostly slightly, have arrived from Kumanovo. Others, though the number is not stated, have been placed in hospital at Preshevo. A message from Belgrade says the supreme struggle at Uskub is impending. Its capture will mean the practical fulfilment of the mission of the Serbian army. According to Serbian official details the battle of Kumanovo on Wednesday was shrouded in fog. The Turks attacked in the daytime, the Serbians replying for two hours during the night. With daylight on Thursday the Serbians made a general advance under cover of their artillery, the Turkish guns responding. The Serbians advanced over open ground till victory was won. They carried trenches repeatedly at the point of the bayonet and cleared the valley of Lebovka. They found it necessary to occupy the heights on the right bank of the river to which the Turks, who had hitherto contested every yard, had retired in disorder. The whole of the Serbian forces were not engaged. The Crown Prince was constantly exposed to danger. The feature of the day was the Serbian artillery and the wonderful accuracy it displayed. At one point it annihilated three squadrons of Turkish cavalry. It was a horrible sight to see the *disjecta membra* of men and horses flying in all directions. The Turks were 80,000 strong and had 5,000 casualties. The Serbians lost a great number of officers, whose magnificent bravery won the day. It is officially stated at Belgrade that Uskub has been captured, the Serbians meeting with no resistance. The Serbian spoils at Kumanovo include fifty-five field and six mountain guns and sixteen mitrailleuses with quantities of war material, while at Sienitzza they took thirteen field guns and nine mortars. The Turkish Minister of War said yesterday that he expected the fall of Sentari, because they were unable at present to spare men for that district. But once the Bulgarians were settled with, it would be child's play to finish the Montenegrins and Greeks. He believed that Uskub would be able to hold its own, as Zekki Pasha had three divisions there and Said Pasha five at Koprili close by, making 150,000 men altogether.

An Athens message says that the Greeks have occupied Kozani 14 miles north-west of Serfije, unopposed. It is reported at Athens that the Greek losses in the Sarantopron pass, prior to the capture of Serfidje, were 18 officers and 169 men killed, and 40 officers and 103 men wounded. The Turks' casualties were most heavy. The Turks are fleeing everywhere before the Greeks.

The Vienna *Reichspost* in a significant article states that the *status quo* in the Balkans is dead and that no diplomatic skill can revive it. Austria, adds the journal, has neither power nor mission to prevent Turkey's collapse.

A Constantinople wire says that Kiamil Pasha denies making the remarks attributed to him by a London paper to the effect that Turkey was threatened by a new enemy and appealed to England to use her influence to see that Turkey was not simultaneously attacked in another quarter.

In view of the approach of decisive battles in the Balkan Peninsula an active exchange of views is taking place between the Great Powers who are declared to be all agreed on the subject of preventing a European complication arising out of the Balkan war. It is understood that the Balkan States, if victorious, will not agree to the restoration of the *status quo* nor will they agree to wait in the antechamber while the Powers are settling their affairs. Reuter learns in Balkan diplomatic quarters in London that the re-establishment of the *status quo* is an impossibility. The Allies will maintain against the world that Turkey shall have nothing more to say in Macedonia. The Balkan entente is no more temporary expedient, its object being the Balkans for the Balkan people. The Allies will serve as a

block to Germanic expansion for the Balkan armies numbering will count for 600,000 something. If the Powers found a difficulty in inducing Turkey to carry out one article of the Treaty of Berlin, it will prove far more difficult to make the Balkan powers relinquish what they acquire by a great expenditure of blood and treasure. One article of the alliance precludes any single member from making peace without the others.

London, October 27.

A telegram from Constantinople confirms the fall of Uskub after a severe Turkish defeat.

An Athens wire says that the Greeks who are advancing into Epirus have occupied Strebina. The Turks in their flight abandoned a quantity of munitions and stores.

A Sofia wire says it is stated there that the Bulgarian booty at Kirk Kilisseh included two aeroplanes, seven batteries of quick-firers, eighteen field guns and twelve howitzers, making altogether 58 guns and 1,200 prisoners. Mahmud Mukhtar, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, fled so hurriedly that he left his private baggage at the Military Club.

The capture of Uskub, which is the key to Macedonia, fittingly closes what promises to be one of the most eventful weeks in the history of Europe. With the Greeks approaching Veria, which is only a forty miles railway journey from Salonika, the Montenegrins on the eve of capturing Skutari and the Bulgarians closing their grip on Adrianople in an endeavour to intercept the retreat of the Turks to Constantinople, Military experts do not conceal their admiration at the daring and masterly strategy and controlling and timing of widely separated movements of the allies. Some even anticipate an even more speedy conclusion than that which earned the campaign at Sadova the description of "The Seven Weeks' War." The centre of interest is now Adrianople where gaps in the east and south remain to be filled to complete the cordon, but the possibility of the Turks repurposing their reverses by an unexpected and desperate effort, like that of Osman Pasha at Plevna, must still be reckoned with. That a concentration at Baba Eski and Kuleli Burgas, where the railway bridge is a most vital link in the Turkish communications, has been carried out by an unbeaten and increasing Turkish force, finds confirmation in a despatch from Sofia last night, hinting that resistance at Kirk Kilisseh was not serious, and the withdrawal was in the face of superior numbers.

An interesting feature of the war is the fact that it is largely a test of German and French schools. The Turks were trained by Germans and equipped with German weapons, while the Balkan allies were trained by French and are using Creusot guns.

It is stated in Berlin that even the capture of Adrianople will not be regarded as a decisive victory justifying intervention, as Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh may be regarded as outposts intended to delay the Bulgarians while Turkey is assembling her main army which the Confederacy must first meet. It is also stated that the Council of Ministers in Constantinople, after discussing the question of intervention yesterday, decided to decline any proposals to that end while the situation is apparently, and only apparently, unfavourable to Turkey. Prominent Ottomans in London, interviewed by Reuter's representatives, showed no disposition to underestimate the result of the operations. They say it is, however, premature to regard the war as over. The fortress at Adrianople has a garrison of 40,000, while the eastern army is concentrated between Adrianople and Baba Eski and the western army, over 100,000 strong, has not yet been in action. They expect that only a small force was engaged at Kumanovo.

A Cetinje wire says that the Montenegrin forces have effected a junction with the Serbians at Sienitzza. General Vukotitch carried the entrenchments at Rogava which barred the road to Ipek, capturing two guns. He is now marching on Ipek.

A Constantinople wire, dated 26th, says it is officially stated that a big battle has been in progress all day south of Kirk Kilisseh. The Bulgarians are attempting a turning movement in the vicinity of Visa.

Calcutta, October 27.

The "Empire" publishes the following special cablegram dated London, October 26.

War correspondents are useless and are not allowed to see or send anything except official reports.

London, October 28.

The Balkan inundation into Turkey continues to spread. Most significant news is contained in a telegram from Sofia reporting the capture of Baba Eski, an important point on the main line to Constantinople sixty miles south-east of Adrianople. This operation, which apparently is the result of a masterly turning move-

ment, means that the Bulgarians are now practically astride the Railway cutting off Adrianople and Salonika from Constantinople. The Bulgarians are also believed to be threatening the rear of the Turkish eastern army which is thought to be concentrated somewhere between Adrianople and Baba Eski. A Sofia wire says that after taking Baba Eski the Bulgarians captured a military train conveying Turkish troops and supplies from Constantinople to Adrianople. The message confirms the report that the momentous move of the Bulgarians is succeeding. Notwithstanding the part played by the artillery, it is evident that the actions up to present have been decided by bayonet charges which were generally made during the night, the attackers silently creeping up and ending with a dash in the last few hundred yards. A terrible carnage ensued. In some instances the attackers only negotiated barbed wire entanglements by jumping from the corpses of the slain.

It appears that the Turks in Adrianople have resolved to fight to the death. The Commander of the fortress has issued a proclamation to the soldiers pointing out that having done their duty outside they have now withdrawn inside the fortifications which they are prepared to defend as their fathers defended Plevna.

The Western Bulgarian army has captured Istip without opposition. Istip is described as the Adrianople of Macedonia.

A message to the "Daily Telegraph" from Sofia gives a vivid account of the capture of Kirk Kilissch which it describes as one of the greatest military events in history.

The main forts of Kirk Kilissch were constructed on the latest German system and were reputed to be impregnable. They were armed with one hundred guns and protected by an external chain of outer works. The Bulgarians did not possess a single siege gun and were further much hampered by the lack of roads, but they overcame these difficulties by almost superhuman efforts, each man carrying rations for several days and extra ammunition. The Bulgarians attacked the fortress on all sides. They rushed the outer defences and approached the citadel in spite of fire from the guns which ploughed furrows in their ranks. The scene was more reminiscent of the remote ages than of modern times. The storming parties with scaling ladders advanced, hand grenades which were freely used adding to the horrors of the struggle. The Kurdish cavalry on one occasion made a sortie, but were met by Bulgarian horsemen who dispersed them after a short sharp encounter in which horses and men were inextricably mixed. The sheer doggedness of the Bulgarians eventually overcame the Turkish resistance.

A Constantinople wire states that the people there are still ignorant of the extent of the disaster at Kirk Kilissch. The newspapers counsel firmness and courage, declaring that the movements of the Turkish troops are only preparations for future battles.

It is a noteworthy fact that Bulgaria has summoned 80,000 more reservists to the colours possibly upon reports of mysterious stirrings in Austria and Roumania.

The fiercest fighting in the war occurred at Kumanovo. The Serbian ammunition gave out when the troops were three hundred yards from their goal. They, however, advanced with fixed bayonets and jumped into the Turkish trenches where a sanguinary *mêlée* took place, the adversaries fighting with bayonets, clubbed rifles, daggers, spades, and, where they possessed no weapon, with teeth and nails. The ground was strewn with Turks and Serbians locked in a deadly embrace.

It is reported at Belgrade that the Tsar has sent his congratulations to King Peter on the occasion of the capture of Uskub by the Serbians.

A London wire says that while the Balkan States have done their utmost on land, the Greek navy has been particularly active in searching for shipping in the Aegean, following the example of the Italians. An Athens wire says that the Greek army in Epirus has occupied the Loura and Pentapighadia passes, on the route to Janina. A message to the "Daily Mail" from Larissa states that two Greek divisions are marching on Verria, which is situated on the railway forty miles from Salonika.

The Montenegrins, after days of careful preparation following upon stubborn fighting in which every foot was contested, have begun the general bombardment of Skutari on three sides. The result is not known.

A Bukharest wire says that in view of events in the Balkans and the necessity of establishing a strong Government M. Majorano has reconstituted the Cabinet, uniting all elements of the Conservative party. The King addressed the new Ministers to-day, congratulating them on the formation of a strong Government possessing the confidence of the country and which alone would be able to take important decisions which the circumstances demanded.

The King pointed out that from the beginning of the war all eyes had been directed towards Roumania and he appealed to the Cabinet to disregard internal politics and to devote themselves to the external situation.

The Sultan is most anxious to go to the front and encourage the troops but he has been dissuaded. A Constantinople wire says that the Cabinet has decided to prosecute the war with the utmost energy and to prepare for a winter campaign should present opportunities result unfavourably for Turkey. Ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid, who has been kept in the strictest seclusion at Salonika since his deportation has been removed to Constantinople.

For a proper appreciation of the situation it is necessary to explain that not a single newspaper correspondent is even within hearing of the guns in any quarter of the huge theatre of war. Hundreds of unhappy special correspondents and foreign military attaches are collected at the different headquarters, their sole office being to repeat official bulletins after these have been transmitted to Europe from the capitals of the belligerents. Hence the impossibility of arriving at a definite understanding as to what is going on in any part of the arena regarding which military necessities require secrecy. Consequently, Europe is lost in conjecture about the progress of events around Adrianople. Believers in Turkish steadfastness and vitality maintain that the Turks have only recoiled *pour mieux sauter* and that a crushing disaster awaits the foolhardy Bulgarians who are weakening themselves by a great encircling movement eastward and westward against their intact massed foes. On the other hand onlookers whose judgments are influenced by the achievements of the Bulgarian strategists and the armies hitherto, are convinced that the onward rush of the victorious troops cannot be stayed and that a week will see the star of the Ottoman Empire in Europe set. Between these opinions comes the reckoning of possibilities of a prolonged Turkish defence upsetting calculations and bringing on winter for the Bulgarians who will be bivouacing in a frozen country at a great distance from their base. The lifting of the veil ever so slightly during the next few days will reveal much.

With a decisive battle approaching and the growing likelihood of a final victory of the allies, the political aspects of the question are gradually coming to the fore-front. The problem is the most thorny that has faced diplomacy since 1878, as the allies are increasingly determined not to abandon the spoils of victory. They express the belief that the Powers will not force them to give up countries which they have twice liberated from Ottoman rule. In this they are supported by practically the entire Russian Press. Although the inspired Austrian and Russian organs hold to the principle of the maintenance of the *status quo* which is momentarily that of official Europe, opinion is growing that the return to the *status quo* is impossible and herein lies the chief danger, as Austria is undoubtedly bitterly opposed to the extension of Slav influence which Russia is pledged to uphold. A message to the "Daily Mail" from Vienna confirms the impression that the *status quo* in the Balkans is doomed. The message adds that diplomatists are already discussing a plan for the readjustment of the Balkan territories which provides for the creation of a principality for Albania with the Adriatic as a boundary and a principality for Macedonia stretching to the Aegean. The Bulgarian territory will be extended along the Black Sea. Serbia will receive part of the Adriatic and Montenegro part of Novi Bazar. Turkey's European possessions will thus be confined between Adrianople and the Bosphorus. The plan provides that the thrones of Macedonia and Albania shall be offered to Danish and Swedish Princes.

M. Poincaré, French Premier, speaking at Nantes yesterday, said that, thanks to France's initiative, the Powers were collectively watching in the Balkans and that this would facilitate intervention when the time arrived, which perhaps would be soon. M. Poincaré carefully avoided any allusion to the question of the *status quo*. "France," he said, "is incapable of inconstancy or disloyalty in her foreign policy. She will remain closely attached to Russia, her ally, and to Great Britain, her friend, by interlaced and indestructible bonds of sentiment, interest and political probity. We and they will assuredly be entitled to our respective preferences regarding solutions in the Balkans, but nothing can disturb the *entente*, the firm maintenance of which continues to be necessary to the European equilibrium. Our intimacy justifies the hope that the war will remain localised and that it may be stopped by Europe at the first opportune moment."

London, October 29.

A message from Belgrade says that at Uskub the terror-stricken Turks abandoned 98 field guns and 18 howitzers. The Serbians pursued them to the south-east and occupied various towns which displayed the white flag. Another Serbian army has taken Mitrovitz and other important towns on the railway and marched on Uskub, all neighbouring towns surrendering. Thus it has gained control of the entire railway system converging on Uskub.

It captured fifteen quick-firers, four thousand rifles and great quantities of ammunition at Ferisovitch, and also a thousand Arnauts. It is officially stated in Belgrade that the Turkish army surrendered while retreating from Uskub. The Servians subsequently captured 128 guns. The Servian vanguard effected a junction with the Bulgarians and entered Istib yesterday, having pressed right through the pass of Ovece Polye on to the plateau without sighting the enemy, though a desperate battle had been expected. The junction of Servians and Bulgarians at Istib followed on the Servian occupation of Koprili from where the Turks again retired in disorder.

A telegram from Constantinople, dated the 26th instant, received by an indirect route and uncensored, says that the regrettable affair at Kirk Kilisseh has caused the profoundest depression and the generalship of Mukhtar Pasha and Prince Aziz is much criticised. It appears that the slow advance of the Bulgarians and the impatience of the Turkish commanders to get to grips resulted in the decision to advance and the column commanded by Mukhtar Pasha and Prince Aziz started at nightfall to surprise the Bulgarians. The night was wet and stormy and the troops, who were drenched, came into contact with the enemy at dawn, only to discover that the Bulgarians were in overwhelming strength and not merely a light vanguard as was expected. One Turkish Division mistook another for the enemy and violently attacked it. Heavy losses were sustained before the mistake was discovered. The cavalry attempted to charge but were severely punished and fled. The galloping horses threw the infantry volunteers into a panic and they bolted, but the 2nd Division of the Constantinople Army Corps arrested their flight. Details of the casualties cannot be obtained, but it is alleged that the Division was decimated. The Vienna *Reichspost* states that the Bulgarians are making steady progress against the Turkish field army and have blown up a railway bridge over the river at Tchoru situated between Luleh Burgas and Constantinople. Part of the Adrianople garrison has retreated to Demotika. The remainder is already cut off and demoralised, having suffered heavy losses. One whole regiment surrendered to the Bulgarians at the last sortie. A Sofia message says that the train captured at Eski Baba was loaded with welcome supplies, which were instantly forwarded to Kirk Kilisseh. The Bulgarians have occupied Bunarhissar, to which the Turks retired from Kilisseh. The Bulgarians have also captured the Kresna pass in the Struma Valley. According to unconfirmed reports received in Sofia the Bulgarian cavalry has cut the communications between Adrianople and Macedonia as well as between Adrianople and Constantinople. The Bulgarians have also captured Luleh Burgas and Demotika. It is believed that the Turks are constructing earth works on the River Ergene, west of Eski Baba, with the intention of making a stand.

Two Turkish transports have set out for the Black Sea with troops with a view to landing them on the Bulgarian coast.

The Minister of War telegraphs to Constantinople that he is most satisfied with the position of the Turkish forces and expects a decisive battle in two days' time. Nazim Pasha telegraphs that the Bulgarians lost so heavily at Kirk Kilisseh that they have been unable to resume the offensive. The Turkish forces, on the other hand, have gained strength and numbers and are confidently awaiting the decisive battle.

A message from Athens says the Greeks have carried the Tripotamos defiles, which are the key to Verria, the capture of which town is imminent. The combined movements of Greek, Servian and Bulgarian armies are now attracting attention. The occupation by the Greeks of the Tripotamos defiles makes the capture of Verria certain. Simultaneously two Bulgarian western armies are advancing rapidly down the valleys of the Struma and the Mesta towards their objective, Seres, upon the trunk railway connecting Thrace with Macedonia, and the Servians are pursuing their victorious march from Koprili southwards along the Vardar Valley. These combined movements mean the encircling of the whole of the Turkish forces in Macedonia and will prevent them from reinforcing Nazim Pasha's army in Thrace.

The British Minister in Montenegro and the Montenegrin Foreign Minister arrived at Rjeka yesterday from Cetinje and had a long audience of the King. The Bulgarian General Paprikoff has arrived at the Montenegrin headquarters. Plevlie in Novi Bazar was yesterday taken by the Montenegrins.

Abdul Hamid arrived in Constantinople yesterday evening in great secrecy. He was conducted to one of the Bosphorus palaces.

The Turkish Government is straining every nerve to secure a striking success in a big battle with the Bulgarians which is coming and which is expected to decide the war. The appointment of Hussein Hilmi, ex-Grand Vizier, as Ambassador in Vienna is considered significant in view of the settlement after the war. He will be accompanied by Fakr-ed-Din Bey, one of the peace delegates at Ouchy. The two appointments are thus regarded as a special mission.

Though there is a rumour in Bukharest that the army is mobilising, it is officially denied. The Ministry has decided to set apart large credits for army purposes in case mobilisation is necessary.

There was much activity at the London Foreign Office this afternoon. The visitors included Colonel Seely and Mr. Churchill who had interviews with Sir Edward Grey. After interviews with the Minister for War and the First Lord yesterday Sir Edward Grey was received in audience by the King.

While the world is awaiting the casting of the die at Adrianople, statesmen and diplomatists are anxiously peering in the future. They ask will Austria resent the seizure of Novi Bazar and the creation of a great Serb kingdom on her borders with the consequent extinction for ever of Austrian aspirations towards Salonika? It is known that Austria has large forces on her southern frontier. Will they move to eject the victorious Slavs? Will Russia in that case remain quiescent? These questions are being gravely discussed in the press of Europe. Clearly everything hangs on the decision of Austria which carries most momentous issues. Present indications tend to show that Austria is resolved on a peaceful policy of friendship with the new Balkan Confederation, whose advent to power is as remarkable and sudden as that of Japan in Asia, her desire being the development of her economic interests and not territorial expansion. Meanwhile Russia will be well content with the immense increase of her influence and prestige by the growing up of a new Slav Power.

In the Reichsrath to-day the Premier emphasised that Austria's policy was a peaceful one and that she was working in agreement with the Powers. Austria would use her influence at the proper moment to assist in an early termination of the conflict. (Cheers.) The Premier referred to the widely-expressed wish for peace under any circumstances. He said that Austria's policy was not aggressive, but no European Power could adopt a policy of peace at any price, however peacefully intentioned it might be.

London, October 30.

Reports three days old, which have only just been received in Constantinople, admit that the position of the western or Vardar army is precarious, but they declare that a respectable force still holds Koprili and is still disputing the advance of the Servians and Bulgarians. The fall of Koprili is, however, already ancient history for the rest of Europe. The capture was effected by a daring raid on the part of the cavalry commanded by the Servian King's brother, Prince Arseni, ex-Colonel of Russian Cossacks. The Turks were demoralised by the defeat at Kumanovo. They did not stop to ascertain the numbers of their assailants but fled headlong. According to Servian accounts the Turks at Kumanovo numbered 80,000 and lost 6,000. The Servians were 60,000 strong and lost 400 killed and 2,000 wounded. The extent of the Servian success is indicated by the list of towns they have captured, namely Priepolie, Novo Varosh, Sienitz, Novi Bazar, Mitrovitz, Vutshitrin, Prishtina, Preshevo, Gilan, Ferizovich, Kumanovo, Egri Palanka, Kratovo, Kuchana, Uskub, Koprili and Istib. The Turkish troops in these towns numbered 160,000, of which the scattered remnants are retreating. The Servian captures include 200 guns and thousands of rifles. The inhabitants of the captured towns, even Moslems, are accepting Servian rule and business is being resumed in all towns in direct communication with Belgrade. Similarly the Bulgarians are establishing bank agencies in the captured towns. Details of the fighting are now leaking out. They show that the battles were most fiery, for instance, that at Kochana lasted three days and two nights. The Bulgarians at the outset, according to an official account published at Sofia, were much inferior to the Turks, but held their ground for a day. They finally attacked and by means of frequent bayonet charges cleared the Turks out of their positions.

An account of the storming of Kirk Kilisseh is given by an eye-witness, a member of the German Red Cross Society. He says that the Bulgarian attacks were most desperate and that every inch of ground they gained was carried at the point of the bayonet with terrible loss. The final night attack on the vineyards is described as fearful. The fighting was hand to hand, bayonets, clubbed rifles, sabres, yataghans, knives and even axes being used. The whole scene was lit up by the glare from the searchlights of the forts. When they had cleared the vineyards the Bulgarians attacked the forts. They were repeatedly repulsed with heavy loss, but were not driven off. Their last effort began at 11 o'clock at night. The Bulgarian troops were forbidden to shoot, but were ordered to use the bayonet only. They then advanced under a heavy fire from the Turks. The resistance of the Turks collapsed with the news that their main army was retreating. The Christians in the Turkish ranks surrendered in batches, but the Moslems fought to the last. The eye-witness quoted above, whose account is published in Germany, asserts that on the failure of the first attack by the Bulgarians the Kurds and Bashi Bazonks massacred and mutilated the wounded gouging out their eyes, cutting off their ears and noses and ripping open their stomachs.

A Constantinople message says that the number of officers and men now shot for panic at Kirk Kilisseh amounts to 300. Eye-witnesses of the Turkish retreat declare that the Bulgarian resistance and final night attack disconcerted the Turks and led to a panic.

Makhtar Pasha endeavoured to arrest the flight of his soldiers by shooting them down with a revolver. Prince Aziz joined in the flight and Abdullah and Makhtar Pasha after consultation ordered a general retreat. Hilmi Pasha refused, however, fearing a general débâcle, and covered the retreat till his men also were seized with panic. Hilmi Pasha shot the fugitives. The main body to-day retired to Viza, where the rout was checked. In the meantime the Bulgarians, who were not aware of the retreat, hesitated to advance and thus nine hours elapsed between the evacuation of Kirk Kilisseh and the entry of the Bulgarians into the town.

A message from Vrania says the Servians have scarcely occupied Plevlia when the Montenegrin force arrived. The meeting of the allies led to scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm. The sandjak is now clear of Turks and the allied columns are free to join the main armies. A message from Belgrade says brilliant cavalry movements played a most important part in the taking of Koprili. They cut the Turkish forces in two and then with the assistance of the artillery routed them.

According to a Turkish official telegram fighting continues at Kozani to the north-west of Serfidje and the Greeks are retreating. A message from Athens says the Greeks have occupied the town of Veria. No resistance was offered to them. The railway traffic to Monastir is interrupted.

A message from Cetinje says a body of Turks east of Sentari hoisted white flags and approached the Montenegrin force which allowed them to draw near. The Turks opened fire at close range and charged with lynchets killing and wounding 800 Montenegrins. Afterwards the Montenegrins surrounded and exterminated the Turks.

Despatches from Nazim Pasha report that a great battle has been in progress since this morning (yesterday morning) and that 150,000 men are engaged on both sides. The report concludes that the position of the Turks is favourable. Nazim Pasha further telegraphs that the army at Adrianople made a sortie to the west towards Marash, where it encountered a Bulgarian brigade and forced it to retreat with considerable loss in the direction of Hetajkeuy and Kemalkeuy. A fight also occurred at Viza in which the Bulgarians were repulsed by the Turks, who lost 800 killed and wounded. The Bulgarians are silent with regard to the operations now in progress outside Adrianople, but Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commander, telegraphed yesterday evening that the important battle, begun on Monday, still continues and that the Turks are gaining. Nazim Pasha declares that two Bulgarian battalions were cut off from the main body between Kirk Kilisseh and Viza and lost heavily.

Once again the tendency of military expert criticism concerning Adrianople sways rather in favour of Turkey. The complete silence in Sofia and the brief despatches from Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commander, indicating the movement of the Turks and furthermore a successful movement, and the knowledge that the field of the Bulgarian operations is saturated and even flooded by incessant rains and certain indications that the Bulgarian troops have experienced a set-back somewhere, create the impression that at least a pause has set in the Bulgarian triumphal progress at a time when every hour is valuable. Nazim Pasha has about 220,000 men available, apart from the garrison of Adrianople; and it is argued that with such a force and knowing the issues involved Nazim Pasha has a good chance of relieving Adrianople and repelling the advance of the Bulgarian Eastern Army. The only reports available seem to suggest that the area of operations is being transferred to the country about Tcherkessakeni, Serai and Istranja.

Reuter learns that the Powers are energetically conducting *pourparlers* with a view to ascertaining the opinions of different Governments with regard to eventual intervention in the Balkans. It is emphasised that although the military operations have so greatly changed the aspect of affairs, the policy of the Powers with regard to united action remains unaltered, and that they are working in complete harmony; but naturally the final decision as regards intervention is impossible until a decisive action has been fought.

A message from Constantinople says the Grand Vizier has resigned. He is succeeded by Kiamil Pasha. An imperial decree has been issued ordering the Grand Vizier to prosecute the struggle in the most vigorous manner to gain a victory.

The rumours that Christians and Jews have been massacred in Salonika are officially denied in Constantinople.

London, October 31.

Bulgarian silence with regard to the battle reported by Nazim Pasha has been broken by the following statement from Sofia, dated October 31st at 1-30 A. M. — "after two days fighting Bulgarian army completely defeated the Turkish principal army which retreated in disorder."

A Belgrade wire states that there are positive reports that after fighting at Kumanovo Turkish leaders quarrelled and that

resistance offered by Turks at Koprili was due to a few officers who acted on their own responsibility. It is stated that the Commander of the Monastir army corps was killed by his own officers because he ordered further resistance.

Nazim Pasha's despatches have revived the spirits of the authorities in Constantinople. The Sultan yesterday sent him a telegram of congratulation on Turkish success, saying "may good God make you worthy of his clemency and favour of the Prophet. May blessings be showered upon you in this world as they will surely be in the next."

Apart from Nazim Pasha's telegrams the sole information available yesterday evening about the great battle was a Bulgarian despatch announcing the opening of bombardment of the North-Western Frontier of Adrianople on Tuesday morning at 1-30, the Turks replying feebly. Fresh Bulgarian reserves, mostly without uniforms, arrived during the night, and field guns moved forward opening fire at eight o'clock. Ninety minutes later the Infantry advanced, while the Bulgarian Eastern Army made a simultaneous attack on the Turkish Forces at Ergene River. Then there was silence till the message already reported arrived from Sofia announcing Bulgarian victory, and another which stated that Lule Burgas had been captured. Lule Burgas is the key to the Turkish second line of defence extending westward to Demotika. Whether Turks have been wholly defeated is not yet clear. They may make a stand at Tchorlu.

Mr. Churchill speaking at Sheffield yesterday said that the Powers without exception were striving for a settlement of the question in Balkans which would make another war impossible. This spontaneous explosion, in Balkans the said, was the lesson to Great Britain to be ready for all eventualities. It was good to be patient circumspect and peace-loving, but that was not enough. We must be strong, self-reliant and united.

A wire from Sofia states that the official journal "Mir" says "if Europe is anxious for lasting peace the formula of *status quo* must be forgotten. It is offensive to the brave armies of the allies after their glorious victories and sanguinary sacrifices. The war has radically modified the situation."

A Constantinople message states that it is rumoured that the Turkish fleet is bombarding Burgas and that troops have been landed.

The correspondent of the Vienna newspaper "Reichspost" with the Bulgarians wires that the arrival of reservists released three brigades of General Ivanoff's army from investment of Adrianople. The correspondent says that battles began on both wings with attack by two large Bulgarian groups on right wing with which the back of Cavalry is operating in the direction of Lule Burgas and Tchorlu. Strong columns marched via Hafia and Halapje to the south of Ergene river. The Bulgarians were driven back northwards at Tchiplikene. The advance of the Eastern group was delayed by thick woods and impassable roads which rains have converted into morasses, but the general advance was subsequently resumed. Other columns marched via Midia in the direction of Sultanbagtche and Istranja. There are hundred thousand Mussalman refugees at Adrianople the resources of the town being thus severely taxed.

A Bukharest wire states:—People here are anxious as the result of the requisitioning of vehicles; but it is announced that this is only on account of transport experiments. Government is sending field hospitals to Bulgaria and Turkey.

Official statements in Sofia accuse the Turks of burning villages and exterminating Bulgarian inhabitants and Bulgarian prisoners. Similar allegations are made in Athens with reference to Greek villages in Epirus. The Turks accuse the Bulgarians of burning Muhammedan villages from which thousands of refugees have already arrived in Constantinople thus complicating a situation which is already disquieting owing to the presence in the capital of thousands of starving Redifs. There are also rumours of a Unionist plot against the Government and that martial law is to be applied more strictly.

An uncensored telegram from Constantinople states that among reasons advanced by Turkish officers for the disaster at Kirk Kilisseh are the bad example of Christians in Turkish ranks; the flight of Redifs who are not yet armed; and the failure of the Commissariat. The troops for three days were fed on flour and water. Further reasons are the alleged insufficiency of officers due to Government having retired officers who had risen from the ranks; inefficiency of the intelligence Department, and disorganisation of supply of munitions. Some soldiers possess rifles but no cartridges, others have cartridges but no rifles. Among reports which so far lack confirmation is one to the effect that Bulgarian cavalry has entered Rodosto where most of Turkey's Asiatic troops have been landed. Another is that thirty thousand Turkish troops have landed from the Black Sea on the coast of Thrace. A Russian aviator was brought down by cannon fire while reconnoitring over Adrianople.

The critics to-day are either silent, fearing to stultify themselves by opinions which twenty-four hours may prove to be unwarranted, or sitting on the fence awaiting events.

It is a curious fact that the whole of Europe largely depends for details of the Bulgarian operations upon the telegrams of Lieutenant Wegener, correspondent of the insignificant Vienna Catholic paper "Reichspost" which, however, enjoys the patronage of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. While the censorship at Sofia passes only the bare outlines, Lieutenant Wegener's despatches contain many military particulars which must inevitably, when accurate, be most informing for the Turks. They may also mislead them if incorrect.

A message to the "Times" states that large sums are being collected by the Egyptian Red Crescent Society. Viscount Kitchener has subscribed £100, signing his name "Kitchener Pasha." This has greatly pleased the Egyptians.

A Sofia wire says that a three days' battle at Lule Burgas and eastwards to Serai on a front of fifty kilometres, has ended in the total rout of Nazim Pasha's main army. The Turks lost very heavily and fled in disorder in the direction of Tchorn. A Sofia wire states that in the three days' battle the Bulgarians drove the Turks from their fortified position and captured numerous guns, flags and other trophies. They also captured much ammunition and many prisoners. The Bulgarians are now pursuing the fleeing, panic-stricken Turks. The Bulgarian losses were comparatively slight.

At question time in the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey said that the Powers had been in communication with regard to the varying aspects of the Balkan situation and the resulting progress of the war but that it was not advisable at present to make a statement respecting the policy of Great Britain and other Powers who, he was glad to say, were continuing to act in concert. The House would appreciate the difficulty of stating Government's own views at a time when its primary object was to keep in touch with other Governments and promote agreement between them. Sir Edward said he knew of nothing likely to check the prospects of peace so soon as the military situation made peace possible.

London, November 1.

A message received by "Reuter" from Constantinople, time 12-50 this morning, states that grave news has been received in Constantinople from the front and that the Cabinet is still sitting. It is believed that the question of peace is being considered.

Servians are extending their grip on Macedonia and have taken Prierend. Another division is nearing Prilip en route for Monastir where it is possible that it will effect a junction with the Greeks who were last reported to have seized Drevena and Kailar.

It is stated in Belgrade that the next session of the Skupshchina will be held in Uskub. In the meantime Montenegrins have captured Ipek where they celebrated "Te Deum" in the ancient cathedral. There is an unconfirmed report in Vienna that Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commander, has been killed. An Athens message dated November 1 states that a Greek torpedo boat last night crept into the Gulf of Salonica and sunk a torpedo boat and escaped.

The slight details that are available of the great battle are very confused, but it seems that the Turks took the offensive and attacked the Bulgarian left wing with great vigour and considerable success. On other hand, the Bulgarians dealt such a heavy blow on the Turkish left flank, which was comparatively weak, that it crumpled up and spread disaster through the whole.

A message from Reuter's correspondent by wireless, dated Constantinople October 30th, says:—"To-day is the third day of the battle. Nearly four hundred thousand men are engaged. If the Turks can only maintain their position it will constitute an important success because of the continuous arrival of reinforcements. On the contrary a defeat will open the way to Constantinople. If hordes of beaten soldiers fall back on the capital it is difficult to foresee what human intervention can save the city from sack and pillage."

The correspondent of the Vienna Reichspost says that all available Bulgarians took part in the recent big battle. The original plan was altered owing to the Turks having retired from Baba Eski and attacking upon the right wing from Serai. Bulgarians thus came into touch with the advancing enemy earlier than was expected. Fierce fighting in woods then ensued, the Anatolian Redifs advancing impetuously. They were constantly reinforced from the reserve, but the Bulgarians nevertheless stopped the attack and broke the lines of the Turks who were compelled to retreat. Their retirement closely resembled a flight owing to a Bulgarian flanking movement. The Turks at the outset fought gallantly, but were later seized with a panic. They had four divisions destroyed.

In the meantime, at Lule Burgas, where troops were partly entrenched, the Bulgarians Artillery did excellent work and the infantry were also extremely brave.

Here also the Turks retreated in a manner resembling a flight. The correspondent concludes by stating that the defeat of the Turks was complete and further says that the fall of the Tchataldja line of defence is already anticipated.

The Greeks have captured the Island of Samothrace. A message received from Constantinople confirms the sinking of a cruiser by Greeks. The message adds that nearly the whole of the crew were saved.

The Austrian cruiser "Maria Theresa" has been ordered to Salonika.

A Berlin message dated November 1, states that the Powers are not yet agreed whether to intervene now or await a possible last stand of the Turks at Tchataldja. Ambassadors in Constantinople held a conference yesterday evening which dealt exclusively with prevention of massacres.

A London wire dated November 1, says that the Bulgarians are now only twenty-five miles from the Capital. They declare their resolve to make peace in Constantinople and nowhere else. They have no intention of holding the place longer than is necessary. The Bulgarians have occupied Demotika and their western army has occupied Strumitza. The Khedive is in Vienna. His Highness is said to be acting as an unofficial envoy of the Sultan. There are rumours in Constantinople of secret meetings of Mussalman fanatics where inflammatory speeches were made urging the slaughter of Christians if further bad news is received. Government is taking stringent preventive measures. There was a hurried fall cabinet meeting to-night.

A wire from London dated November 1, states that the British Minister in Sofia has telegraphed that there is a great need for a British Red Crescent Society Hospital at Phillipopolis where numbers of Turkish wounded are lying unattended. A Hospital Corps for Salonica left Charing Cross to day. Many friends including members of the Turkish Embassy, Sir George and Lady Askwith and Mr. Ameer Ali being present to bid them farewell.

A London wire, dated November 2, states that the Powers' mediation is imminent. Proposals have already reached Vienna from M. Poincare. Everything depends upon Austria's attitude. The Vienna Foreign Office is apparently giving up the idea of maintenance of the status quo and is inclining favourably to the Confederacy's demands. The Austrian Press urges conciliation. The Neue Freie Presse says it would be folly to wage war over the Sanjak of Novibazar. The Russian Press is greatly impressed by Austria's pacific attitude and generally pays tributes to Count Von Berchtold. Rumania demands to take part in the Powers' Congress, though not nearly so bellicosely. Probably the determining factor will be the re-establishment of trade relations between Austria and Servia.

The Calcutta Red Crescent Society to-day received the following message dated Sublime Porte, October 31:—"News of surrender false. Thanks for kind sympathy."

Hilmi Pasha's Message.

The President of the Red Crescent Society in Calcutta, received the following cable from Constantinople on the 29th. It is from Hilmi Pasha, President of the Red Crescent Society in Stamboul. It is dated Stamboul, 28th October, 18 hours:—

"News captivity 50,000 soldiers unfounded. Whole Ottoman forces sent until now have hardly reached this number. Greatest part of army proceeding from Asia Minor and Syria, as on account of the Italian war was impossible mobilize by sea Asiatic forces. While neighbouring States are accomplishing mobilization, attempt to bar frontier with 600,000 defending our faith and honour. Preliminary army equivalent to about two-thirds of the enemy. We continually reinforce and complete our effective. Although victorious in some important regions we are somewhat met with difficulties in others, as we are in beginning. Hope by God's will and assistance to assure final success. Detachment engaged in Kirk Kilissh reaching 40,000 at defences has never had loss of 1,000. Perfectly sure of moral sympathy wishes of Mahomedan brothers of India. We are not less assured of pecuniary help. We need to comfort our wounded in great number. Friends of Ottomans and Mahomedans, Great Britain forward all necessary materials for four hospitals. Ottoman Red Crescent expects kind participation Moslem brothers of India to balance expenses other hospitals."

(Signed) HILMI PASHA,
President,
Red Crescent Society,
Stamboul.

Moslem Feeling.

A MOHAMEDAN mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Anjuman Mofidal Islam, Calcutta, on a vacant plot of land, at No. 14, Cantopher Lane for the purpose of raising subscriptions for the Red Crescent Society, on behalf of the wounded

subscriptions for the Red Crescent Society, on behalf of the wounded soldiers and widows and orphans of soldiers killed during the present war. From one o'clock in the afternoon, Mohamedans from all parts of Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood began assembling in groups and bands marching in procession with flags and banners and chanting religious poems and songs with much expressiveness and fervour. Fully 5,000 Mohamedans attended the meeting which was of a most orderly character. Shortly after two o'clock in the afternoon, the meeting commenced with recitations from the Koran by Moulvi Hafiz Zafar Ahmed, followed by some prayers and poems read aloud by a lad, named Yakub. This over, Moulvi Mohamed Akram Khan and other prominent and influential Mohamedan gentlemen delivered sympathetic speeches in Urdu. Subscriptions were raised on the spot and will in due course be forwarded to the Red Crescent Society in Turkey in Europe.

A crowded meeting of Hindus and Mohamedans was held at Beeson Square this afternoon, to raise subscriptions in aid of Turkey. About four thousand attended, including big merchants, and the Egyptian Mohamedan High Priest, Inam Ahmed Musamirya. Moulvi Leakut Hosseini presided. Resolutions were adopted expressing the necessity of a relief fund and urging Hindus and Mohamedans to boycott foreign goods. Subscriptions were collected in small coins and rupees which will be handed over to the Secretary, Red Crescent Society.

At a mass meeting of the Mohammadans of Bhagulpur, held under the auspices of the "Bhagulpur Mohammadan Association," the following resolutions were passed:—"That the Mohammadans of Bhagulpur view with great alarm the combined aggression of the Balkan States against Turkey and are of opinion that this attempt on the part of the Balkan States to harass the Mohammadan power is tyrannical and unjustifiable and has created a profound feeling of pain and sorrow throughout the Islamic world and they, therefore, pray that the British Government, which rules over millions of Mohammadans in different parts of the world, should use its influence to secure peace to Turkey and thus save it from ruin and destruction."

The Bombay Red Crescent Fund, which was started on the 25th October, now amounts to one lakh and twenty thousand rupees, exclusive of the separate Arab fund, which, as reported on Friday, then amounted to one and a half lakhs. The whole of the general sum has so far come from thirteen subscribers, except for a small contribution made by the *jamat* of butchers.

A Dacca telegram states that the excitement over the Balkan war is growing amongst Mohamedans in Eastern Bengal and that the Mohamedan leaders, in consequence, have thought it best not to hold the prayers which were to have been offered in the Mosques for success of the Turkish arms.

Feeling in Turkey.

("MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND "DAILY CHRONICLE" TELEGRAM.)
Constantinople, October, 17.

THE Turkish Cabinet is now in permanent session. It sat till midnight last night, and met again at seven this morning. The outbreak of the Montenegrin war has made but little impression here, chiefly because the scene of the conflict is remote, and also because it is realised that much graver issues are at stake. The report current here that the Mailisori have made common cause with the Turks, which I indicated in my recent dispatch, has been received here with feelings of joy. The people remain relatively calm. There have been a few hostile demonstrations against the Greek and Servian Legations, but the military patrols which have been entrusted with the duty of maintaining order speedily dispersed the rioters. The prospect of war against Bulgaria is losing none of its popularity. The perfervid patriotism of the Osmanli warrior race, which in its day carried the Crescent in triumph over half Europe, has after a long slumber been roused again to fever heat. Within a few days Turkey may be fighting for her life, but that she will make a heroic stand is the opinion of those who know the Turkish army and the present temper of the people. A prominent officer on the General Staff, in conversation with me to-day, said: "We are all tired of this worn-out game of diplomacy. Thank God, war is now certain. If I thought we were about to patch up any humiliating peace with Bulgaria, I would break my sword and commit suicide." The "Tanin," the organ of the Unionists, voiced the national aspirations when it said to-day, "We had better die with honour than live in dishonour." The same journal publishes an article on the financial condition of the allied Balkan States. It declares that the war will make all four bankrupt within two months.

The Armies in Thrace and Macedonia.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

IT HAS been already noticed that, if war breaks out, operations in Europe will tend to be divided between two theatres, the

Thracian and the Macedonian, and that success in the Thracian theatre is the most pressing need for Turkey as for Bulgaria.

What are the chances? We may perhaps take it, with all the reservations necessary when we are dealing with Turkish strengths, that the Turkish First Army in Thrace, if it is not rushed within the next week or so, may possibly be able to deploy near Adrianople 100,000 Nizam troops and 116,000 Redifs, besides 6,000 cavalry, 454 guns, and 160 machine guns. These figures may not be attained, but a prudent enemy would calculate upon having to meet them, and upon having, moreover, to meet larger numbers with every week's delay.

If the Bulgarian army takes the field with the formations assigned to it by popular textbooks of foreign armies it will not, in this case, be able to dispaly any marked numerical superiority over the Turkish First Army, for it would not bring much more than 250,000 combatants into the field. But the Bulgarian staff is credited with the design of expanding its nine divisions into 18, each of its infantry companies becoming a battalion, and each peace regiment of two battalions expanding into a field brigade of two regiments, each of four battalions. In this event there will be 288 battalions available, each of 1,000 rifles, exclusive of Ersatz regiments and Landsturm, and in this case we cannot reckon the fighting strength of the field army at less than 400,000 men all told, the artillery being expanded in a similar manner.

CADRES AND RESERVES.

This system of cadre armies is indispensable for a State with larger ambitions than it has resources. As a system it failed Russia in her war with Japan, and is now practically excluded from the Russian organization. If Bulgaria adopts the course with which she is credited there will be only a very small nucleus of the peace strength, upon which will be superimposed a mass of reservists; and regiments so formed cannot at first have the efficiency of others which have a large peace establishment. Fortunately for Bulgaria, almost all the other Powers in the Balkans, including Turkey, have weak peace establishments, and if Turkey does not go the lengths of the Bulgarian plan she still has weak battalions which are little more than cadres until the reservists rejoin.

TURKISH AND BULGARIAN PROSPECTS.

The war, if it comes, will show whether the Bulgarian staff has made calculations which are nice or otherwise. To some extent the army will at first be unwieldy, but much care has been taken in Bulgaria to train reservists regularly, and only the event can show whether the time necessarily lost in expanding the army to the strength indicated will not profit Turkey almost as much as Bulgaria herself. It is the general opinion among experts who know the Bulgarian army well that its organization is thoroughly efficient, and that it will be able to deploy at the outset of a war numbers superior to those of the Turkish army in Thrace, and competent to beat it in the initial operations.

We must watch narrowly the first combats before we can agree or disagree with these conclusions. Some armies, with magnificent appearance, prove useless in war. The fighting spirit in an army is a plant nurtured by public spirit, by tradition, and by victories; and although the Bulgarian volunteer battalions fought well in the war of 1877-78, and won a handsome victory against the Servians at a later date, it is necessary to wait for the first combats between Bulgarians and Turks to see whether the former people have thrown off altogether the memories of years of servitude and subservience to a Power with great military traditions, whose soldiers exult in battle and have been tried in the fire of centuries of war.

The Chances of the Protagonists.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

VERY little hope now remains of preventing a war which will take place under conditions which will make it heartrending to the most hardened spirits. The racial and religious animosities of the combatants, the long pent-up feelings will now at last find expression, the desire for revenge for wrongs, and the season of the year all tell us that this impending war will be one of the most fierce and cruel that the passions of men have ever waged, and that the civil populations will suffer equally with, if not more than, the armies.

PROBABILITIES AND SURMISES.

From a military point of view the strategy of the combatants contains a few features upon which we can lay hold, but many others which are subjects for conjecture and surmise. We must take it that the conflict between Turkey and Bulgaria will be the decisive act of the war, and that the struggle with Servia will take second place in order of importance. Further—considering the large numbers placed in the

field, the relative absence of perfected arrangements for supply and transport, and the cumbersome character of cadre armies expanded by masses of reserves—that the lines of the rail which traverse the frontiers trace out in some sort the main lines of operations, and that we must anticipate the weight of the armies to be within call of the railways which can alone regularly feed such masses and carry back from the front the sick and wounded. As the Trans-Siberian remained the axis of Russian strategy in 1904-5, so will the two railways which traverse the frontiers of Serbia and Bulgaria into Turkey remain the axis of Serbo-Bulgarian strategy, and it will be within reach of these railways that the decisive events of the war will probably occur.

But it is not only armies but whole peoples that are on the march in this war, and from all sides bands of fanatics are hastening to descend into Turkey and to wage guerilla war. The advance of these bands, which are not unacquainted with the routes to be traversed, will both herald and flank the marches of the main columns, and in Macedonia in particular will cause the military situation to be one of great difficulty for Turkey, for no war is more difficult than one waged against Regular forces and partisans combined. The bands will act freely and without troubling themselves too much about communications. They will carry out the rôle of the reconnaissance, spread desolation and confusion in their tracks, and render Turkish combinations exceedingly insecure. These things are among the *imponderabilia* of the war, but may be destined to cause the gravest harm to the Turkish cause.

THE BULGARIAN ORGANIZATION.

Little hope can remain that Bulgaria will stay her hand. She thinks, and perhaps rightly, that superior organization and readiness for war give her an advantage over a less ready enemy, and considering the lengths to which matters have already gone it would be an act of military folly for Bulgaria, if she is sure of her stroke, to waste time in negotiations which might, if prolonged, entirely transform the situation. Whether with or without declaration of war, we must expect now to hear very soon of the combats of the advanced guards, and, as appearances point to the readiness of Bulgaria, the initiative lies with her, and her leaders will no doubt strive to make full use of it.

It has been a doubtful point hitherto whether the Bulgarian Staff would have the hardihood to expand their peace cadres in the extravagant manner which the writer indicated in a recent article. A telegram from *The Times* Correspondent at Sofia now states distinctly that the peace units have been expanded eightfold, and we must consequently take count of this numerical increase. The possibility of this act has been present since the year 1903 when service in the reserve of the active army was increased from eight to 18 years, thus giving ten more annual contingents for the field army, but many doubted whether Bulgaria would dare to graft upon a small nucleus of the peace cadre such masses of reserves. She has, however, apparently dared, and we must consequently reckon her field army at 288,000 infantry, 5,000 sabres, and nearly 500 guns, behind which will stand a Landsturm perhaps 70,000 strong. All reports agree that the Bulgarian military machinery is working well, and *The Times* has received very clear hints from its Correspondents that an attack will not now be long delayed.

TURKISH DISADVANTAGES.

Were we sure that Turkish troops were even where they ought to be, or that the ranks were up to peace establishment or that mobilization would work well, we might all share the Austro-German views of Turkish military superiority. On paper the Turks ought to win, and it has been already shown what numbers they ought to be able to produce. Directly we look on the facts we begin to make many reservations. Thus in the 1st Army Corps the 1st Division has recently been at Borani, which is now receiving the attentions of the Montenegrins, and can hardly reach Adrianople before October 18. The 2nd Division has been at Smyrna and can hardly be up before the 12th. In the 2nd Army Corps the 6th Division has been at Smyrna and has found many detachments in the Aegean islands so that one cannot count upon its services. The railways, which should be used for the rapid transport of reservists and of Anatolian corps, will partly be engaged in transporting these various divisions to the front. If the Turks are not able to concentrate round Adrianople a force fit to meet the Bulgarians it is anticipated that they may concentrate further to the south, possibly at Muradli, and leave Adrianople to look after itself with a strong garrison of three or four divisions.

This action would have a bad moral effect, or might deprive the army of many European reservists, and would tie up in Adrianople an important part of the Thracian field army. Nevertheless it may prove to be correct strategy, for anything is better than a defeat of the main Turkish army in Thrace, and even if this army went back to the Troad and there awaited its reinforcement to a strength adequate for offensive war, it would be better than giving the Bulgarian army the initial success for which it pines. In any case, partly

owing to the detachment of several divisions of the 1st Turkish Army, and partly owing to the dismissal of the *istif* or army reservists to their homes, the Turkish army in Thrace was probably in a poor position when the mobilization of the allies began, and it is by no means certain that it has yet been able to recover itself. It would be a bold and patient strategy, worthy of a great military nation, to refuse to risk the main chance for the sake of temporary prestige, and, on the contrary, to act as Kuropatkin intended to act in a somewhat similar case, but had not the strength of purpose to follow to the end.

The Probable Course of the War.

(BY COLONEL F. N. MAUDE, C. B., R. E.)

WHEN in 1878 the advance guard of the Russian Army, jubilant and in full march on Constantinople, topped the ridge which so far had hid from them the view over the Sea of Marmora, they saw far below them sundry little black dots creeping slowly across its surface and heading obviously towards the same goal.

A German officer, an old friend of mine, has often described the scene which followed. In one moment, the spirit of the whole column changed as in a flash. The whole secret of sea-power was revealed even to the humblest *moujik* in the ranks. Constantinople was the prize of the Power who commanded the sea routes, and not all the hordes of landmen still available in their mother country could suffice to wrest it from her. Of course, this knowledge lay at the back of Lord Beaconsfield's "Peace with Honour" negotiations.

Turkey at that moment, even with such land forces as we were prepared to contribute—some seventy-two thousand men—was at the time in a far worse position relatively to Russia and her Allies than at the present moment she is with regard to the Balkan States and Greece. Hence if sea-power saved her then, it is a safe foundation upon which to build up a scheme of defence to-day, for within the Dardanelles and the Black Sea she holds that power absolutely, whatever may happen when the Greek fleet makes its efforts outside.

The power of an army on land is always some function of the product of its numbers multiplied by the velocity with which these numbers can be moved. Estimates of the fighting value of the several forces now facing one another, based on counting guns, sabres or rifles alone, are therefore always illusory, except under the conditions which prevail in Western Europe, where roads, railways, and means of communicating intelligence are nearly equal on both sides. They might have been a fair guide if the decisive struggle of the war were to be fought out at about equal distances from the intermediate bases of both sides, but in this instance there is no reason why the Turks should elect what for them must prove the most disadvantageous conditions and seeing how widely this whole subject was discussed between British and Turkish officers after San Stefano, it is exceedingly improbable that they will not recognise where their real advantage now lies.

In all previous wars the real problem for the Turks has lain in the difficulty of bringing into the fighting line her resources in men and material from the centre of gravity of her Asiatic Empire. It was a matter of months to raise and equip troops on the eastern outskirts of their possessions, and thousands died or deserted on the march. Moreover, the threat of action of the Russians from the Caucasus paralysed much of her best fighting material, but, apart from her new railways tapping the southern slopes of the Asiatic mountains, steam transport by water has almost eliminated all these disadvantages. From Trebizond to Constantinople is about 560 miles, or two days for a tramp steamer, and these exist in sufficient numbers within the Black Sea to meet the needs of the case. If in the past she has never been able to keep more than 250,000 fighting men on her European frontier, she could treble that number nowadays for equal exertions and bring them into action with a celerity never yet contemplated.

Let us assume now that at the outset matters take the gravest course along her European frontier, that the Allies complete their mobilisation and concentration with the punctuality and thoroughness of the Germans, and sweeping forward concentrically drive the Turks out of Macedonia before them towards Salonica; further, that the Greek fleet proves sufficiently formidable to hamper transport in the Aegean Sea—extreme assumptions it must be allowed. The Turks fall back before them as best they can, part towards Salonica, part from Adrianople to Constantinople, massacring the Christians as they go and incidentally destroying all title-deeds. Constantinople now becomes what Lisbon was a century ago, the Allies will be brought to a stand before the lines of Buyuk Tchekinedge, as Massena was held by the lines of Torres Vedras—the parallel is almost absolute.

If Wellington did not hesitate to drive the whole of Southern Portugal to make a waste before the French, we may be certain the Turks will not be hampered by the moral responsibility involved in this act of destruction either. Now, suppose at this, or at any earlier moment, the Turks disembark new army of, say, 250,000

men at Varna, and advance to Shumla, where they create a new Plevna. They need do nothing more, for just as Plevna inhibited all Russian action until it fell, Shumla—a position in every way more favourable, since with such a garrison it cannot be invested, and being only fifty miles from the coast can be easily reinforced and supplied—will compel the Bulgarians at least to relinquish what advantages they have obtained and march eastward to cover their own territory. I do not insist on Varna or Shumla—there are other places which will answer equally, perhaps better.

I am well aware that these views of mine will seem archaic to those accustomed to contemplate the rapid decisions in the thought of which Western strategists revel, but the point is that the conditions under which this war will be fought out are "archaic"—that is to say, as far as the means of moving troops and especially of artillery, are concerned.

In these almost roadless districts, with a soil which becomes a bottomless morass after winter rains, all rapid concentrations are out of the question. Generally, and between highly civilised States, the pressure on both sides to end the war by a single decision is equally great, and the staffs of both armies will strain every nerve to mass the last man, gun and horse for a decisive effort. In this case, however, it is only to the Allies that a speedy settlement is important, for from the day mobilisation is decreed the whole basis of their relatively high civilisation is affected. To the Turks, one hundred miles behind the frontier, war brings little change. Agriculture for the present is at a standstill, and the men may just as well be at the front as elsewhere. The Turks have, therefore only to "sit down"—to use their own expression—to compel the Allies to attack them, as at Plevna, and it is a physical impossibility for the Allies to arrange for the presence of an artillery force adequate to cover their attacks.

This is not because the requisite number of guns and horses is wanting, but partly because the difficulties of feeding the horses during the next six months will be excessive, and mainly because the higher artillery staffs are altogether lacking in the experience of handling the large masses of guns tactically that under the peculiar conditions will be necessary.

There may not be, there probably is not, much difference between the actual discipline and skill at arms of the opposing infantries once they reach the fighting line—no wise commander would venture to count on such an uncertain factor, and it is for this very reason that so much will have to be demanded of the artillery—but the Turkish defender will bring his guns into action with all deliberation, whereas his opponents will finally have to manoeuvre over unknown ground and under fire. Our Territorial batteries to-day might suffice for the former task, the best field batteries in France are no more than good enough for the latter.

As the Allies gather round Shumla—or wherever the new Plevna may happen to be—automatically the pressure on other portions of the Turkish frontier will be relaxed and circumstances will decide at which particular point the Turks will bring their numerical preponderance to bear. If the Greek fleet fails, as it probably will, a fresh army of 250,000 men will soon re-establish matters in Macedonia; if not, an advance from Burgas, south of the Balkans, would produce good results.

All this, however, must remain for the moment pure speculation. The only points which it is essential for us to retain at this stage are that, thanks to this undisputed control of the Black Sea, all calculations based on the numerical relation of the opposing forces are entirely upset, and the position becomes a precise parallel to that of the British Army in Portugal just a century ago.

Whether the financial endurance of the Turks will prove equal to the task is a question with which I am not competent to deal, but if the borrowing power of Turkey depends in any way on her maintaining the ultimate integrity of her territory, she ought to have no trouble in raising all the money she may require—always provided that the Great Powers hold the ring fairly.—*Saturday Review*.

Who are the Balkan Peoples?

(By H. N. BRIDGES.)

IN THE streets the placards are ringing their daily changes on the risks of war and the hopes of peace. From the statesmen to the underwriters at Lloyd's our complex world is gambling on the chances of a catastrophe. But even through the ephemeral excitement of the financier and the politician there seems a certain strain of fatalistic expectation. Be it by war or by peace, it is not easy to doubt that the direct rule of the Turks, in all save some last fragment of Europe, is approaching its end. The league of the Balkan States conveys its own meaning to the imagination. They stand together for the final effort with only two ties to bind them. Each of them, by luck or gallantry, by their own arms or the aid of Christendom, won its freedom in the past. Each of them has left some tormented frag-

ment of its own national body within the prison-house at whose gates they muster. There is nothing else to hold them together. Sympathy and regard there is little between them. Nature and history have flung together in the peninsula the most contrasted, the most incompatible of human temperaments. Each of the Balkan peoples, says a Bulgarian folktale, went once on a time to heaven to ask for gifts. The Turks came first and received the boon of sovereignty. The Greeks heard the news, hurried to heaven and complained. "What is the intrigue against us? Give us also power." The answer came, "Sovereignty is already allotted. But you shall have the gift of intrigue." Then came the Bulgars with the same petition. "What is this work of thine? Give us also power." But heaven gave them the gift of work.

No subtle analysis could better show the broad psychology of this folktale. The long feud of Greeks and Bulgarians is not merely an accident of history and a conflict of interests. It is also a clash of temperaments as diverse and as sharply contrasted as those of the Frenchman and the German. Ethnographers will probably dispute about them both to the end of time. There is some Slav, more Albanian, and a little Latin blood among the Greeks, and how much is left of the pure stock outside the islands only guesswork can decide. About the Bulgarians the same puzzle presents itself. The ruling stock which gave its name to the race were squat, savage, and primitive tribes of Tartars from the Volga (Volgamen according to one etymology) who conquered the earlier Slav inhabitants, and acquired, while distorting, their speech. One sometimes meets this original element in a village of Bulgaria or Macedonia—short, square, stumpy, and by no means attractive of feature, as little European in its type as the Turks themselves. It has certainly impressed its character on the race.

I talked once with a doctor who had attended the wounded of both sides in the Serbo-Bulgarian battle of Slivnitsa. He had found among the Bulgarians a sheer physical bluntness to pain which had amazed him, while the Servians showed at least the average European sensibility. Graceful of physique, vain, lively, fond of the more facile pleasures of the arts, the Servians have spent their 80 years of freedom in a stirring round of not too profitable adventure. The Bulgarians have improved their gift of work. Ethnography is a slippery guide to character. It would be, perhaps, a safer generalisation to say that the Bulgarians are in the main an agricultural people of the plains, formed by the steady labour of the plough behind a slow-moving team of oxen. The Southern Servians, and still more the Montenegrins are a pastoral race of mountaineers, whose life has been passed in the accidents of a herdsman's life in the chase and the foray. The Greeks derive their main strain and their dominant character from commerce, the sea, and the Church.

A few years ago, before the Turkish revolution, one might have said with little hesitation that the ultimate conflict between the Turks and all the subject races of the Empire was at bottom a crude question of interest. Fanaticism, to my thinking, has played a much smaller part in it than is commonly supposed. The Turkish State has always adopted towards the Christian communities a policy of condescending toleration which would have seemed incredibly enlightened even in Western Europe two centuries ago. Religion, it is true, was always the dividing line between the governing and the subject classes. But the motive of persecutions and massacres was not, as it usually was in Christian countries, the passion to convert and to eradicate unbelief. It was always the fear of some revolt among a helot class. The last thing which the Turks desired was that Christian unbelief should cease.

Beyond this crude fact lay the fundamental contrast in ideals between the governing and the subject races. The guiding idea of the Turks is Islam—resignation. The passionate impulse of the Christians is freedom. If the serfs had believed in resignation and their rulers in freedom, the contrast of ideals might have produced an earthly paradise. But to combine rulers who preach resignation with serfs who love freedom is to compound the formula of an inferno.

It was a malign chance which flung the Young Turks in their Paris exile among precisely those influences which were needed to give the last element of the intolerable to this conflict of ideals. Had their awakening come somewhere in the middle years of last century and brought them under the influence of its nationalist teaching, their evolution might have brought a permanent peace. Had they gravitated, as Armenians in exile commonly did, to the Socialist parties of the lands which sheltered them, they would have returned capable of understanding their Christian problem. But it was the positivist school which engulfed them, and they absorbed in it that limited and something mechanical conception of a united secular state which they have since travestied in their attempts to unify by force, and in their assaults on the ancient liberties of the churches and schools of the Christian races. They saw in those self-governing communities a state within a state and a negation of all their ideals of citizenship and unity. There followed a well-meaning, a high-principled operation more deadly, and more fatal than all the blundering and vicious cruelty of the Hamidian past. It

began in theory and it ended with a relapse into all the old abominations of the bastinado and cudgel. The corrupt worldliness of Abdul Hamid knew how to rule by alternating persecution with favour. It never fell with impartial hand on every subject race at once. The Young Turks, precisely because they acted on a doctrinaire theory, committed the supreme folly of alienating every Balkan race at once. Liberation has come by every variety of accident and heroism. The happy error of Navarino, the knight errant assault of Plevna, the obscure peasant wars which made Serbia and kept Montenegro free—these lie in the varied past. For the first time in Balkan history the movement of liberation is conscious, disciplined, and united. An idea at the last has wrecked Turkey. It seems that an idea in its turn will free Macedonia.—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Responsibility of Italy.

DISCUSSING the chances which the conclusion of peace between Italy and Turkey may have of including the situation in the Balkans—chances which it regards as very slight,—the "Temps" declares that the present crisis is largely the work of Italian diplomacy. "It is indisputable," it says, "that the Balkan Union, the official cause of the crisis, is largely due to the action of Italy, for whom Montenegro acted as a dexterous and tenacious agent. Italy had engaged herself to localise the operation of her army and navy. She had not promised to localise those of her diplomacy. She made use of her liberty in that respect with an admirable skill in a direction where she was certain of meeting the sympathies of Russia. Remember the discussions last spring on what was then called the Italo-Russian intimacy. Some people went so far as to announce joint naval action. That was not correct. What was true is that by a clever appeal to the traditional sentiments of Russia, the Italian Government facilitated the establishment of an *entente* which might prove in due course a grave danger to Turkey and a serious support to Italy. This *entente* has now induced the Porte to yield the maximum of concessions, thus rendering the conclusion of peace possible. Italy has thus achieved her aim. This reflects credit upon her diplomacy. But it also fixes her responsibility in the present crisis. Again, how can one dispute that the knowledge which Vienna had of this Balkan *entente* contributed a good deal to the decision of Count Berchtold, first to intervene diplomatically on behalf of the Albanians, and then to submit to the Powers his programme of decentralisation? These representations and programme have certainly reacted upon the actions of the Christian States, who were anxious that their Macedonian brethren should not be treated worse than the Albanians. Here, again, it was the Italo-Turkish War which served as the beginning. It was the diplomatic agitation provoked by it that rekindled the smouldering cinders, accelerated hesitating decisions, and brought into motion the Balkan block, which had been born of the counsels of Italy and the sympathies of Russia.

Pan-Slavism.

WHATEVER the Russian Government may think or do, the Russian people will be hot partisans of Bulgaria. Russians of the older generation can remember the pro-Bulgarian enthusiasm which raged through the Empire just before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8. After these long years, writes a Russian correspondent, I still recall vividly those wonderful days of Slav fraternisation, when Russia's best sons were marching south, amid the acclamations of the people, to fight for the "little brothers" against the unspeakable Turk. Every town had its Bulgarian Committee and its Bulgarian Fund, and arms, money, and volunteers were pouring in in a mighty stream.

Bulgarian emissaries, both men and women, went all through Russia like the preachers of the first Crusade. In broken Russian they told of their sufferings under the Turkish yoke, and lashed their hearers to fury. How well do I remember (continues our correspondent) how we young folk sang with glowing eyes and beating hearts the Bulgarian war march, "Shumi Maritza." I still remember the tune and the first couplet of that Bulgarian "Marseillaise" which they are singing to-day.

Shumi Maritza okrovaléna.
Platche vdovitza luto ranéna.
Marsh! marsh!! Tsargrad nash!

which means:—

The Maritza's stream is roaring, flowing with blood;
The widow is weeping, cruelly stricken.
March! march!! Constantinople is ours!

For the greater part of its course the Maritza flows through Bulgarian territory now, but "Tsargrad" (Constantinople) is not Bulgarian yet, nor likely to be.—*Manchester Guardian*.

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(Order V, rules 1 and 8, of Act V
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S. C. et Suit No. 53 of 1912.
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MIR NADIR HUSSAIN, PLAINTIFF,
versus
MIR BADLOO alias MIR BAD-ULLAH,
DEFENDANT.

To

Mir Badlo alias Badullah residing
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be accompanied by some person able to
answer all such questions on the 14th day of
November 1912, at 10 o'clock in the fore-
noon, to answer the claim; and as the day
fixed for your appearance is appointed for
the final disposal of the suit, you must be
prepared to produce on that day all the
witnesses, upon whose evidence and all the
documents upon which you intend to rely
in support of your defence. Take notice
that, in default of your appearance on the
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—Morris.

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the grievance was a question of justice, pure and simple, for Indians in the country.

China.

In the House of Commons on 1st November Mr. Norman Craig raised the question of Chinese loans and enquired what the attitude of the British Government would be towards individual firms represented by the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank engaging in individual loan transactions. Sir Edward Grey, replying, said that the attitude of the six Powers concerned is to oppose all loans to China whether made by individual firms represented by the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, or any body else, when such loans come into conflict with the policy of the Six-Power-group.

Reuter wires from Peking:—The Government has decided to accept the protests of the Six-Power-group and the Home Legations against the assignment of a portion of the salt revenues as a guarantee of the Crisp loan. The Ministry of Finance will be instructed to use the whole, or the available salt revenue for the Boxer indemnity, pending the payment of which other adequate security will be offered for the Crisp loan. Sir Edward Grey, in reply to Sir Edward Carlike, in the House of Commons on the night of 1st November, said that Sir John Jordan had unofficially informed China that the British Government did not support the candidature for the post of Legal Adviser to China of Sir Francis Piggott, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Hongkong. Sir Edward said that the Government entirely approved Sir John Jordan's action.

Moslem University.

In reply to Sir John Rees, Mr. Baker said:—The question of allowing the proposed Mahomedan University at Aligarh to affiliate institutions at a distance has received prolonged and earnest consideration. The grant of the power of affiliation would place the new university in a different position from the residential and teaching universities in other countries, and the Secretary of State believes it would be opposed to the best educational opinion. It would also involve dangers of conflict with the existing universities of lowering the standard and importing the peculiar traditions of Aligarh education and giving the new university responsibility for institutions in other parts of India, which its governing body could not really control. For these reasons, the Secretary of State is satisfied that the grant of the power of affiliation would be opposed to the best interests of Mahomedan education in India, and it has accordingly been decided to withhold it. The question of the relations between the university and schools is under consideration. The promoters of the university are being kept informed of the Secretary of State's views on the matter.

The McCormick Case.

Mr. Harold Baker, in reply to Mr. Charles Bathurst in the House of Commons on October 31st, said that Lord Crewe had asked for a full report of the circumstances connected with the case of Mr. Arnold, recently convicted in Rangoon.

The Week.

Mr. Gokhale.

Reuter wires from Johannesburg:—Mr. Gokhale was, on 1st November, entertained at a public banquet. In a speech, the distinguished visitor said he had experienced the greatest kindness in South Africa, and every facility had been afforded him to study the Indian question in South Africa. Mr. Gokhale gave details of the three European points of view. First, he said, was a fear of being swamped; the second was that political institutions might be affected if the country were thrown open; and the third was trade competition. The first two, he said, were really serious, and he saw the necessity for giving reasonable assurance in those connections. Unless Europeans were able to feel that no more Indians would be allowed to enter, there would not be satisfaction. If the point were conceded, he hoped that

TETE À TETE



WE HAVE great pleasure in announcing that His Excellency the Viceroy, who was requested by the Red Crescent Society of Delhi to associate himself with the Society as its patron and supporter, has graciously accepted the prayer of the Society. The following wire has just been received by us from the Private Secretary to His Excellency:—

"The Viceroy readily agrees to accept the position of Patron of the Delhi Red Crescent Society for the relief of Turkish war sufferers.

"P. S. V."

The Mussalmans of India had reason enough to be thankful to His Excellency for his contribution to the Fund which has already been opened by him for this purpose, and the Mussalmans of Delhi have now reason to be still more thankful.

IN THE Crimean War against Russia Turkey had the active support of England, and France, and even a generation ago, in the Russo-Turkish War, although Turkey was unassisted by any of the Great Powers, she had the fullest sympathy and moral support of Great Britain. But during the Cretan disturbances it was none other than Lord Salisbury, the Conservative Premier of England, and a partner of Disraeli who secured "Peace with Honour" for Turkey at the Berlin Conference, who said that his country and his party had backed "the wrong horse." Since then Turkey has been "the wrong horse" to Englishmen of both parties, though the Radicals have assailed her with a moral zest not much akin to the sporting levity responsible for the famous phrase of the Conservative Premier. To-day in the stress of battle Turkey seems to justify even in the military sense the appellation of Lord Salisbury, and although it is not yet possible to know how she was handicapped, what pitfalls were designedly left on the race-course for her, and who jockeyed her competitors, the race seems to have gone to her Balkan rivals, and if they can maintain the great distance which they covered swiftly at the start, it looks as if the Balkan colours will reach the winning post foremost, and those that have backed Turkey would find themselves considerable losers. From what we see in India it would seem that, although there is some grief felt here at the disappointment of the horse itself, there is greater self-commiseration among those who had placed the odds on the Turkish horse. "What is the use of sending money to Turkey now that she has hopelessly lost and her Sultan is even rumoured to have proposed a sudden and swift migration to Asia Minor." This is the sentiment to which expression has sometimes been given by Indian Mussalmans. Has it, then, come to this that the race of which the existence of their faith is the tremendous stake is of no more moment in their eyes than the gambler's ruinous pastime on the Turf? We have always understood that many Indian Mussalmans considered the ruler of Turkey to be Caliph of their Prophet, and all regarded him as the upholder of the worldly greatness of Islam and the Protector of the Sacred Places. Again, the Ottoman Empire has been regarded as that portion of God's earth whereon they could perform their religious duties without let or hindrance so long as it was in Moslem hands, if ever non-Moslem fanaticism prevented the performance of their religious duties elsewhere. We have also understood that Indian Mussalmans are sensible enough to know that, the balance of the world's forces being always a delicate equipoise, they could not be sure that, if Turkey disappeared from Europe, Islam would remain intact as a world-power even in Persia or Afghanistan. We also understand

that Indian Mussalmans feel that Turkey is to-day in imminent danger of a greater catastrophe than has ever befallen her during the centuries of decline since the time when the tide of Ottoman conquest rolled back from the gates of Vienna; and that Persia, Morocco, Tripoli and Egypt are almost gone, and Afghanistan may go any moment hereafter. Understanding all this as we do, we must frankly confess we fail to understand the attitude of those Mussalmans who in the fast succeeding disappointments of the last three weeks question the use of helping Turkey. In effect, they believe Turkey to be "the wrong horse," and like the disappointed plunger they would lay no more odds on the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire. But it is not Turkey on which they have been placing odds, but on Islam, on the Prophet of Islam, and on the God of Islam, and their disappointment is not far removed from the feelings of him who despairs of his Maker. If the Mussalmans of India are God-loving and God-fearing they shall have to be God-sustaining also? and if they are afraid of placing odds on the colours of Islam they must tell us on which other colours they mean to pin their faith. So long as India was ruled by the Mussalmans we did not hear much of a Caliph in Constantinople. But when the Mussalmans of India lost control of India's destinies and it was entrusted by Providence to a Power better fitted for the purposes of Providence than they, the Mussalmans of India turned towards Turkey with the anxious hesitancy of a poor relation. Even to-day, when Turkey has fallen on evil days and evil tongues, the tale of her twenty thousand killed and wounded in every great engagement, and the heroic sacrifices of her splendid soldiery that has fought on rations in which Indian Mussalmans could not even sustain themselves in indolent repose, lifts her well above the level of Moslem India. But even if she had sunk below the plane of Indian Mussalmans, her sons could still have claimed kinship with them and reproached them in the moving words of Hali,

م نیک دین یا بد دین پر آخر میں تمہارے
نسب بہت اچھے ہی اگر حال برا ہی

(We may be good or evil, but nevertheless we are yours. The origin is very good even if the present plight is evil). But in spite of miseries and privations the Turkish soldier has adopted "Victory or Death" as his motto, and is manfully struggling on against his enemies. Is it then time for the Mussalmans of India to despair and forget the long-proclaimed commandment: "Despair not of the mercy of Allah." Bulgaria is only a generation old as a Principality and the work on which her sturdy sons toiled on through the intervening years has brought her to-day to her present well-deserved position. Greece had been greatly humiliated only fifteen years ago when she had rashly challenged Turkey; but she has evidently repaired the weak links in her chain during the interval. In a single generation Japan raised herself from a humble position to one of unchallenged supremacy in the Far East. And if Indian Mussalmans have even some faint recollections of what happened thirteen hundred years ago we may refer to the phenomenal rise of Islam itself as a world-conquering and world-civilising Power in a few decades. But what Islam accomplished then and Japan and Bulgaria have accomplished in recent times was not accomplished through the despair of faint-hearted loungers. Islam can repair its battered armour if the sons of Islam could rise from the disgrace and despair of to-day with the hopes and aspirations of a better and brighter to-morrow. In the scheme of destiny everyone has his share of work allotted to him, and if the Mussalmans of India can turn the failure of Turkey to the advantage of themselves and of Islam, Turkey would not have struggled and bled in vain. When the ancestors of the self-same Turks sacked Bagdad and put an end to the Caliphate, who could foresee that in the succeeding centuries the sturdiest champions of Islam would be the descendants of Hulaku, and that the impending sack of Constantinople at the hands of infidels would be feared and mourned as the impending sack of the earlier seat of the Caliphate at Bagdad was feared and mourned by the Faithful throughout the Moslem World. Who knows what a merciful Providence has still in store for the Mussalmans? But all know that the Creator works through His creations, and that those who have a great grief to-day gnawing at their hearts must raise their hearts to the same stature and work for the future with a sustaining hope in the mercy of God and a sublime faith in His omnipotence. What grief could be greater than that which paralysed the Mussalmans when the Prophet of Islam breathed his last? But Abu Bakr reminded the despairing and the faint-hearted that if the Prophet of Islam was dead the God of Islam was not dead. Once more Islam needs an Abu Bakr to revive the broken spirits of the Islamites and to preach from the eternal text: "God, there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal, Slumber seizeth Him, nor sleep. He is all that is in the Heavens and all that is on the Earth. Who is it that can oppose Him except at His bidding? He knoweth all that is in their

hands and all that is behind them; and they cannot encompass aught of His knowledge except such as He hath willed. His couch extendeth over the Heavens and the Earth and their protection burdeneth Him not. And He is the Great, the Magnificent." Turkey may be beaten or she may come out of this struggle victorious; she may gain honour or lose it: but to God must ever belong Honour and Victory, and we pin our faith not on Turkey, but on the God of Turkey and of us all.

WE ARE now in a position to announce that Dr. Ansari's Medical Mission to Turkey is likely to be able to leave India within a fortnight. In view of the critical situation in Turkey it was at one time thought necessary to cable money to

Dr. Ansari's Medical Mission.

Turkey instead of sending the Medical Mission, and the Red Crescent Society of Delhi wired Rs. 15,000 to H. E. the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay for the purpose, together with Rs. 6,000 out of the contributions received by us. Some other Mussalmans of Delhi had already cabled to Turkey, through Messrs. Thomas Cook, & Son, approximately Rs. 11,000. But we received distressing news from H. H. the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali that Turkish Hospitals were disorganised and great distress prevailed among the phenomenally large number of wounded. This confirmed our own fears and the accounts published in the papers brought by the week's English Mail. In view of this, the Red Crescent Society of Delhi decided to request the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay not to remit to Constantinople by cable the money wired to him by the Society and ourselves, as it was now intended to be utilized for the purpose of sending Dr. Ansari's Mission. A cable was also sent to Mr. Ameer Ali proposing that £ 2,000 would be cabled to him to purchase complete equipment and some stores for the Mission to be despatched from here if the proposed arrangement was acceptable to him. Dr. Ansari has already received several names of medical men with eminent European and Indian qualifications and of Hospital Assistants, dressers, compounders and male-nurses. The following arrangements appear to be the most suitable in the present situation. Surgeons with European qualifications, or Indian qualifications combined with eminent reputation and experience, should be paid full expenses, including second class passage on board and train fares. Among Hospital Assistants, dressers and compounders, preference should be given to qualified men in order of the proportion of their expenses which they offer to pay. As regards nurses and ambulance-bearers, selection should be made only out of such as can pay their full expenses, and preference should be given to those that have some knowledge of First Aid and ambulance work. We are asked to state that applications for inclusion in the Mission must now be sent to Dr. Ansari stating the applicant's readiness to leave at three day's notice, and mentioning his qualifications in detail and also what proportion of his expenses he is willing to pay. It is estimated that between Rs. 800 and 1,000 would ordinarily be required for the journey to Constantinople and back by second class, but it is hoped that concessions would be obtained from the steamship and railway companies which would considerably reduce the above estimate. Compounders and dressers, and probably Hospital Assistants, will be expected to travel by third class, but it is trusted that such discomforts on the way as this would entail would be cheerfully borne. Nurses and ambulance-bearers will, of course, travel at their own expense in any manner they prefer. Travelling expenses may roughly be estimated at Rs. 15,000 and equipment of all sorts at Rs. 45,000. A weekly expenditure of Rs. 5,000 would be entailed in replenishing medical stores. As this is not a local Mission but an All-India organisation, we trust contributions will be made towards the expenses of the Mission by the various Turkish Relief Funds open in this country. The moral effect of a Medical Mission from India stamped with the individuality of Indian Mussalmans cannot be overrated, and the need of such relief is very pressing. We trust that the organisers of various Relief Funds would realize that

شلم بخت به ز قرة خام

We hope final applications will now be received from those who have already communicated provisionally their desire to accompany the Mission and from such others as have made up their minds subsequently. No time can be lost now, and we trust none will be lost.

There is hardly a place in Moslem India where the name of Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti, Sultan-ul-Hind, Gharib Nawaz is not known or held in deepest esteem and reverence. He has been one of the greatest spiritual leaders of Islam who in its early days sped to different corners of the world to carry the message of the Divine faith to humanity. Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti was the pioneer of Islam in Rajputana. He made thousands of converts in his lifetime and has been a source of spiritual guidance and enlightenment to millions ever since he shuffled off his mortal coil. The devotion that his name inspires even to-day might best be judged by the annual pilgrimage

A Donation from Ajmere.

of hundreds of thousands to his shrine at Ajmere. It is a source of great pleasure to us to see that the Sahebzadas of the Durgah-i-Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti are alive to the dangers and perils now threatening the faith to the service of which their great spiritual master had devoted his life. A correspondent has sent us G. O. Notes worth Rs. 2,000 as "the subscription of the Sahebzadas of the Durgah towards the fund for the relief of the Turkish wounded soldiers and their widows and orphans." We welcome this practical expression of sympathy from the Sahebzadas all the more gladly as it would, we believe, be a powerful stimulus to thousands of Indian Moslems who derive their spiritual comfort from the teachings and life-history of Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din. We hope with our correspondent that the generous donation of the Sahebzadas of Ajmere will prove an "incentive to the Mutawallis and Sahebzadas of other Durgahs to imitate the commendable action of the Sahebzadas of this place." Our correspondent also informs us that "special prayers are being offered in the Durgah for the success of the Turkish arms and the glory of Islam." The need for God's help and blessings to the faithful was never greater than it is to-day. The need for Moslem unity, courage and sacrifice is equally great if the Moslems are to prove themselves worthy of the heavy trial through which they are passing.

WE HAVE received numerous complaints from our readers about the delay that has been occurring in the issue of the *Comrade* since our transfer to Delhi.

Our Delays.

None can be more painfully sensible of these delays than ourselves, and need we assure our readers that we are sparing no efforts to bring out the paper with the utmost regularity? Explanations are often considered of no avail and in such cases they can be offered plentifully. But without claiming our case to be peculiar, we would only wish that some of our readers came and saw with their own eyes the difficulties we have been contending against in fixing ourselves up in Delhi. The place now enjoys the dignity of being the imperial capital, but no capital of a vast empire would, we are sure, be so destitute of the things necessary for the mechanical production of a newspaper. We have had to build anew, and we have been obliged to hunt far and wide to secure materials for our needs. The press, the pressmen, the printers, the compositors have all alike taxed our attention and overwhelmed us with anxieties, and we are afraid it will take another week before things begin to run smoothly in a groove. Needless to say that we have been sparing neither money nor ourselves. We have had to engage men for mechanical work on higher wages than those received by men of greater skill and efficiency in Calcutta. We have, however, no desire to complain of these difficulties which every independent enterprise, whether big or small, has naturally to overcome. We hope we are almost in sight of the end of our troubles and the *Comrade* will continue to be issued as punctually as before. Distracting though our difficulties have been, they are nothing as compared to the acute tension, pain, anxiety and suspense of the period through which the Islamic world is passing on account of the misfortunes of Turkey. The shock of the terrible news from the seat of war is sometimes paralysing enough and one can hardly summon enough energy to work or to think. Thoughts that are too painful even for tears can get into cold print only blurred and indistinct.

THE Dacca Correspondent of the *Calcutta Empire* wrote the other day that he was told, and saw no reason to dispute the accuracy of the statement, that Nawab Sir Salimullah had issued "an edict

A Gross Libel.

forbidding his followers to show any sympathy for Turkey not only by collecting funds for the Red Crescent Society, but even by offering prayers in the Mosques," and this statement was supported by more detailed allegations such as the withdrawal by a Mohamedan gentleman of his quota liberally subscribed for the Red Crescent Society. As our readers are probably aware, the Nawab Bahadur has been dangerously ill, and even some of our own communications to him could not be placed before him, as doctors had absolutely prohibited his transacting any kind of business while he was still far from recovered. His son, Khwaja Habibullah Sahib, who shares the patriotic zeal and devotion to Islam characteristic of the Nawab Bahadur, has wired to us stating that the allegations published in the *Empire* are "absolutely unfounded and based on malicious information supplied to its Dacca Correspondent by designing persons." As a matter of fact, Khwaja Habibullah Sahib had already issued a notice calling for subscriptions, and a mass prayer meeting for Turkey was to be held the very day on which he wired to us this contradiction. We are shocked at such gross libel being published against one whose chief distinguishing characteristic is a religious fervour wholly rare in the Mohamedan aristocracy of India, and whose illness seems to have been aggravated by the shocking news from Turkey. Those who malign the Nawab Bahadur in this manner cannot harm him half as much as they harm themselves, and we would suggest their choosing an easier prey for their malice.

The Comrade.

England, Turkey and Moslem India.

WE HAVE received the following communication from a valued European reader of the *Comrade* who signs himself "A YAHUDI":—

"As a regular reader of the *Comrade* and as a fervent admirer of its usual good sense I am much surprised at the line it is now taking 'up over the Balkan War. The *Comrade* appears to maintain that Great Britain as the greatest Mussalman Power in the world should espouse the cause of Turkey, because the Turks happen to be Mussalmans. Whether the Turks are Mussalmans or not, does not affect, in my humble opinion, the matter of British partisanship at all. The pith of the whole affair is that the Turks cannot govern. If the Turks can govern let them govern by all means, but, unlike poor Persia, the Turks have had ample opportunity for displaying their power to govern and have totally failed to do so; therefore they must go. It is merely a coincidence that the present war is being waged between Christians and Mussalmans. The right of the case happens to be with the Christians just as in the late Russo-Japanese war the wrong of the case happened to be with the Christians. Trusting to the fairness of spirit which I am sure still lurks in the office of the *Comrade*, although temporarily stifled, for the publication of this letter, I enclose my card and beg to subscribe myself,—A YAHUDI."

We are much indebted to our correspondent for the kind remarks with which he has commenced his letter, and we can assure him of the continuance of at least a fairness of spirit which according to the testimony of the writer has hitherto characterised the *Comrade*. But we maintain that we have no such illusions about the international position of Great Britain and its Imperial duty towards Indian Mussalmans as he attributes to us. We recognise the patent fact, on which the *London Times* and many other papers, which have not unoften wounded Mohamedan feeling with reference to the policy they would like Great Britain to pursue in relation to Moslem countries, have insisted in season and out of season, namely, that Indian Moslems cannot be permitted to dictate the whole foreign policy of the Empire. Much, therefore, as the Mussalmans may dislike any harm that may befall the Moslem States of Turkey, Persia, Morocco and Afghanistan, we admit without any *arrière pensée* that Indian Mussalmans could have no legitimate grievance even if the British Government participated in doing such harm to any of these States when it was clearly necessary for the continuance or progress of the British Empire. We also admit without the least reservation that the attitude of the Indian Mussalmans towards the Government by law established in this country would depend on the treatment accorded by that Government to the Mussalmans of India, although they could not but feel the injury that may at any time be done by the British nation to their brethren in other countries. Difficult as it may at times be for a certain type of individuals to maintain intact both their territorial and extra-territorial patriotism, we hold that it is their duty to maintain each without prejudice to the other, and we strongly believe that as a community the Mussalmans have maintained both in the manner in which they should be maintained.

But while believing all this, and unreservedly admitting it, we do not for a moment hesitate to contend that, so far as lies in our power, we shall not permit any other section of the vast Empire of Great Britain to dictate the whole foreign policy of that Empire if Indian Mussalmans cannot be permitted to do so. Just as the Rt. Hon. Mr. Lloyd George scored heavily against those whom he addressed as "You Unionist hypocrites," by pointing out that they roused the passions of Englishmen against him by referring to his Welsh origin, so we, too, will fling in the teeth of every Imperialist his narrow conception of an Empire in which the only Empire would appear to be a tiny island with a Christian population no more than a moiety of the Mussalmans inhabiting India. We know the pretensions of the "predominant partner," but if loyalty is something more than inertia and the inability to be disloyal, if it is something more than passive acquiescence in whatever emanates from the powers that be, if it means an active emotion capable of stirring those that have it to great sacrifice and heroic deeds for the cause to which they are loyal, then Indian Mussalmans, and, for the matter of that, any section of the population of this Empire, can be truly loyal to it only when all portions of the Empire are treated as of equal weight in Imperial councils.

We have written often enough on the subject of the British policy towards Persia, Morocco and Turkey, but we are certain that we have never desired that Great Britain should espouse their cause simply because those countries happen to be Moslem.

We have, of course, always pointed out the obvious fact that it would certainly gratify Moslem feeling if territorial and extra-territorial loyalty moved in the same direction, demanding that the British Cabinet should give to this feeling the weight that it deserves. We have also pointed out the material advantages that will accrue to the Empire if Persia and Afghanistan remained intact as strong buffers between India and England's traditional foe—though temporary and far from disinterested friend—Russia. We have further pointed out that, in any scheme of international relations, Great Britain, with her Empire extended over all the continents, would find the Moslem kingdoms, if they are on her side, a source of great strength when the inevitable Armageddon comes. But we have never maintained, during or before this war, as our correspondent says, "that Great Britain as the greatest Mussalman Power in the world should espouse the cause of Turkey, because the Turks happen to be Mussalmans."

Had this been the only error into which our correspondent had fallen, we would have been content to request him to specify any remark of ours that had led him to misunderstand us. But he goes further and says that "the pith of the whole affair is that the Turks cannot govern." He says that "unlike poor Persia, the Turks have had ample opportunity for displaying their power to govern and have totally failed to do so." He, therefore, concludes that "they must go," and he points out that "it is merely a coincidence that the present war is being waged between Christians and Mussalmans." It is here that our correspondent's greatest error lies, for it is not merely a coincidence that the combatants happen to be of different faiths, and it is far from proved that the Turks have had ample opportunity for displaying their capacity of governing and have totally failed to do so.

We regret for want of space we shall not be able to reproduce in this issue a fairly long letter which has appeared in a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian*. We do not know who the writer is, as he signs himself "AUDIATUR ET ALTERA PARS;" but for the sake of Christianity and Great Britain let us hope he is a Christian and a Briton. While admitting the misrule of centuries which had brought the Ottoman Empire to the condition in which the Young Turks found it in 1908, he gives the whole history of the four years during which a new generation of Turks, who had been as much the victims of misrule as any Greek or Bulgar subject of the Sultan, worked for the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire. He asks what Europe and particularly Great Britain did to encourage and help the Young Turkish régime. It would be easy for the nationals of the *Entente* Powers to admit that the record of Austria-Hungary is by no means one on which Europe and Christendom can plume themselves in the matter of disinterested encouragement of Ottoman progress. Turkey was forced to lose in one year of constitutional government more than what she lost in ten years of Abdul Hamid's despotic misrule, and the Concert of Europe proved to be, what it has always been, a farce when it does not happen to be a fraud. Sir Edward Grey rattled the British sabre a little, but could not summon sufficient courage to make the ethics of English Liberalism and the Non-Conformist Conscience effective, nor could the diplomacy of the loyal friend of Russia and of France induce her two allies even to pull the trigger of the gun that missed fire in September, 1911, when Sir Edward Grey did his best to fight Germany in favour of the French spoliation of another Mohamedan kingdom. Finding Great Britain either unwilling or unable to support Turkey, the Young Turks, following in the footsteps of the Sultan whom they deposed, turned to Germany for support, with the result that England intrigued in favour of Kiamil Pasha whose ascendancy led to the counter-revolution of April, 1909. After their second success, the Young Turks who were scented by the reactionaries, whom Great Britain favoured, of cosmopolitanism and irreligion, set themselves to win the confidence of the masses by adopting religion and militant patriotism in their war cries, and, in view of what had happened to Bosnia and Herzegovina, they directed all their efforts even more than the Old Turks had done towards the reform of the army and the navy, to some extent to the neglect of other pressing requirements. But no matter what they did they met with discouragement from Europe, and nothing that Great Britain has yet done has shown that she any more than others encouraged reforms and progress in Turkey. The action of the Turks in Yemen and Albania, the like of which is applauded by every Englishman when it is directed by England towards the refractory portions of our own Empire, was condemned ruthlessly, and even those who are opposed to Home Rule for Ireland seemed anxious that the Turks should provide for an even more thorough-going decentralisation in Albania and Yemen. The perseverance and determination of Shevket Torgut Pasha in Albania was denounced in far stronger language than the atrocities of the Congo and Patumayo, not to mention the massacres of the Tripoli oasis. We grant that the Young Turks were inexperienced and could have succeeded ten years later in doing in Albania and Yemen what they failed to accomplish there in the last four years. But the only mistake which they committed was to

regard what was right and just as equally expedient and politic. This is the universal characteristic of youth, and grievously have the Young Turks paid for it, because Yemen and Albania provided opportunities which the hostile neighbours of Turkey could never let slip without working to the detriment of the Ottoman Empire.

In view of all this, can our correspondent suggest that the Young Turks did not start with the best of intentions, or can he still maintain that they were given the opportunity which was necessary for reforming the country that had been deformed during several generations of selfish and corrupt administrators? Our correspondent could have easily taken up the cynical attitude that the world is not disinterested enough to give time to well-intentioned youth to make experiments in the art of governance. But we are glad to note that he has thrown away this useful weapon of cynicism by commiserating with "poor Persia," which has been denied the opportunity of working out her salvation in her own way. We do not think it likely that he feels more for Persia than we do ourselves; but it has to be admitted that while Persia showed herself lacking in self-sacrifice when the hour of trial came, except in Tabriz, and her experiment in governing could only succeed through the disinterested work of a body of foreigners and Christians, the Turks have not spared themselves when sacrifice was required, and it was not necessary in their case to entrust the whole organisation of Government to non-Turks and non-Moslems. If, then, the Turk "must go" it is not because he "cannot govern" and has had "ample opportunity" for showing what is in him.

We shall not misjudge the situation so much as to say that the only feeling that provides the driving power in those who wish to turn him out is Christian fanaticism such as moved Peter the Hermit to preach a crusade in the 11th century. Europe is too immersed in materialism to unsheath its sword in the cause of anything so unremunerative as Christianity; but there is no doubt that the faith of the Turk adds a zest to the execution of the selfish designs of his enemies and, were it not for that, there would be less sympathy in Europe for the cause of the "liberation" of Albania and Macedonia, and less certainty in the minds of the Balkan States that if they win they would be allowed to retain the spoils, but if they lost Christian Europe would not permit them to revert to Moslem subjection. The Confederates did not misjudge the potency of the spell which worked wonders in the Middle Ages, and many a Christian who is far more removed in his spiritual views and ethics from the creed and code of Christ than the Turk himself is yet fanatical enough, through force of tradition, to repeat in religious ecstasy the cry of the masses at Clermont, "*Deus vult*" "*Deus vult*." (God has willed it, God has willed it).

But while we maintain this, we do not think we are capable of believing that what the Allies desire is simply, or even mainly, the glory of Christendom. However, the "liberation" of Macedonia and Albania is no more the motive power of the war than the fanaticism that moved Peter the Hermit. The miracle of the union of Greek and Bulgar, Serb and Montenegrin has been no more worked by the banner of freedom than by the sign of the Cross. With all the garnish of the phraseology of Christianity and humanity, it is impossible to disguise the real dish which has been prepared out of sheer desire for expansion and territorial aggrandisement. A representative of the Central News recently interviewed M. Chedo Maystovich, a former Serbian Minister in London, and was treated to some frank confessions which, those who desire the liberation of Macedonia and Albania, would not, we hope, wholly ignore. He said: "War was inevitable. It is quite true that the Turks were bad administrators and they have not governed the European Christian provinces as they ought to have been governed. But let me assure you that even if the Turks were the very best administrators, if they had introduced liberties and reforms in Macedonia, we would still have taken the first opportunity of trying to liberate our brethren from Turkish rule." Asked what in the hour of victory "liberation" may mean, he said: "I can assure you that all the talk of no territorial results following a victory of the Balkan States is quite beyond the point. Now there is no talk of autonomy; now we are fighting for territory. The object of this war, undoubtedly, is to drive the Turks out of Europe. This, with victory on our side, we shall do. Bulgaria will probably take Macedonia and Serbia will regain possession of Old Serbia with extended frontiers. To Montenegro and to Greece will fall their share, and the problem of the Balkans will be solved once and for all." If such are to be, as we have not the least doubt they will be, the fruits of a successful war of "liberation," we know not what other could have been the fruits of a war of territorial aggrandisement.

If this evidence is not enough, may we offer to our correspondent the testimony of a Christian Minister of Turkey? M. Jean Rodes, the *Temps'* Special Correspondent at Constantinople, transmits to his journal the following utterance of Nuradunghian Effendi, Turkey's Christian Minister of Foreign Affairs, made to him in the course of an interview:—"What can a politician say when war is impending and the next word belongs to the guns? We have done

everything possible to avoid the war desired by the Balkan States. The pretext of reforms in Macedonia is not sincere. These States are prompted solely by territorial ambitions and by the Pan-Slav movement. The reforms, which we were going to give, are of no account to them—they indeed fear them. Each time we made an attempt in this direction they created obstacles. For the same reason they were disconcerted by the revolution of 1908, but they afterwards rallied. Reforms? Excuse my laughing at the word! Go and see what their administration is like. Why, it is worse than in Macedonia! Their sole superiority consists in this that they have no internal disorders such as arise with us on account of the diversity of races excited by the neighbouring States."

Who could then say that the *Tanin* misjudged Europe when it characterised the proposals of reforms as a mere pretext for robbery? It wrote:—"Whenever we hear talk of 'reforms' we tremble, knowing that a pretext is being sought for swallowing us up. Europe must first win our confidence by abandoning her old methods. If to-day the Powers prepare to take in hand the reforms, nothing will convince us that a fresh crusade is not being organised in order to ravish Macedonia. The word 'reforms' in the mouth of Europe is for us a most abhorrent word. No Ottoman Government can possibly entertain such a proposition."

If our correspondent would only reflect on the heterogeneity of the Ottoman Empire and compare it with the heterogenous character of our own, it would not be difficult for him to sympathise with the Turks in spite of a difference of faith. To our mind the danger lies not so much in permitting the Turk to rule over Christian subjects, as in teaching the non-Christian population of our own Empire, by means of expressions of sympathy towards the Balkan States in their aggression, that the ideal of Europe is none other than the "liberation" of the people of one faith from the yoke of the rulers of another. But in giving expression to this there is always the risk that warnings are sometimes misinterpreted by those to whom they are addressed as threats, and advice is misconstrued into instigation to revolt. In spite of its many shortcomings, we are too well satisfied with British rule in India to thirst for a change of masters. But if our British fellow-subjects have grave responsibilities towards the Empire, we, too, have some that are equally grave; and if they consider the strengthening of the British garrison in India to be the best method of discharging their duties, we, for our part, consider it better to strengthen a British garrison in the heart of every subject of our King and Emperor by means of a truly Imperial consideration of the feelings that move and actuate the vast subject population of India.

We would in particular ask Lord Cromer and other "friends of Turkey" at this juncture what they intend to do to befriend her in her hour of need. Surely the "friends of Turkey" would not leave Kiamil Pasha in the lurch as they left the Young Turks before!

One word more and we have done. Our correspondent signs himself "A YAHUDI," and if this is an indication of his religious persuasion, as we take it, we are all the more astonished at his views. We have always regarded a Yahudi to be more capable of judging between a Nasrani and a Moslem than any other, because the follower of Moses has for centuries been in subjection to the followers of Christ and Mohamed, and we are prepared to say that the Turk must stand or fall according to the verdict of the Jew in Europe. Has our correspondent entirely forgotten the pogroms of the Christian in Russia that he condemns the governance of the Moslem in Turkey? To our mind the truest verdict on the Turk is the little piece of news which the *Manchester Guardian* has recently published. It is this: "The Chief Rabbi of Salonica, Dr. Jacob Mair, has issued a manifesto calling upon the Jews there to co-operate in the defence of the common fatherland. The Jews at Constantinople are enthusiastic in support of the Government."

The Diplomatic Situation.

The Balkan War may yet have many surprises in store for the world, but so far its course has almost entirely run in favour of the Allies. If Turkey fails to rehabilitate her shattered fortunes by some supreme effort—for which there is just a faint, though no more than a faint hope—the struggle will shortly end either through complete victory of the Confederacy, or through European mediation. The forces of diplomacy are already beginning to be mobilised. No one can say with any amount of certainty what the final settlement will be, for the factors of the diplomatic situation are diverse and incalculable. It is, however, necessary for the right understanding of the position to take stock of the main currents of diplomacy that precipitated the war and will determine the lines of the final settlement. A European Conference has long been recognised as the last refuge of Europe in every Balkan crisis. The present issues are so momentous and far-reaching in their scope that an organised action of the Powers can alone deal with them if the dangerous rivalries

and deep-seated antagonisms of the two main European groups are to be kept from bursting forth into open conflict. And yet the chances of agreement amongst the rival parties are no greater than at the beginning of the crisis. A European conference might succeed in reconciling the claims of the Confederacy, the hopes of Austria and the pretensions of the Muscovite if the reconciliation did not adversely affect the considerations on which the Near Eastern policy of each of the Great Powers had hitherto been based. European diplomacy, however, has been passing through shifting horizons of policy and principle, and no one can count on the infallibility of ancient clues and landmarks in forecasting impending developments in the Balkans. The course of the war has confronted Europe with new facts, so sudden, so tremendous and so disconcerting that they have broken the force of, indeed, they have not destroyed the spirit of old conventional formulae. Whether the Powers will arrive at a practical unanimity in re-shaping their individual policies, or will violently quarrel in their efforts to re-shape Turkish territory in Europe, remains to be seen. There can, however, be no question that almost every European Power will have a word to say before the Confederacy can dictate its own terms at Constantinople.

The main factors of the problem, apart of course from the new situation created by the war, are the ambitions of the Dual Monarchy and the dreams of the Pan-Slavists in Russia. The war itself is the fruit of the Russian wire-pulling and intrigues which, through a rare combination of peculiarly favourable circumstances, prepared the way for the birth of the Confederacy. The hobnobbing of the Italian with the Muscovite, when the shadow of the Tripolitan misadventure was thickening over Rome, was considered a grave portent at the time, but few observers could see into the move any subtler design than a possible Russian intervention, with a view to force the Turk to renounce his sovereignty over Libya. The move was, as we now know, meant to initiate a far-deeper scheme to hoodwink Austria and coerce the Turk, a scheme that would do credit even to the successors of Machiavelli. Whatever might have been the original aims of Italy or the plans of Russia, Confederacy was the result of their joint labours in secret manœuvres. The growth of a formidable and militant combination, close on the Turkish frontiers, could not but be welcome to Italy as the most effective menace that could impair Turkish resolution to resist her aggression in Tripoli. Russia could not but delight in forging out of her Slav satellites a powerful instrument which would be ready to her will whenever she desired either to strike at Turkey or to thwart Austrian designs in the direction of Salonica. The Balkan Alliances were perfected and definite schemes were adopted in concert before the Committee Government fell in Constantinople. The Confederacy was biding its time when the Albanian insurrection and military mutinies at Monastir, and other places, were engineered through the agents of the Allies who were lavishly helped with Italian money. Dissensions broke out amongst Turkish politicians and Said Pasha's cabinet resigned. The internal political quarrels favoured the growth of the propaganda of anarchism, and the situation in Macedonia was boomed into noise by means of bombs and dynamite. Russia continued her secret incitements, and the Balkan States went on administering strong patriotic doses to the mobs. The Austrian Foreign Minister got some inkling into the designs of the new-born Confederacy, and began to soliloquise nervously in the hearing of Europe. He could not, however, make a clean breast of all his fears, and only contented himself by uttering vague opinions that there was an urgent need of reform in Macedonia—a very pious and unimpeachable sentiment in which friends and foes alike concurred and Russia loudly said Amen. But just at the time when Borchgrevink proposals were filling Europe with their vague note of alarm M. Sazanoff, Russian Foreign Minister, set out on the diplomatic mission, on the fate of which depended the career of the Confederacy as the liberator of the oppressed Christians in European Turkey. When the Russian Minister was holding his conclave at Balnearia the world was kept talking about the fate of Persia. And yet it is impossible to believe that the great plenipotentiary of the Confederacy failed to arrive at very definite decisions with Sir Edward Grey. When the Russian Minister reached Paris, the Balkan question had reached its most critical phase and the issue of peace and war hung in the balance. The futile attempts made for joint European action were initiated in Paris and M. Sazanoff largely bulked in the emotional bulletins that diplomacy loves to frame on such occasions. He, however, knew well all the time what the ultimate fate of that ceremonious humbug was to be. He completely gained the ends for which he worked. He destroyed with consummate adroitness every chance of Europe combining to restrain the Confederacy and getting Turkey to introduce reasonable reforms in Macedonia. He completely won France and, to a large extent, England to his views of the direction that the final settlement should take if the crisis led to war. He succeeded in leaving Austria in the lurch and in sleazebagging Germany. All this was for the purposes of the Muscovite and his protégés—a great achievement. The diplomatic atmosphere was at last ready for the fruition of the hopes of the Allies.

The Austrian Foreign Minister could only chafe in silence at the well-directed and ostensibly-pacific energy displayed by M. Sazanoff. The loss of Austrian initiative, however, meant that the Entente Powers would exercise a decisive weight of opinion in any Balkan question that might arise. This could not, of course, be a very satisfying prospect for a Power that had never ceased to claim "vital interest in the Balkans." The joint Note of the Powers to the Balkan States emphasised the intention of the signatories not to tolerate any disturbance of the *status quo*. Austria insisted, and with good reasons, that a definite declaration should be included in the Note regarding the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. The Russian diplomacy had worked with the full knowledge of the designs of the Confederacy, and its agents knew all the time that war was inevitable. Their aim had been to make sure that the whole weight of the Triple Entente would be opposed to the Austrian motives and moves when the war broke out. If the Confederacy was to suffer defeat in battle, the *status quo* would of course be preserved. If it emerged victorious it should be allowed a free hand in disposing of the spoils of its victory. Austria should be prevented from troubling Serbia, or occupying the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, as long as the war lasted. The end of the war would in either case take the issue out of her grasp. In the meantime, Russia solemnly pledged to observe neutrality and roared as loudly as a sneaking dove. Austria could not be expected to relish the humble rôle assigned to her by Muscovite diplomacy. She has so far observed a calm that is not wholly without its menace, and the next few days will reveal the extent to which she is prepared to acquiesce in the settlement that Russia is foreshadowing through her faithful and loyal instrument, the Premier of France.

One cannot help admiring the astute industry with which Russian diplomacy has established its ascendancy in Paris and London. The war is hardly yet over and M. Poincaré is ready with his programme, while Sir Edward Grey, in the teeth of the time-honoured policy of Great Britain in respect of the Near Eastern affairs, has proclaimed the right of the Allies to dictate terms of peace. If Turkey is defeated and the Allies sweep victoriously over her European possessions, nothing would be more welcome to the Russian ambitions than that the Slav domination should extend to the Aegean. The only Powers that can raise objection to such a settlement are Austria and England. The attitude of Great Britain, though undistakable a few years ago, has become incalculable to-day. Before the birth of the policy underlying the existing Anglo-Russian entente no British politician, whether Tory or Radical, could contemplate without dismay the possibility of Russia planting herself in Constantinople or anywhere else on the Aegean sea-board. The Treaty of St. Stefano was torn to shreds at Berlin on the insistence of British statesmen, and the Slav tide was effectually checked. To-day, however, we find a British Foreign Minister looking with perfect equanimity on the prospects of a Slav Power rising on the ruins of the Turkish Empire. This attitude marks a tremendous revolution in the principles on which the Near Eastern policy of Great Britain has hitherto been based. The Muscovite exercises a strange hypnotism over the present British Ministry. A little independence of view, shown by Sir Edward Grey in the diplomatic conversations before the beginning of the war, was resented by Russia and rebuked by France. Since then, a severe discipline seems to have been imposed on the diplomacy of the Triple Entente and Russia has come to sit astride the situation with broad winks and expansive smiles. France has long since sunk to the status of a Russian satellite. Her Prime Minister is faithfully reproducing the words that he is taught to utter from St. Petersburg. He is exhorting every power in Europe, with a sly head-shake towards Austria, to renounce all desire of profiting from the existing crisis in the Balkans. As the Allies have hitherto met with no serious resistance in their military operations, it has been assumed that they would beat the Turks out of Europe. Russia wants or—what amounts to the same thing—M. Poincaré says that the belligerents should be allowed to settle their own affairs, the great powers only offering such assistance as might be required to adjust different claims and interests. The proposal looks ideally simple and eminently fair. If carried out through a European conference it would fulfil the dreams that have inspired Russian diplomacy for many generations, shut Austria for ever out of the Aegean and completely transformed the problems of the Near East. It would silently effect a fundamental change in the whole conception of the problems confronting British policy in the East. It will render the expansion of Teutonic power absolutely impossible. But will the British public allow such radical changes in the treatment of their foreign affairs? Above all will Austria silently acquiesce and will Germany leave her ally to grovel in the ashes of ruined aspirations and assume an indifferent pose while the *weltmacht* is violently shifting its centre of gravity? A few weeks will decide whether there will be a European conflict or a mere diplomatic flutter of a helpless Europe in face of the unique triumph of the Muscovite.

The War Supplement.

The War in Tripoli. Peace with Italy.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENTS).

Constantinople, October 16.

IN REGARD to the conditions of peace I understand that the Italian Government has agreed to confer certain administrative powers on the Sheikh-es-Semssi. Shems-ed-Din Bey, formerly Turkish Minister in Teheran, will probably be appointed Naib-es-Sultan in Tripoli.

The appointment of the Marquis Garroni as Italian Ambassador to the Porte seems to be anticipated here. Ali Fouad Bey, Ottoman Minister in Belgrade, is considered to be the most probable choice of the Porte for the post of Turkish Ambassador in Rome.

Vienna, October 17.

It is to-day reported here that Russia has recognized the sovereignty of Italy over Libya. The report is not yet confirmed, but it is to-night officially announced that Austria-Hungary has, for her part, recognized the Italian sovereignty.



The War in the Balkans. News of the Week.

London, Nov. 4.

A MESSAGE from Sofia, dated 2nd November, 5-30. p.m., says it is rumored that Adrianople has fallen, but the reports are not confirmed. Bulgarian aviators have made a number of flights over Adrianople. The Bulgarians surrounded Sheket Turgut Pasha's division on the heights east of Sarai. After a desperate fight the Turks broke the circle and fled to Tchataldja. The Bulgarians captured eighty guns and 160 waggons of ammunition in the battle to the south of Luleh Burgas.

King Ferdinand, after viewing the battlefield and forts surrounding Adrianople, attended a thanksgiving service at Mustapha Pasha. The Bulgarian military authorities state that after the fall of Kirk Kiliseh the Turks shut up the Christian soldiers of the 15th Ottoman Regiment in a house and massacred them. They also killed a Bulgarian priest after cutting off his nose and gouging his eyes out and then massacred women and children over his body.

Foreigners in Constantinople are most nervous, fearing a massacre and pillage.

Sofia reports that fighting is proceeding along the line from Sarai to Tchorlu, where the remnant of the defeated Turkish army is making a stand. Sofia reports that the bombardment of Adrianople has been successfully begun.

It is officially stated in Constantinople that the Eastern Army has been compelled to retire on the Tchataldja lines.

A message from Constantinople says the retreat to the Tchataldja lines followed on fighting of the most murderous character on Saturday to the southward of Luleh Burgas. The Turks made a splendid resistance, but were finally overwhelmed by the terrific artillery fire of the Bulgarians. It is stated that they lost 20,000. A supreme effort will be made at Tchataldja to reform the troops and save the capital.

A Sofia message says the Bulgarians after fierce fighting have captured Suk on the Salonica-Constantinople Railway, thus finally cutting off the Turkish Macedonian Army. The Bulgarian Eastern Army on Saturday repulsed a Turkish attack at Bumirliassar, routing the Turks and capturing five officers and 130 men, and also a quickfiring battery.

A message from Constantinople says the Montenegrins were repulsed at Sentari with 2,000 casualties and a loss of six guns. The Greeks have been defeated near Vodena by the Salonica Army, which united at Veria with the Vardar and other Turkish forces. The Greeks lost ten guns. The Crown Prince fled. A force from Monastir turned the Greek position, which is precarious.

The Greeks deny vehemently that they were defeated near Vodena or that the Crown Prince fled. On the contrary, they maintain that they won a great victory at Janitza.

A message from Athens says Preveza has capitulated. Before its capture the Greeks occupying the heights overlooking Nicopolis took 450 prisoners.

It is announced at Athens that after the surrender of Kailar the inhabitants who had not been disarmed attacked the Greek flank, killing 58 and wounding 276. The Greeks put the enemy to flight. Four hundred of them were arrested and taken to Kozani, where they will be tried.

A message from Salonica, dated the 27th October, says a complete Greek Division has landed at Stavros on the north-east corner of Chaleis. It has occupied Poligros and is marching on Salonica. The division is accompanied by 6,000 well-armed Greek peasants.

An Athens message says the Greeks have captured Janitza in the province of Salonika and are now pursuing the Turks, who were routed.

The people in Constantinople are slowly realising the facts which have hitherto been carefully concealed. Their anxiety and perturbation have been increased by the arrival of hosts of fugitives in the state of most pitiable destitution and the requisitioning by the military of bread, of which the public sale has been forbidden until the afternoon.

The Porte has asked for the mediation of the Powers.

The Porte's application to the Powers asks for mediation with a view to the cessation of hostilities and negotiations for peace. The news is not yet known to the public in Constantinople, though a carefully worded *communiqué* has been distributed to the local Press obviously intended to prepare the country to how to the fate of war. The *communiqué* says:—"The fortune of war varies. It is impossible to be victorious everywhere. A people making war must submit with resignation to all its consequences, neither rejoicing inordinately at victories, nor despairing at defeats. Thus while the Ottoman arms are successfully holding their own in Sentari and Janina districts, the Eastern Army has been obliged to retire from Luleh Burgas and Visa to the Tchataldja lines to enable it to offer a successful resistance." Following the official announcements that the army had successfully resumed the offensive in various directions the *communiqué* has caused universal amazement.

A message from Constantinople says in response to the application of the Ambassadors the Porte has granted permission for the passage through the Dardanelles of one warship of each nation.

M. Poincaré's note to the Powers in connection with mediation suggested that, prior to mediation, the Powers should make a declaration pledging themselves not to make territorial claims themselves. Britain and Russia have accepted this, but Germany and Austria have not yet replied. The French Ambassador in Vienna has had conversations with Count Von Berchtold, in which he clearly indicated that France in no way intended to ask Austria-Hungary to ignore her economic interests, but the tone of the Austro-Hungarian Press comments is regarded as presaging refusal of M. Poincaré's suggestion.

The Press in Vienna severely criticises M. Poincaré's suggestion declaring that Austria cannot bind herself in advance without knowing the consequences of the war.

The Austrian dislike of M. Poincaré's proposed declaration of disinterestedness is believed to arise out of resentment at the implied distrust of Austrian intentions.

The French Press is disposed to be angry at the non-acceptance by Austria of what is intended to be a straightforward proposal.

The Porte has addressed to the French Government a request that the Powers will intervene to arrest hostilities and impose an armistice on the Balkan States. France replied that such action was impossible without infringing international law and appearing to side against the Balkan States, but that she was

open to consider with the Powers a request for mediation proper. Reuter learns that Great Britain is communicating with the other Powers before replying to Turkey.

The *pour parlers* between the Powers already in progress upon the basis of M. Poincaré's proposals are likely to be expedited by the Porte's application for mediation. M. Poincaré proposed a recognition of the political and administrative changes in the parts occupied by the Allies, the retention of the Sultan's sovereignty in Constantinople and surrounding region and the summoning of a European conference to which the Balkan States would be invited.

Reuter learns from Balkan diplomatic sources that there is no chance of the Balkan States agreeing to foreign interference with regard to the conditions of peace. The whole campaign and political programme were pre-arranged before the war and there is not the least danger of any disagreement with regard to division of territories or the definition of frontiers.

Excitement prevails at Portsmouth, Devonport, Plymouth and Chatham owing to the receipt of Admiralty telegrams recalling officers and men from leave.

The fifth, sixth and seventh destroyer flotillas are chiefly concerned. They sail to-day and on Monday for the Mediterranean. Submarines have also been ordered to place themselves on a war footing. The battleships Russell and Duncan are the ships affected at Chatham.

The Third Battle Squadron from England is expected to arrive at Gibraltar to-day. It will stay only an hour and will then sail eastwards.

Later.

It is officially stated that the reports of naval mobilization are unfounded and that they apparently originated in the order to certain nucleus flotillas to coal and take in stores as a test. No movement of ships in Home waters is contemplated.

Two German and six Austrian warships have been ordered to the Levant. The British Third Battle Squadron will arrive at Malta on the 6th instant.

Belgrade reports that Issa Boletinatz, the famous Arnaut chief, has surrendered to the Servians with 15,000 followers.

A message from Athens states that the Greek fleet is cruising off the Dardanelles.

General Kadry Pasha, who is alleged to have been responsible for the defeat at Kumanovo has sent to Constantinople in irons.

Mr. Asquith announced in the Commons to-night that H. M. battleship Weymouth arrived at Besika Bay on 2nd November going to Constantinople, and also that Sir Gerard Lowther had detained the steamer City of Chios there in case Britishers were in danger. Mr. Asquith said another warship would be stationed at Salonica.

London, Nov. 5.

The Bulgarians are straining every nerve to hasten the fall of Adrianople. They admit that the troops require rest after the great battle, but are confident that they will be in front of Tchataldja this week. Meanwhile it is admitted in Athens that the Greeks advancing on Monastir, after a victory at Nadbankuei, were checked at Janitza by a superior Turkish force and forced to entrench themselves. The Montenegrins have apparently suffered some reverses in the siege of Sentari which the rains and consequent floods are impeding. The Turks have captured two positions at Tarabosh. The Greeks have occupied the island of Phart and are appointing Governors of the captured islands. The Turks are confident that the Bulgarians are too exhausted to advance rapidly and are preparing a vigorous resistance at Tchataldja. Asiatic troops are constantly arriving in Constantinople, where 1,500 Circassian horsemen landed yesterday. A circular note to the Ottoman Ambassadors describes the situation as embarrassing, but not desperate. It says that while the Balkan States have completed their mobilisation, the Porte has hardly begun and it is able to continue the war for a long time. It must not be thought because the enemy has advanced to a few points on an extended battle front, that therefore the war is finished.

The Porte's attempt to secure mediation of the Powers was made not merely at Constantinople but also in the European capitals. The Turkish Ambassador in Paris yesterday had two interviews with M. Poincaré, who pointed out in a most emphatic manner that such intervention would impede the victorious advance of the Allies and enable Turkey to reform her troops and offer a more vigorous resistance. Though annoyance is expressed in Paris at the attitude of the Austrian Press, it is pointed out that negotiations have not been broken off and that an eventual agreement should be possible in view of Austria's avowals that she has no territorial ambitions. It appears that Russia initiated the proposal for a declaration of disinterestedness on the part of

the Powers. France informed Austria that she would readily recognise her economic and Customs privileges in the new Balkan territories and would not object, for instance, to a special Customs régime in Novi Bazar.

Competent observers agree that the total failure of the commissariat and excessive mobilisation, with a marked insufficiency of officers, are largely the causes of the Turkish rout.

A Sofia wire says that considerable Servian forces are arriving there and proceeding to Adrianople. It is reported that fighting continues between Serai and Tchorlu.

It is stated in Vienna that a Greek steamer was blown up by a mine in Salonica harbour while picking up her moorings near the cruiser "Maria Teresa." The latter was uninjured. A steamer from Heraklea has been sunk by a mine in the Black Sea. It is believed that she was Turkish. The crew and 42 passengers were drowned. Reuter learns that the bill in the operations is due to the Bulgarians who, after four days and nights continuous fighting, have been given two days' rest, which expires to-day, when they will begin the advance on Tchataldja. The troops at Chorlu are being reinforced by Bulgarians from Adrianople, Servians replacing the latter. General Kustinjeff is marching along the coast of the Sea of Marmora to effect a junction with Dimitrieff at Tchataldja. A Belgrade wire says that Servians having annihilated the Turks in Macedonia have been ordered to the assistance of the Bulgarians, Greeks and Montenegrins. A Sofia message states that eight battalions of Macedonian volunteers received an ovation on leaving for the front. They included Armenians and Russians.

In the House of Commons this afternoon, Sir Edward Grey said he had received no intimation that the Balkan Allies were ready to negotiate peace with Turkey, nor through the Powers. Nobody, however, in view of the result of the war hitherto, would be disposed to dispute the right of the Allies to formulate terms of peace (Cheers). He did not think that the Powers would be slower than other people in adjusting their own views to the march of events. Sir Edward informed Mr. Bonar Law that there was no foundation for the report that Great Britain had addressed any warning to Bulgaria (Cheers). The movement of British warships, he added, was precisely similar to those of the other Powers.

London, Nov. 6.

Constantinople reports that the weather has suddenly turned colder. It is raining in the plains and snowing on the mountains, so delaying military developments. The Turks are pouring troops into the lines at Tchataldja.

It is officially announced in Sofia that following upon two days' fighting between Serai and Chorlu the Turks after desperate resistance have been defeated and have retired in the direction of the Tchataldja lines. The losses on both sides were very heavy, far exceeding those at Luleh Burgas. The fighting of the Bulgarians at night is described as marvellous. Aided by powerful searchlights the artillery has done immense damage. Ten Russian aviators have left St. Petersburg for Bulgaria.

A Constantinople message says that Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commander, has transferred his headquarters to Haderkuei. The medical authorities have been notified to prepare to receive 21,000 wounded. The hospital accommodation and sanitation at Constantinople are most inadequate. A message from Constantinople by wireless telegraphy says it is authoritatively stated that the event of the Bulgarians breaking through the Tchataldja lines and marching on Constantinople the Court and Government will proceed to Asia Minor, disclaiming all responsibility for the consequences. While this report may be well founded it is regarded more as a hint to stimulate intervention. Certainly the military position of the Turks does not warrant belief in their ability to stem the Bulgarians if King Ferdinand aspires to the conquest of the capital. It appears, however, that the Turks are falling back on Tchataldja in good order, though there are reports that the right wing has revolted owing to the lack of food. It is hoped that trainloads of bread which have been despatched since Sunday will avert a panic. Every account of the great battles of the last week agrees on the subject of the utter lack of Turkish organisation. The troops were brave, there were plenty of guns and rifles and plenty of Khaki uniforms, but no food, no supplies of the most ordinary necessities of warfare. When the Turkish rout began there were no officers to stem what was simply a *saute qui peut*. A message from Rijeka says the Montenegrins have occupied Alessio and San Giovanni di Medua. The Servians and Montenegrins are making a joint advance on Jakova. The Greek fleet has occupied Tenedos.

A Belgrade message says the Turks who were defeated at Kumanovo assembled 20 battalions strong in the mountains between Kuiprili (Vélés) and Prilip. The Servians were not able to put their

artillery in position but the infantry rose to the occasion and gained a brilliant victory in the face of a murderous artillery fire, taking position after position at the point of the bayonet.

Repeated Austrian warnings to Servia against encroaching by the later country on Albania are exciting the resentment of the Servians who are firmly determined to have a port on the Adriatic, maintaining that this cannot be prejudicial to the interests of anybody.

The diplomatic position is somewhat confused through the crossing of different proposals, definite and indefinite. It appears certain that the reply of Britain and Russia to Turkey was the same as that of France. Meanwhile the Powers of the Triple Alliance have replied to M. Poincaré's original proposal for mediation, recognising the utility of mediation but pointing out that mediation cannot be imposed unless at least one of the belligerents should request it. Then the Triple Alliance will be willing to join the Entente in seeking possible conditions of mediation.

Addressing the Austrian Delegation Count Von Berchtold said that Austria was still in touch with other Powers and he was convinced that this was the best way to realise the hope of extinguishing the conflagration as quickly as possible. Austria was prepared to make a large allowance for the new situation created by the victorious Allies and thus lay the foundations for a lasting and friendly understanding with them. Austria, however, had a right to demand that the legitimate interests of the Monarchy should not be harmed by the new settlement. He referred to the moderation of Austria's close friend Roumania and hope that her considerable interests would meet with corresponding consideration.

The cruiser Weymouth has arrived at Constantinople. Permission has been asked for another cruiser to be sent. The Austrian squadron is going to Smyrna. The German cruiser Hertha has left Malta for Mersina.

Admiral Sir A. Berkeley Milne with the Good Hope and Dartmouth is leaving Malta immediately in connection with affairs in the Near East. His destination is unknown.

The battleships King Edward VII, Zealandia, Hindustan and Africa have been ordered to proceed direct to the east instead of coming to Malta. The battleships Hibernia, Britannia, Commonwealth and Dominion will remain at Malta and await orders. The cruisers Good Hope and Dartmouth have left for Turkey to embark refugees. Admiral Sir A. Berkeley Milne joined the King Edward VII off Malta to day and proceeded rapidly to the east. The cruisers took on board all landing gear, doubtless in preparation for landing marines and bluejackets in case of emergency. The destroyer flotilla has sailed. Colliers arriving at Malta are being despatched to the east.

Russian and French cruisers have arrived at Constantinople.

London, Nov. 7.

The Servians have captured Krushovo. It is reported that they have also taken Monastir. The Greeks and Servians are now close to Salonica. The Greek Crown Prince has telegraphed to Athens urgently demanding disinfectants to cleanse the Turkish barracks.

Telegrams received in Athens state that the garrison in Salonica numbers 15,000, while there are also 15,000 refugees. It is further stated that negotiations for surrender have begun between the Consuls and the authorities. The Crown Prince has given the town till Monday to capitulate. It is reported that the Vali has committed suicide. The garrison is described as destitute and in rags, while arms are being sold to procure bread. Many soldiers have been shot for insubordination.

A decree published in Athens calls two additional classes of Greek reservist to the colours.

The Bulgarians in Macedonia are rapidly advancing on Demirhissar and Seres.

The Montenegrins have occupied Djakova.

It is officially stated in Sofia that the Turkish losses in the battle reported yesterday were double those at Luleh Burgas.

The Bulgarians are hotly pursuing the Turks to the Tchataldja lines.

Only the barest details are known of the great battle on Monday and Tuesday, but the result was to drive the Turks helter skelter behind the lines at Tchataldja with the Bulgarians in hot pursuit. It is believed that the purpose of the Bulgarians which was to keep the Turks on the run right up to Tchataldja and to take advantage of their disorder before rallying was thus achieved. It is stated in Sofia that the assault will be immediately pressed. Meanwhile the forces of the Allies continue their victorious career in every direction and the fall of Salonica is only a question of a few hours.

A third Austrian cruiser, the Admiral Spaun, has been ordered to Constantinople.

Mr. F. D. Acland, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, speaking at Taunton yesterday, said there was nothing in the international situation to make a final settlement of the Balkan question by universal consent improbable.

Dr. Danell, President of the Sobranje, interviewed in Sofia, said the Bulgarians did not want Constantinople.

The speeches at the meeting of the Austrian Delegation, Budapest, were most friendly to the Balkan States and referred to the possibility of a Customs union between Austria and the Balkan States.

The diplomatic position has been somewhat changed by an explanation that Turkey presented two notes at the beginning of the week. One asking for intervention was rejected, while the other asking for mediation is still being discussed by the Powers.

A message from Sofia says that the Bulgarians had fifteen thousand casualties at Luleh Burgas and Bunarhissar. They occupied Visa and Rodosto on Tuesday.

News by the English Mail.

Bulgaria.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, Oct. 11.

It has fallen to the lot of Bulgaria—one of the smallest and certainly the youngest of the independent nations of Europe—to show the world what the mobilization of a nation in arms in the twentieth century means. To the people of Bulgaria the possibility of war has naturally been a problem ever present. But until the very day before mobilization was proclaimed there was no sign either that town or country people were about to be called on to make the supreme sacrifice of war. Among the foreigners in Sofia even in political circles there were very few who regarded the state of affairs as anything more serious than the ordinary political crisis which periodically has disturbed the course of business.

It was my good fortune to arrive in Bulgaria some days before the crisis developed. I travelled in the company of a member of an Austrian firm with very extensive business connexions in Sofia. I asked him what Viennese business men thought of the political prospect. He laughed at the idea of war, and when pressed backed his opinion by telling me that his present journey was for the purpose of placing a large order in Sofia, and that his firm had obtained assurances from the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office of the unlikelihood of serious trouble. So late as the Friday preceding mobilization everything pointed to a peaceful solution of the crisis. The family of the Prime Minister left for Vichy to take the cure, and the report was freely circulated that he was himself about to join them. On Saturday morning came the first note of alarm. The representative of the *Times* met an official of the Foreign Office, who told him that the position was very serious. Mobilization was freely talked about in the *cafés*, but was regarded rather as a remote possibility than as a matter of urgent interest. It was not till three days later that there was any marked change in the normal life of the towns. We know now that even then preparations were being steadily pushed on in the military districts nearest the frontier. The troops concentrated for the manoeuvres had not been sent back to their ordinary stations, and certain classes of reservists called up for manoeuvres in these distant divisions had not been dismissed. But at the time there were very few Bulgarians even who knew of these measures, and outside official circles none attached any significance to them. Bulgaria had learnt the lesson that secrecy and the initiative, which is largely dependent upon secrecy, are the first requirements of success in war. The national characteristics of the people made the lesson an easy one to apply. For the Bulgarian, in both public and private life, shrouds himself with deep reserve.

It was well on in the afternoon of October 1, when it became known in the capital that the call to arms had actually gone forth, and at the moment it appeared to cause singularly little excitement. The streets were a little more crowded than usual, the *cafés* a little more noisy; here and there small groups of students collected and gave vent to their enthusiasm in rather feeble cheers. But there was less manifestation of interest than there is in a small English county town over the result of a local football match. It was difficult to realize that it was the capital of a State that had thrown down a challenge to a neighbour whose total armed strength was nearly four times as great as its own and that every man between the ages of 16 and 45 years had received orders to cast aside his private in-

terests and join at a minute's notice an army about to engage in what will undoubtedly be the fiercest war that Europe has known since the days of Napoleon. For, when all is said and done, the Bulgarian and the Turk, in spite of whatever progress they have made towards civilization, are still Orientals, and it is obvious that each nation is filled with the most bitter hatred for the other. It will be a war in which small mercy will be shown, and a war, moreover, in which neither nation has an organization caring for its wounded and sick in a manner that Western nations have perfected. Probably Bulgaria had not realized the task that each individual was undertaking. Certainly among the poorer classes the possibility of a prolonged campaign and severe fighting is not even yet entertained. For they add contempt to their hatred for the Turk and believe the war will scarcely be a greater affair than the campaign of Slivnitsa—a few days' march, one battle, and a triumphal progress back to their homes.

But, although restraint was the marked feature of the first day's call to arms, it has gradually given place to a most marked enthusiasm. The trains that poured into the capital bringing reservists from distant centres, and the endless stream of peasants and country carts crowding the roads, seemed to bring home to all that it was a "nation in arms for a national cause," and as units gradually took shape and formed bodies and First and Second Line troops began to be seen enthusiasm increased.

The enthusiasm reconciled people to the inevitable hardships that the calling out of the national army means—hardships that it is very difficult for us in England to realize. We grumbled at the coal strike and its consequences, the stopping of a certain amount of our train service, the rise in the price of certain commodities, and the dislocation of certain businesses. But can we imagine what it is to find every train absolutely reserved for troops, all the trainways and omnibuses stopped, 30 per cent. of the cabs withdrawn from the streets, and all shops, excepting those dealing in the bare necessities of life, shut, all business at a standstill, and all our private possessions—horses, motor-cars, carts, fuel and forage—liable to be requisitioned, and nothing given in return but a slip of paper which we may or may not be able to redeem according to the result of the war? This has been the state of Sofia for the past week. No doubt as time progresses those who remain behind will make shift to get things in some order again. But the strain must continue until the army marches back. Whatever may be the political rights or wrongs of the problem, and whatever the expediency of Bulgaria's appeal to arms, it is impossible to deny a tribute of very genuine admiration to a people that can take up a national burden of this nature, and take it up willingly and cheerfully for a cause they think just.

Servia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Oct. 10.

THE lines of the projected action of Servian and Bulgarian bands in the event of war are now coming to light. The Serbs have divided their district into three divisions—Prechovo, Monastir, and Novi Bazar. Ten bands, numbering 100 each and commanded by Servian officers, will operate in each section. The Bulgarian bands are numerous and are distributed over diverse districts. They have at present manifested their activity in Janitza, Vardar, and Djuma-i-Bala. In Janitza bodies of 100 to 150 are roaming over the district, exciting the population to rise in revolt and threatening, in case of refusal, to burn the villages and massacre the inhabitants. Between Djuma-i-Bala and Nevrokop bands are endeavouring to harass the Turks and interfere with telegraphic communications. All my telegrams despatched by courier since 6th have been returned. The Servian lines are occupied by the military.

Sofia, Oct. 13.

The Turks have apparently begun the war against Servia and Bulgaria in an unceremonious fashion by sending 3,000 men across the Servian frontier near Ristovatz and over 500 across the Bulgarian frontier near Chuknrkent to the south of Philippopolis. The invading forces are presumably composed of irregulars, but on the point no definite information is obtainable.

Belgrade, Oct. 14.

An official telegram announces that a Turkish force has crossed the Servian frontier close to Vranja, which is the terminus of the Servian State Railway. Shots were interchanged, but the exact details of the fighting are still wanting.

The main body of the Servian forces should now have passed the Morava defile and be drawn upon both sides of the railway, near the frontier. The detachments which are scattered westwards on the frontier of the Sanjak will in all probability be drawn in as the main army increases to striking force in order to facilitate operations.

The numbers of Turks who have crossed the frontier have been increased by rumour hourly, but from trustworthy sources it is believed that an ordinary frontier incident has been exaggerated owing to the importance of the crisis. Reinforcements, however, have been moved down.

Vienna, Oct. 14.

A telegram from Belgrade to the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* states to-night that the engagement which began near Ristovatz early this morning has lasted ten hours and was still undecided. According to an unconfirmed report the Turks have taken Vranja. The report causes great excitement and some uneasiness in the Servian capital.

Belgrade, Oct. 14.

The following official version of the frontier fighting is issued:—
"At 5 o'clock this morning Turkish troops to the number of 3,000 attacked some Servian guards near Ristovatz, firing a volley of bullets which killed two and wounded four Servian soldiers. The Servians replied to the fire, but not being strong in numbers obtained assistance from the nearest town Vranja. After the presentation of its Note to the Porte yesterday the Government regards the attack as an act of provocation. Fighting continues."—*Reuter.*

Constantinople, Oct. 14.

The Servians crossed the border at 5-50 this morning near Ristovatz. Fighting began at 7 o'clock.

Montenegro.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Cattaro, Oct. 11.

According to news received here from Cettinge, sharp fighting has already taken place. One section of the Montenegrin army is believed already to have crossed the Boyana, down which two days ago the Austrian-Lloyd steamship *Able* passed between the hostile armies. Another Montenegrin force, which is operating in the neighbourhood of Tuzi, is stated to have attacked the fort of Shiptchanik, which is said to have been almost demolished by artillery fire. It is likewise stated that General Vukotitch's force has surrounded Akova, and that the portion of the army which is operating in the neighbourhood of Podgoritza has captured the fortress of Detchitch. Those relatives of King Nicholas who were in disgrace in connexion with the bomb affair, have been reinstated as officers in the Army.

Cettinge, Oct. 11.

According to the latest official information, the position at Shiptchanik has fallen into the hands of the Montenegrins after fierce fighting. The road to Tuzi is now open to the Montenegrin advance, while the Montenegrins are likewise said to hold the key to the northern road to Skutari.

The Turkish commander at Detchitch was brought before King Nicholas, who received his submission.

The Army of the North is stated to have crossed the Tara.

Podgoritza, Oct. 11, 4-40 p.m.

The battle was continued early this morning. Fighting is now general along almost the whole extent of the Turco-Montenegrin frontier. General Martinovitch, with the southern army, is operating with success against the extremely strong Turkish fortress of Tarabosh, which dominates Skutari from the south.

King Nicholas to-day visited the hospitals, which are overflowing. He kissed the badly wounded men and the dead on the forehead, and addressing the wounded in tones of deep emotion said he thanked all his brave troops in the name of the Fatherland. Prince Mirko carried a severely wounded man into the hospital. The scenes are heartrending.—*Reuter.*

9-20 p.m.

Over 6,000 Malissori have revolted against Turkish authority and are attacking the Turkish army opposed to the Montenegrins from the rear. Several hundreds of them have arrived at Podgoritza for the purpose of securing arms.—*Reuter.*

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

Podgoritza, Oct. 11.

The Montenegrins captured the fortress of Rogamo this morning after a very sharp fight. They now hold three Turkish posts over the frontier. Fighting has continued on and off all day. The Turks retreated over the Tsem river and tried to destroy Brinje, but failed, then fired on their own blockhouse and retreated on Tuzi.

THE TAKING OF DETCHICH.

The only direct accounts of the fighting that appears in the London papers come from Miss M. E. Durham, who is with the English Red Cross, and is the only correspondent who has been allowed by the Montenegrins to see the fighting and describe it. Telegraphing on October 11th Miss Durham said:—

Owing to the severe censorship I have not until now been able to send you details of yesterday's fighting when the Montenegrins carried all before them, and forced the Turks to retreat. All the special foreign correspondents except myself have been detained in Cetinje, but I am allowed to go practically where I like.

Before 7 o'clock on Thursday morning I was out on the big plain at the foot of the mountain, where lies that invisible line the frontier. In front of me towered the great mountain stronghold Detchich, the most formidable Turkish fort on the frontier. Sheep grazed quietly in the foreground as if nothing were happening, while from the Montenegrin mountains on the left shells tore across the plain and struck the walls of the fort on the summit of the mountain. Columns of smoke rose intensely white against the purple mountains, and heavy detonations filled the air.

There was a sharp continuous rattle of rifle fire from the lower slopes of Detchich, and at Misljeh, where there is a fortified camp. Shortly before 9 o'clock firing ceased quite suddenly, and there was silence. A heavy cloud settled over Detchich, as if the mountain were on fire, and shrouded it completely from view. The Montenegrin artillery then directed their guns on to the Roman hill, which is also strongly fortified. It lies at the foot of Detchich, and is immediately on the frontier. Meanwhile the Zeta battery bombarded Vranje, an island-like hill on the Great Plain. Vranje, which is the only Turkish frontier fort possessing heavy guns, replied fiercely. But the fire was ill-directed, and did no harm to the patriot troops.

Then the clouds lifted suddenly from Detchich, and the glad news spread that the Montenegrins had captured it with a rush. Through my glasses I could see that a flag was flying on the summit, and that it was not the crescent.

The next day Miss Durham telegraphed:—

The Montenegrins are successful everywhere, but their losses in killed and wounded have been heavy. Their capture of Rogame, after a severe fight, is regarded as a great feat. The bridge across the river, which the Turks attempted to destroy in their retreat, is still intact. One of the most cherished spoils of the assault is a gun in working order and ammunition.

To-day, except for a few shots at Vranje, the strongest Turkish fort on the frontier, and at Shipchanik, the little rocky hill that covers Tuzi, little has taken place. Both sides are exhausted after the terrific struggle of the past two days. I have now been supplied with further details of the taking of Detchich. The plans of the Montenegrins contemplated the capture of the fortress on the second day of the war. I remember that only last year the Turks fortified the place, and an English correspondent who happened to be here at the time made the remark to me: "I pity any one who tries to take Detchich." The Montenegrins, however, after bombarding the fort for some hours, advanced up the precipitous crags. Their final charge was so furious that the retreating Turks, who lost about 200 men, had no time to put all their guns out of gear. They were actually fired at with their own guns, handled by the Montenegrin troops, as they retreated southward. Sixty-four more prisoners were brought into Podgoriza to-night, many of them seriously wounded.

STIRRING STORY BY CAPTURED COMMANDER.

The Central News correspondent wired from Podgoritza on October, 14th. Sitting in a café, eating a meal, your correspondent found one of the captured commanders, who told me following story of the storming of Detchich and the events immediately preceding it:—

"I arrived at Detchich from Stamboul less than four weeks ago. Greater and lesser Detchich consist of a mountain side with three crags surmounting it. The fort itself consists only of walls of loose rock, no mortar entering in their composition.

"I had 120 men under my command. The total force at Detchich was 500 men, but a quarter of them, comprising Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians, deserted. They knew about the outbreak of war earlier than we Mohamedans.

"On the 9th we were suddenly assailed with a storm of shell, and then we knew that war had broken out. I only had four pieces of artillery, of which three were very old. We were being shelled from a distance of about 5,000 metres, and we were, frankly

speaking, not in a position to make a reply. Besides, our battalion of the 72nd Regiment consisted almost entirely of recruits.

"Our 400 men lay down behind the rocks in a firing line extending about one kilometre. During the night quite a hundred men deserted and Malissori, who I calculate numbered 2,000 men, closed in upon us steadily. On the morning of the 10th fighting commenced. The Montenegrins assaulted us upon all sides, and what happened on my left and right it is impossible for me to say. My captain, Ahmed Effendi, fell, but I do not remember seeing any other casualties. Every man fought for his own life among the rocks. A dozen Montenegrins threw themselves upon me. I fired upon them with my revolver, and then made for fresh cover, but I fell into a crevice and injured my foot.

"As I lay reloading my revolver, my assailants threw themselves upon me. I was brutally handled, not one among them showing any compassion. Finally I was set on my feet and given a horse to ride. Here in Podgoritza I am being treated well."

SURRENDER OF TUZI.

Telegraphing again on October 14th, Miss Durham said:—To-day (Monday) has been a day of great triumph for Montenegro. Yesterday the border town Tuzi and the fortress Shipchanik, which commands it, were summoned to surrender. They refused, and at 6 this morning, as the dawn was breaking, I heard the first guns boom out from our side, beginning the bombardment. From six batteries stationed at different points the Montenegrin artillery pounded shell upon the doomed fortress. After they had withstood this fierce fire for some three hours the Turks realised that further resistance was useless, and hoisted the white flag. A parley took place, and at the end of it the town and garrison surrendered unconditionally.

At first the Turkish commanders asked, as a condition of the surrendering of the fortress, that they should be permitted to retire with their forces to Sentari, but this offer was not entertained. As an old friend both of Montenegro and the Albanian Malissori, I was granted special permission—accorded to no other English correspondent—to witness the final dramatic scene.

THE SPOILS OF THE BATTLE.

Accompanied by one of the Red Cross nurses, who carried a hamper full of first-aid bandages, I arrived at the frontier at 2-30 this (Monday) afternoon. On one side of the river Boyana is a little Montenegrin house—its sides freely riddled with shot holes; on the other are the untouched walls of the deserted Turkish blockhouse. A little beyond, across the level plain, rises grey, craggy Shipchanik. At the little customs house on the frontier was Prince Danilo, who is the general commanding this division of the army. With him was his youngest brother, Prince Peter, who fired the first shot in the campaign. Their Royal Highnesses greeted me very cordially, and I had the pleasure of congratulating Prince Danilo on the speedy victory which he had achieved. And it is a great victory indeed, for it has resulted, as the Prince told me, in the capture of nearly 5,000 prisoners, three batteries of guns, and a great store of rifles and ammunition.

At 4 o'clock the military band struck up a lively march, and heading a battalion of our Montenegrins, marched over the border. The troops had gone to take possession of Shipchanik.

VILLAGE IN FLAMES.

Then followed a long pause. While we waited the sun went down, and the mountains became grey and then a black silhouette against the unclouded sky. Then the slender crescent moon shone softly in the heavens—the only crescent now above the land, for the Turkish emblem has been hauled down, we hope for ever. Red flames leapt on the horizon—a Mohamedan village had been fired during the bombardment of Vranje, and was burning fiercely.

I exclaimed sorrowfully at the sight. "Let it burn," cried a very old woman by my side bitterly. "How many Christian villages I have seen burnt by the Turks."

In the dusk could be seen trailing slowly towards us, like a wounded snake, a long procession. The Montenegrin soldiers drew up on either side of the road and waited. There was a tense silence. Then the band played a march rather solemnly, and the leaders of the Turkish army rode up and drew rein. The Pasha at their head slowly dismounted. He was a short stout man, wearing the familiar Turkish uniform and the fez. Accompanied by a Montenegrin officer, the Pasha approached Prince Danilo, who, on horseback, and surrounded by his staff of officers, waited to receive him. The Pasha offered his sword by the hilt. The Prince, with an inclination of his head, accepted it. Bending from the saddle of his white horse, he said very kindly, "You have borne yourself right heroically."

The band played the long drawn minor notes of the national hymn, "God Save Montenegro," and the Pasha retired.

Then followed the procession of prisoners—an amazing spectacle. Rank after rank out of the gloom tramped what seemed to be endless files of Turkish regulars. They were carrying bundles and coats. On they came in fairly regular order, four or five abreast. For nearly a quarter of an hour I watched them pass. I thought of what I had read of Roman triumphs.

Then someone hailed me, and I was most courteously offered a seat in one of the Government automobiles for the return journey. When we entered Podgoritz—passing the long train of prisoners on the way—the town was brilliantly illuminated with a row of candles in every window.

One could not help feeling deeply impressed by the incidents of the afternoon and by this final simple touch of national rejoicing. For many years I have given all my energy to the task—as far as one woman can help it—of releasing the European peoples from the Turkish yoke, and it seems that at last the goal is in sight.

Many an Albanian tribesman greeted me with "God bless you, lady," or "Queen," as they have nicknamed me.

THE ADVANCE ON SKUTARI.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cettigne, Oct. 13.

The actual state of the Turco-Montenegrin operations may briefly be summarized as follows:—

The Montenegrin Army is divided into three forces. One in the north under General Vukotitch, which crossed the frontier and captured Akova (Bielopolje), where yesterday a Te Deum was sung in celebration of the success of the Montenegrin arms. The second has its headquarters at Podgoritz under the command of General Lazovitch. The third, under General Martinovich, the Minister for War, set out from Antivari, and is advancing between the Skutari lake and the sea. The Generalissimo is the Crown Prince Danilo.

THE NORTHERN ATTACK.

The objective of the second and third armies is Skutari. While the latter is attempting an attack from the south the intention of the former is to march upon the town from the north. This force, some 18 battalions strong, is presently engaged in attempting to capture the Turkish forts on the heights bounding the eastern side of the plain stretching southwards from Podgoritz to the Skutari lake.

After very fierce fighting Rogame, Detchitch and Planinitza have been wrested from the Turks. So far as is known at present the enemy is not yet dislodged from his intrenchments behind Shipchanik, though the fort itself has been demolished. A few miles further south the fortified height of Vranje also remains to be taken. The energy of the Montenegrins appears only equalled by the strength of the Turkish resistance. On both sides the hatred of generations is finding vent, and compared with the strength of the forces engaged the losses are considerable. The number of Montenegrins killed in the fighting of the last few days at Podgoritz is not stated, but up to yesterday morning 350 wounded had been brought to hospital and more are continually coming in. Three hundred Turks were taken prisoners, including some officers who will be distributed between Nikshitz and Danilovgrad. The Montenegrin soldiers pay tribute to the valour of the Turks, who are provided with good artillery, but very bad ammunition.

The total force of Turks opposed to the Montenegrin advance in this district is believed to be 16 battalions, which it is hoped it will be possible to surround and to prevent from retreating south.

THE SOUTHERN ADVANCE.

Probably the hardest task is falling on General Martinovich, whose force is stated to be 20 battalions. This is divided into two portions. The northern, and by far the strongest, is attempting to capture Tarabosh, which is perched at a height of over 1,000 ft. overlooking Skutari Lake, and dominating the town. It is said to be fortified in the most modern fashion. The southern division has crossed the Boyana at Lvarzi, about five kilometres from the mouth, and with the aid of some of the Malissori put the Turkish garrison to flight. According to an official telegram this Montenegrin force is now making its position secure before advancing northwards.

General Martinovich telegraphs that the northern section of his army had a fierce fight with the Turkish forces at Shiroka, which lies beneath the heights whereon is Tarabosh, and that the Turks lost several hundred killed, wounded and prisoners. Other accounts which have been received indicate that the Montenegrin losses have been proportionally heavy, and that if the Turks have been repulsed it was only with great difficulty. The magnitude of the task which has fallen to the lot of General Martinovich can only be realized by those who know the Montenegrin hills, along which he was forced to make his own road for the passage of artillery.

A SKETCH OF PODGORITZA.

At Podgoritz itself no doubt is felt that real warfare is in progress, and that within a few miles. The streets are filled with cheering soldiers—powerful lithe men in Khaki—with whom mingle wild-looking Albanians from the hills. From time to time there arrives a carriage bringing wounded. Everybody is doing his or her best to help the latter but the hospital and ambulance arrangements are of the most primitive nature, and there is practically no organization to cope with the numbers needing medical attendance. It is hoped that the Red Cross Missions from abroad will arrive soon, but it is desirable that there should be as little delay as possible. To-day wounded are arriving here from Shiroka. The enthusiasm of the people is intense. From all parts of Europe men are arriving unsolicited to take up arms. In addition a good proportion of Roman Catholic Malissori are fighting with the Montenegrins. Generations of feud with the Turks have brought the exasperation of the people to such a pitch that now war has been openly declared the soldiers are fired with a spirit which makes attack and defence of the bloodiest character. The advance on Skutari, although the war is not yet a week old has already been attended with much loss. Its success is still in the balance. Fortunately the weather is still quite warm.

It appears that in the fight at Shiroka the Montenegrin force was fired on by cannon from the Turkish boats on the lake as well as by Turkish troops. Although it is unofficially stated, it appears that Montenegrin losses, which in this action were particularly heavy, were due to the fact that fire was suddenly opened by the Turks in the darkness of night, searchlight being thrown on the attacking force.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Oct. 14.

On the Montenegrin front events are proceeding slowly. Skutari has been reinforced by Essad Pasha with nine battalions from Unrazzo. According to Turkish reports, Essad Pasha's force suffered considerably from Albanian attacks, and two battalions that were left behind as rearguard were decimated.

Major Feth-ed-Din Bey, the commander of the Detchitch position, which was captured by the Montenegrins, informs the correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* that of his original garrison, consisting of 500 men, a quarter, composed of Ottoman Greeks, Bulgars, and Serbs, deserted before the declaration of war. During the night preceding the final Montenegrin attack 100 more of his men, mostly recruits, fled. The remainder of the garrison was overpowered by the combined rush of 2,000 Montenegrins and Malissori.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Cettigne, October 14.

Information received to-day confirms the serious character of the fight at Shiroka. An attack by about 1,000 men was being prepared upon Tarabosh on Friday night, when suddenly the Skutari searchlights were thrown upon them. The quick-firing guns in the fortress immediately opened from above, moving down the attacking force, which was ordered to retire.

The Montenegrins, inspired by blind courage, refused to retreat and continued in the face of a hail of bullets to advance against the position. It is believed that nearly the whole force was wiped out. All the afternoon wounded have been brought here, where women with grave faces are crowding the entrance to the hospital.

It seems probable after the affair at Tarabosh and the attack on Shipchanik, which was also accompanied by severe loss, more in keeping with modern warfare, though perhaps less characteristic of the proverbial valour and dash of the Montenegrins, will be adopted.

It is stated that the Turks at Bielopolye (Akova) hoisted the white flag and then opened fire on the Montenegrins, none of whom, however, were killed.

The official figures of Montenegrin casualties up to this morning are:—Dead, 148; wounded, 522; missing, two. In the Montenegrin hospitals are 92 wounded Turks. Six hundred and fifty Turks are stated to have been found dead. The corrected figures of Turkish prisoners are 126 Nizams and five officers. Eight Krupp guns, many rifles, much ammunition, and four flags have been captured.

Since the publication of the figures the news has been received of the surrender of Tuzi and the capture of Shipchanik and Vranje by the Montenegrins after hard fighting. The number of casualties is not known, but it is believed that there are many Turkish prisoners.

Later.

At Tuzi and Shipchanik, two positions in the chain of Turkish fortresses along the hills on the eastern side of the plain of Podgoritzza and about ten kilometres from that town, there are stated to have been 5,000 Turkish soldiers. Three thousand prisoners are arriving to-night. Before capitulating the garrison asked permission to retire with their arms to Skutari, which was refused.

The total Montenegrin casualties up to this evening are 256 killed and over 800 wounded including a considerable number of officers. The wounded are being cared for at Podgoritzza and Cettigne. Few preparations having been made for the wounded, the number of doctors and trained nurses is very small.

Volunteers continue to arrive from abroad to take up arms.

General Vukotitch telegraphs some particulars of the operations which have been undertaken for the advance on Berane. Yesterday afternoon a section of the Northern Army operating against Gusinje captured Visitor Hill, dominating the town. Four Krupp guns were taken and five flags.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Cettigne Oct. 15.

According to official information there have been captured at Tuzi nine guns, eight quickfires, 7,000 Mausers, a large quantity of stores and ammunition, 5,000 soldiers and 92 officers.

Soon after midnight Hum (Helm) Height, six kilometers south to Tuzi, capitulated. It is believed that the road is now clear to Skutari, from which the advance guard, aided by Malissori, is reported to be not far distant. The greater part of General Martinovitch's army is reported to have crossed the Boyana River, leaving a portion in the neighbourhood of Tarabosh.

Turkish troops have bombarded and burned Kriva, near the Egri Palanka Pass, having first permitted the exit of the peasants and the women and children. The Bulgarian insurgent leader perished.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, Oct. 15.

An official *communiqué*, issued by the Agence Ottomane, announces that a Montenegrin attack on Kriva near the mouth of the Boyana has been repulsed. The Ottoman commander, Saad-ed-Din Bey, a distinguished officer, was killed. Two Turkish majors have been killed in the fighting near Tuzi against the Montenegrins and Malissori, which is described as having been extremely sanguinary. Gusinje has been cleared by a counter-attack, and the Montenegrins have been driven back across the frontier. Fighting continues at Berane.

Oct. 14.

German officers attached to the Ottoman army are resigning their German commissions, and will join the Turkish forces. I understand that they have received a hint that they will be reinstated in the German army at the conclusion of peace.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica Oct. 15.

The news of the attack on Skutari has provoked great excitement in Albania. Thousands of Albanians are marching to the relief of the town under their own chiefs.

Fighting is proceeding between the Turks and the Servians in the neighbourhood of the Morava and at other points on the frontier.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Cettigne, Oct. 15.

As newspaper correspondents are not allowed to follow the Montenegrin advance it is difficult to know exactly the position of the various sections of the army. It seems, however, that while a

smaller portion, with the artillery, has been engaged in capturing the line of Turkish positions perched on the hills overlooking the Podgoritzza plain, the remainder of this army, aided by Malissori, has been steadily advancing by a more northerly route upon Skutari, from which it is said to-day to be a few miles distant. It will have, however, to await the arrival of the other force with the artillery, to which no resistance save that offered by the natural difficulties of the country is expected to be offered.

The capture of this line of forts—Planinitza, Rogame, Detchitch, and Vranje—together with Tuzi, was attended by a considerable proportion of casualties. Already on Saturday there were some 400 wounded at Podgoritzza, which, in view of the strong natural positions and the undaunted valour of the defenders, is not surprising. In fact, the manner in which the war is being conducted is reminiscent of bygone days and is proof that the present generation of Montenegrins is animated by no less warlike a spirit than that of their forefathers. Unfortunately they do not realize that valour alone is unavailing against an army with modern weapons, and already there have been many incidents which are examples at the same time of magnificent courage and of useless waste of life.

The heavy losses of General Martinovitch's army, which is attempting to capture the strong modern fortress of Tarabosh, are due to this cause. The exact details of what occurred are lacking, but it seems that on Friday night a considerable body of men tried to make an attack on the fortifications, and refusing to obey the order to retreat, were caught by a cross fire from the fort and from the Turkish boats on the lake, and were mown down. According to the account of a wounded officer who is here the killed and wounded numbered about 700. It is now stated that a small body of troops has been left near Tarabosh while the majority of the force has crossed the Boyana in order to advance on Skutari from the south.

The numbers of the various armies are unobtainable. It is generally stated that in all there are 40,000 men, the southern army comprising probably 15 to 20 battalions and the central army slightly less. The northern appears to be meeting with very slight resistance, and its objective is uncertain.

The immediate necessity for the Montenegrins is to capture Tarabosh, for who holds Tarabosh with modern armament holds Skutari. The attempt to enter Skutari without the possession of Tarabosh would be madness. Difficulties are great. Between Skutari lake and the sea are high mountain ridges, and the roads which would be suitable for heavy artillery are only partially constructed, while within the fortress it is believed that there is a large Turkish force. The Montenegrin armies are gradually encircling it, and on their failure or success must depend to a great extent the failure or success of the Montenegrin cause.

THE DESIRE FOR EXPANSION.

For although, doubtless, as set forth in the King's proclamation to the people of Montenegro calling upon them to take up arms in aid of the oppressed Serbs in Turkey, this motive was in part the cause of the war, it is equally probable that the occasion was deemed favourable for obtaining material gain to Montenegro. The same proclamation speaks in fact of the "noble Malissori who have been fighting for two years for their rights, freedom for union with Montenegro." If material gain be an object—though at the same time it is probable that the exasperation of the people at the treatment of the frontier population had reached a pitch when holding back was dangerous—it is obvious that the direction of possible extension of territory would be Skutari with the possession of the entire lake and the lands to the north, together with the valley of Boyana which, if it were drained, would give Montenegro a much-desired fertile district. Hence the importance of the capture of Tarabosh as the key of Skutari. Of stores and ammunition there is said to be no lack, and the capture of Tuzi and other positions has increased the supply, though, as a consequence, the large number of prisoners has increased the number of mouths to feed. But so unthinking are the soldiers, so anxious to be at grips with the Turks, that difficulty is experienced in arranging the commissariat, men considering it almost a disgrace not to be in the fighting line. It is almost impossible to hold them back, whether they be old men, boys, or in the prime of life. It makes one the more sad to think that this indomitable courage is in many cases its own undoing.

The losses are, and must be heavy, and but few preparations are made for the treatment of wounded. Field hospitals are non-existent, and the wounded of the southern army have to be brought by boat on lake and river to Rjeka, whence they are transported here by road. Here the hospital arrangements are adequate for a certain number of men, but there are only two or three doctors, and practically no trained nurses. The arrangements at Podgoritzza, as elsewhere, are of the most primitive description. The women of Cettigne are doing their best, and the same spirit which animates the men animates their wives and daughters. Except on foot or

by conveyance hired from Austria there is practically no means of getting from place to place since the motor omnibuses which in ordinary times connect the various towns as well as all carriages and horses have been commandeered. So far the weather has remained fine.

[Podgoritz, Oct. 16.

General Martinovitch who is commanding the Montenegrin southern army, telegraphs that his troops have occupied a fortified position on Mount Mouritch, opposite Tarabosh, after a short engagement.—*Reuter*.

Podgoritz, Oct. 16.

After ten days' fighting Berane has been captured by the Montenegrins, and at noon to-day General Vukotich led his victorious troops into the town. Fourteen guns and a quantity of war material and provisions fell into the hands of the Montenegrins. Over 700 prisoners were taken.

The Servian population welcomed the victors with joy, hailing them as their deliverers. In the final attack on the town the Montenegrins lost 10 killed and 81 wounded.

Fifteen hundred Turkish irregulars from the vilayet of Kossovo were yesterday being pushed forward to the assistance of the town.—*Reuter*.

Berane, which is about 4 miles from the Montenegrin frontier, together with the surrounding district, is chiefly inhabited by members of the Serb-speaking Vasoyevitch clan. The territory of this tribe was divided by the frontier drawn by the Treaty of Berlin, part being assigned to Montenegro and part being left to Turkey. In consequence of this the Berane division of the clan has always looked to its Montenegrin brothers for liberation in time of oppression. During the disturbed months before the actual declaration of war Berane was the scene of massacres, and the unfortunate Kaimakan, a Christian, was killed by Nizams in August last on account of his fruitless attempts to protect the Serb population and restrain the Nizams from firing into Montenegrin territory from the blockhouse at Mojkovats.

(FROM A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Podgoritz, Oct. 15.

I WENT this morning with the Red Cross to Tuzi. I found 100 wounded Nizams in a most filthy hospital. I spent all the morning burning the filthy dressings and rags which were strewn everywhere, even in the kitchen. The Turkish doctor demanded leave to follow his battalion and refused at first to attend to the patients, although we have no Turkish-speaking doctors. As Tuzi has been practically besieged, the work of bringing in food occupied a large part of to-day. Shirts and sheets for the hospital are urgently required.

Oct. 16.

I went to-day to Tuzi and found things already getting in order. The Turkish hospital was fairly tidy, and the doctors, resigned to their fate, were at work.

Podgoritz, Oct. 16, 9 p.m.

The surrender of Berane was preceded by very severe fighting.

Under cover of darkness yesterday evening the Montenegrins stormed two important positions on the Rogame heights and captured two Krupp guns with their ammunition. During the night they intrenched themselves. The battle was resumed in the early morning.

Meanwhile a Montenegrin division under General Voivoditch broke through the Turkish lines to the east and completed the enveloping movement. When the garrison saw that they were completely surrounded they hoisted a white flag. This was at 11 o'clock this morning.

When the first Montenegrin detachment marched into Berane they found that during the night 4,000 regular troops and 3,000 Albanian Muselman irregulars had made good their retreat. All that remained were 700 Nizams and 500 Redifs. Twelve Krupp field guns and a large quantity of ammunition were, however, left behind intact.—*Reuter*.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Oct. 12.

Numerous abortive attempts have been made by Bulgarian bands to blow up Turkish military trains. The bombs were in every case discovered by the sentinels. The bands have, however, succeeded in destroying an important bridge between Ishtip and Kotohana.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Athens, Oct. 12.

News comes from Epirus to the effect that the Turks have fortified their position at Pentegigadia with ten Krupp guns. This was the principal objective of the operations in the last war. The Turks have called up the Albanian reservists, but the response to the order for mobilization has been small. The actual garrison of Janina is about 6,000 men, but the troops have been drafted away from the other towns of the vilayet.

The Ottoman Embassy in London asked the *Times* to publish the following:—

"The Ottoman Embassy begs to acknowledge receipt of the numerous offers from ladies and gentlemen in the British Isles of sending ambulance materials such as medicines, bandages, etc., to the Red Crescent hospitals in Constantinople, and to tender in the name of its Government and of its compatriots its very sincere thanks to those above-mentioned ladies and gentlemen for their marks of sympathy and their humane sentiments, and to state that their kind offers are thankfully accepted by the Imperial Government and that the materials should be addressed to the President of the Ottoman Red Crescent Society in Constantinople.

"The Ottoman Embassy, very grateful for the considerable number of applications received from all parts of the British Isles for volunteer service in the Ottoman Army, thanks very warmly, in the name of its Government and of its compatriots, those applicants, and informs them that as the Imperial Government has not yet taken a decision concerning the admission of foreigners in the Ottoman Army the Embassy regrets to be unable to comply with their demands."

According to a Reuter message from Constantinople, Lady Lowther, wife of the British Ambassador, has taken the initiative in organizing a relief fund in aid of the wives and children of wounded soldiers. She invites contributions of all kinds.

Mr. George Stoker, Moorgate, Holne, South Devon, writes to suggest that the British Red Crescent Society should be enabled to relieve the Turks, in the same way that British Red Cross help has been accepted by the Bulgarians. He says that the Mohamedans under the British flag will naturally expect some practical expression of sympathy with their sick and wounded co-religionists, and adds that those who served with the Turks in 1877-78 know with what gratitude our efforts then were received.

The Strategy of the War.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)
WAR PLANS OF THE ALLIES.

Oct. 12.

THE continued presence at Constantinople of the representatives of three out of the four Balkan allies can only be attributed to the fact that the armies of these three States are not quite ready to act.

It has been already indicated that Bulgaria would probably be ready to move by October 15 at the earliest and that an advance might be expected between October 15 and 21. The exact state of readiness of the Servian army is more indeterminate; but a study of all the news from Servian sources leads to a belief that this army will also be ready to move forward between October 19 and 21. Reports that the Servians would cross into Bulgaria and act with King Ferdinand's army have already been noticed, and they are confirmed by a message to the same effect from the well-informed Correspondent of the *Times* at Vienna. Whether this Servian army, or perhaps we should say Servian contingent, will act with the Bulgarian main army towards Adrianople or be given a secondary mission to cover the right flank of the Bulgarians and to assail the few passes through the Rhodope Mountains, will appear in due course, but we must expect that the communications of this Servian contingent, doubled up as they will be with those of the Bulgarians, will not be of the simplest.

SERVIA'S CONTINGENT.

It is not possible to believe that all Servia's army has gone eastward. The presence of a strong Servian force at Vranja is a necessity of the situation; the roads which lead into the Sanjak from Servia must be held; and in view of the uneasy feelings in Austria some corps of observation must be retained on the Danube and the Drina, while other garrisons and depôts will tie up a certain number of men. Probably not less than 50,000 men have joined the Bulgarians, and we must expect that a more considerable body of Servian troops is concentrating towards Vranja, whether for defensive or offensive purposes. If columns, regular or irregular, enter the Sanjak, we must anticipate that Austria will not remain unmoved, and the whole situation on this side is anxious for all the States involved.

As for the Servian contingent in Bulgaria, we must take this as one of the many proofs of King Ferdinand's skilful diplomacy. It is this Sovereign who has spun the web of the war and has contracted the alliances which have brought about the combination against Turkey. It is his army that is the kernel of the alliance. It is the four millions sterling in specie which he has accumulated in advance, and the paper money which it will cover, that is the war chest of the alliance, and if he has succeeded in attracting a large Servian contingent to his headquarters he has at one and the same time improved his chances of success at the decisive point and has taken a hostage for Servia's good behaviour. All that is needed is that the arrival of the Servian contingent shall not be so delayed as to enable the Turks to complete their preparations, for every day gained is to the advantage of Turkey, while her enemies are placing the whole of their goods in the shop windows and have no other stock to fall back upon in case of need.

MONTENEGRO AND GREECE.

There is no positive news of any offensive action by Greece. We must assume that her army is concentrating at Larissa and Kalambaka, and that it will advance when King Ferdinand gives the word; but Greece is evidently more impressed with the danger of the adventure than her allies, and until the action of Italy is known there must be some irresolution at the Greek headquarters. Montenegro is never consumed with any doubt. She has applied the match to the powder and has begun her campaign with masculine determination, if in a somewhat absurd and theatrical manner. She has won a small success as the result of her initiative, but she has not yet tackled the main Turkish forces in her front, and in a week's time the war on this frontier will probably attract little attention. If reports are to be credited, Albanian volunteers are joining the Turks to resist Montenegro, and if this movement becomes general, Turkey will not have much anxiety on this side. The Turkish 21st and 24th Divisions of Nizams and the 15th Redif Division were by the latest reports available for action on this frontier, and when these are assembled and are joined by Albanian volunteers they should serve to give King Nicholas and his mountaineers many weeks of interesting combat.

A TURKISH VIEW.

The probable action of Turkey, if surprised in Thrace before her concentration is complete, has been already roughly outlined. We do not at present know for certain the zones of concentration fixed for the Turkish First Army and for its opposite number the main Serbo-Bulgarian army. We merely assume certain positions which are suggested by the configuration of the frontier, the track of the railways, and the general dictates of prudent but decisive strategy—and we may be right or wrong. The Turkish view at this moment appears to be as follows. Bulgaria, after forming her depôts, garrisoning her fortresses, holding the coast and frontiers, and observing Rumania, cannot attack with much more than 200,000 men for her grand attack. If the attack takes place between October 15 and 21, and still more at any later date, the Turkish army in Thrace will be capable of resisting this attack in combination with the Adrianople fortress and the supplementary positions to right and left of it. If Servian troops have gone eastward, then a corresponding movement eastward south of the Rhodope Mountains on the part of some of the Macedonian army corps will follow, but not until the character of the Servian movement is absolutely known.

Oct. 14.

The general situation in the Balkans remains practically unchanged, but in the course of the present week the Bulgarian concentration should be complete, and if the Servians are in line and Greece ready to advance we are likely to hear of the contact of the advanced guards at least.

THE SITUATION IN THRACE.

Our various Correspondents at the front have not hitherto been allowed to discuss with any freedom the interesting events which are taking place under their eyes, but the necessary and proper restrictions placed upon them during this preparatory period should be relaxed when the war begins, and we may then receive news which may compel us to revise some of our ideas. We do not know for certain where the rival armies in the eastern theatre have concentrated, and until this information is to hand, and more definite reports of the numbers have been received, we are still in the realm of intelligent or unintelligent speculation. We assume that King Ferdinand's main army is massing in the triangle Seimenli (near Tirnovo)-Tchirpen-Yeni Sagra, and that, when the advance begins, some four marches will bring the army to the frontier, but this is only speculation, and the extension of the front of deployment more to the eastward is quite conceivable. At the same time, the reported presence of the Bulgarian army headquarters at Stara Sagra—otherwise Eski Sagra—agrees with the supposition given above.

The selection of a zone of concentration is usually decided upon during the years of preparation. Prudence dominates in cool hours, and the chances are that the zone is selected so that interference on the part of an active enemy with the critical proceedings of concentration by road and rail shall be as far as possible prevented. This may very likely result in the zone of concentration being further from the frontier than might have been desirable in view of Turkey's passive attitude, but arrangements made in peace for this critical and intricate operation are not easily altered at the last moment, and therefore it may well be that Turkey will have a few more days of grace to complete the preparations in the Adrianople-Kirk Kilisse district.

Whether the Bulgarian staff proposes to advance along the right or left bank of the Maritza, or by both banks, is not yet known. The road system gives a larger latitude on the left bank, but there are four roads fit for wheeled traffic across the mountains over a front for 50 miles west of Adrianople, and engagements on this side are to be foreseen. Further west there is a distance of some 150 miles to the cow lies, where there are only a few mule tracks across the mountains, and these are likely to become a most insecure means of communication in the winter. This fact separates the Thracian and Macedonian theatres into two distinct spheres of operation, and justifies the separation of the Turkish armies if the offensive cannot be assumed. A strong Turkish offensive from Adrianople up the valley of the Maritza might offer great advantages, and is eventually to be expected if the Bulgarian attack can be successfully resisted, but the evidence at present available points to the initiative being with King Ferdinand for the next two or three weeks. At the same time, the Sultan's proclamation that not an inch of his sacred soil is to be trodden by his enemies throws a hard task upon Nazim Pasha's strategy, for the frontiers are long, the roads across them many, and the enemies numerous. According to present appearances a Bulgarian advance is to be expected at the end of the present week, and upon its success or failure the fortune of war will hinge. There seems to be no doubt that the Turkish reinforcements from Asia Minor are coming in fast, and that if the Bulgarian stroke is unduly delayed the balance may begin to incline to the Turkish side. There may possibly be 150,000 bayonets in the Adrianople district already, and more are coming up.

THE MACEDONIAN THEATRE.

On the side of Macedonia Montenegro still occupies all the stage. King Nicholas's hardy mountaineers have won some successes on their frontiers because of their ruler's bold initiative, but how far these successes are important, and will have consequences that count, we cannot at present judge. The losses recorded are only evidence of skirmishes, and the "fortresses" reported captured are apparently only the glorified blockhouses which line the frontier. The Montenegrin forces are in three columns, of which two are separated by Lake Skutari and the third is pursuing a separate mission to the north. A great chance is offered to the Turkish commander at Skutari if his troops are up, but no railway aids concentration, and the distance from Dibra and Prizrend cannot be covered in less than three or four days. There are probably three or four Turkish divisions concentrating upon Skutari, and if they can be up in time the Montenegrins should have their hands full and be thoroughly happy.

It is not likely that the Turks will detach troops from the Uskub district to meet the Montenegrin attack. A converging attack by the Servians and the Macedonian lands upon Uskub from Krushevatz and Vrania is likely to be part of the allied strategy, and in this movement the Bulgarians can share by sending a column from Kustendil. A Turkish report that a Bulgarian band has blown up two bridges between Ishtip and Kochana seems worthy of credit, and may be due to the Sandansky band, which was busy some days ago at Djuma-i-Bala. It will be the object of the allies to break up communications between Thrace and Macedonia, and although the destruction of a couple of road bridges over the Bregalnitsa river is without importance, we must expect that it is the railway which is aimed at in order to impede the concentration of Turkish troops and to prevent the transfer of forces from one theatre to another. The object of the Turks in Macedonia must be to strike hard at the enemy first ready, whether Servia or Greece, and a Servian attack from Vrania is the most serious danger on this side. There would appear to be some 200,000 Redifs and Mustahfiz mobilized in Macedonia.

On the side of Greece no signs of a Turkish offensive can be noticed, except the despatch of troops from Sarovitchevo to Kozhani. There is a report to-day of an attack by Greek irregulars at Diakata, but it has apparently been repulsed. The Turkish frontier garrisons appear to have orders to withdraw and concentrate, at Ellassona on the Thessaly side and at Yanina on that of Epirus. At Yanina there seem to be few troops, but at Salonika and Monastir are the headquarters of the 5th and 6th Turkish Army Corps, and troops are available to resist a Greek advance. A good deal depends upon

whether the Greeks and Servians move simultaneously or not and upon whether the Turks can preserve intact the railways from Salonica to Verria and Uskub. If the railways are not destroyed the centrally situated Turkish forces, which are now probably completely mobilized, can be directed at will to north or south. The appointment of one commander for all the Turkish forces in the Macedonian theatre was a necessity of the situation, and the strategy of the commanders on this side promises to be exceedingly interesting, even if the issues are secondary compared with those in Thrace.

THE POWERS.

The creaky old wagon that carries the Concert is jolting painfully over the ruts in rear of the war chariots, and we can only be thankful if the occupants are not thrown out, or do not fall out among themselves. At present the permissive creation of bodies of agents by British Territorial Associations is the only momentous act of military preparation recorded. All reports of Russian mobilization are denied. We must believe that the Austrian 15th and 16th Army Corps at Sarajevo and Ragusa are on a war footing, but it is said that the mobilization of the 7th, 12th and 13th Corps at Temesvar, Nagyszeben [Hermannstadt], and Agram, desired by the military party, has been adjourned. The Balkan Committee is active again in England, and it will be interesting to see whether its members will march off to fight or only try to make other people fight for them. However much our interests may be involved in the settlement at the conclusion of the war, we have nothing to do with the struggle now impending, and the questions at issue are not worth the bones of a single grenadier. What we have to do is to remain alert and attentive, and to see to it that surprises do not find us unprepared.

Oct. 16.

An impression is conveyed by reports from Servia that the troops of this State which have entered Bulgaria have been directed by rail to Kustendil and not towards Thrace.

This plan of campaign seems reasonable enough. The trace of the railways enables a Servian force coming from Nish to have the entire use of the railway without interfering with the movement of the Bulgarian forces by rail from the Danubian provinces towards the Seimenli area. From Kustendil a column can traverse the Devo Bair pass, and, if it can overcome the Turks in the fortified position of Egri-Palanka, may be able to descend towards Kumanovo, as already suggested, and join in an effective manner in an enveloping movement upon Uskub. Another Servian column from Bosiligrad can march by Radovintza down the Pehina river on the right of the Kustendil column, while a large Servian force is likely to be found near Vrania ready to co-operate in the advance.

The Turks at Uskub and Kumanovo hold a central situation in regard to any movement of this character, and be able, intelligently led, to resist one column and fall in concentrated force upon another. These things are not quite so simple as they sound, because in such a tangled mountain country the capacity for resistance of a column of 40,000 or 50,000 brave men should be very considerable, and such column, if only able to hold its own, or to retire without being broken up, can facilitate the enveloping movements of other columns. However dangerous a division of force may appear to be, it must be repeated that in the district north-eastward of Uskub only a column of a certain strength can be usefully engaged, and that if a mass of troops is accumulated on one road little is gained, while the difficulties of feeding and housing become immense.

It can be observed that the threatened Turkish attack towards Vrania has caused some perturbation at Belgrade, and was evidently not anticipated. A success at Vrania and a repulse of the Servians in the Morava valley would enable the Turks to turn upon the Kustendil column subsequently, and it is to be anticipated that the tendency of the news from Vrania will be to cause the Kustendil column to quicken its movement in order to prevent the Turks from falling upon Vrania in concentrated strength.

If the plan indicated is found to be correct—and the evidence is much too flimsy at present to justify more than a mere conjecture—it would appear that the Servian staff has a very ambitious plan, aiming at the envelopment and capture of the Turkish forces in the Uskub region. The plan is legitimate enough in itself, provided that no mistake has been made concerning the available strength on each side, but it must be observed that strategy is in some sort the slave of its instruments, and that until the fighting power of the Servian troops has been tested in a good old-fashioned set-to with the Turks, it would be premature to say that King Peter's troops are capable of prosecuting with success either this plan of campaign or any other. After the first considerable engagements it is usually found that the morale of one army greatly surpasses that of the other. Numerical values then become of less

account, for, as the Koran somewhere observes, a hundred determined men can resist a thousand who are less determined, and until the question of morale is answered by proofs no one can say whether the most profound strategist will succeed or will find all his plans tumbling down like a house of cards.

THE PEACE WITH ITALY.

Oct. 17.

Now that peace has been made with Italy, Turkey is free to try conclusions with Greece at sea, and next word will be with the rival seamen. On this combat much depends. If the sea is free for Turkey she can harry the Greek coasts and send across the Aegean the troops of the 8th or Damascus Army Corps, which are better suited for a campaign in Greece than on the bleak heights of the Rhodope Mountains. The Greek offensive in Thessaly and Epirus will be much hampered, while the transfer of Turkish troops to Thrace from Macedonia or vice versa will be facilitated both by sea and land. In the contrary case, the Aegean will still remain closed; the Crown Prince can march forward without anxiety; and Greek transports can convey troops to act against the exposed points of the Turkish coast. The result of the war at sea will have an important bearing upon the land operations, and it will be awaited on all sides with the deepest interest.

THE TUZI SURRENDER.

The Montenegrins have scored a real success in securing the surrender of the Turkish garrison of Tuzi, whose commander read a little too literally the Sultan's order that not an inch of his sacred soil was to be abandoned. At Tuzi there stood the 72nd Brigade of the 22nd or Kotehana independent Nizam division, about 3,500 strong, with which were joined armed inhabitants to the number of about 1,500. These troops and people were cut off by the advance from Podgoritzza and have been made prisoners by King Nicholas's mountaineers. The importance of a first victory in war is too great to disregard; and the effect of this success by the most diminutive of the allies will be to embolden Turkey's enemies and to add fresh vigour to their attacks.

It is, however, too much to say yet that Skutari must fall. The 70th and 71st Brigades of this division remain to be accounted for, and the obstacles which this covering force have accumulated before the Montenegrin advance have allowed Essad Pasha to reach Skutari, probably with the 18th or 21st Nizam Division, while, according to our correspondent at Salonica, many thousand Albanians are hastening to the frontier under their own chiefs to resist the Montenegrin advance. There was much love lost between these two people, and however much Albanians may desire their virtual independence, they certainly do not desire that Montenegrins shall lord it in Albanian lands. The re-establishment of affairs on this frontier by Turkey seems practicable, but naturally every man directed to this side is a man lost to oppose the Servian advance, and from that point of view the Tuzi surrender is of importance to the allies.

Nothing definite has been heard of the Montenegrin column under Vukovitch, which is said to have taken Akova (Bielopolje) some days ago. The object of this force is evidently to join hands with Servian columns which may advance into the Sanjak from the northeast. No news of the advance of such columns has at present come to hand, and it is probable that Montenegro acted before Serbia was ready. We shall, however, probably hear of operations in this district before long, for our correspondent at Belgrade states that the Servian Third Army, under General Yankovitch, has been entrusted with a mission in this quarter.

THE SERBIAN ADVANCE.

As Turkey has now broken off relations with Bulgaria and has addressed a Note to the Powers virtually rejecting the demands of the allies, we must expect that the latter will attempt at once to enforce their demands with the sword, and that a more or less simultaneous advance will take place on the frontiers of Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria.

Our Belgrade correspondent tells us that the main Servian army under General Stephanovitch is at Vrania, and has for its objective Uskub. This is in accordance with the writer's anticipations and was the obvious course dictated by geographical and military considerations. The exact strength and composition of this army, and the precise positions of its various echelons, are not known. There is a Servian division, we are told, destined to co-operate with the Bulgarians from Kustendil, and as Serbia pretends to place ten divisions in the field can probably not use more than three or four on the

Vrania road, we must suppose that many tracks traversing the frontier on the flanks of the Vrania road will be allotted to supporting divisions, and that the border will be crossed as a wide front. There is no further news of the Turkish demonstration at Ristovatz, and this affair now has the appearance of a reconnaissance to enlighten the Turkish commanders upon the preparedness and intentions of the enemy in their front.

EVENTS IN THRACE.

Almost complete silence prevails concerning events in the main theatre. The writer's expectation has been that the concentration of the Bulgarian forces would be complete about October 15, and that an advance was to be looked for between October 18 and 21. Heavy rain and probably some unexpected delays may conceivably have caused a little distress, especially to the Servian army, but on the whole we must believe that the Bulgarian army is now in movement and that we shall soon hear of the actions of its advanced guards. It is now probably in the area Hoskova-Seimelin-Harmanlu, reinforced conceivably by the Servian Timok Corps and by Servian cavalry, and headed by strong advanced guards, but all this is next door to conjecture. It will be the object of the Allies, in order to impress opinion and also in their military interest, to advance simultaneously, and we must believe that arrangements have been made to secure this result.

One point we must not leave out of sight. The forces in the field are very large, the season is not too favourable, and the leaders and staffs on both sides have no experience of movements of this magnitude, least of all against an enemy. Away from the lines of rail, transport and supply will present great difficulty and operations may not be so rapid and decisive as strategy would desire. If the Turkish army in Thrace, supported by the defences of Adrianople and Kirk Kilisse, can hold the field for a few weeks, the continuous stream of reinforcement from Asia Minor will steadily increase the Turkish strength and will render it increasingly arduous for the Bulgarians to beat down the Turkish defence. The best moment and place for a Bulgarian success is now and in Thrace, for the chances are that the Bulgarian forces have a considerable numerical superiority, but if a few weeks pass without a decisive victory by Bulgaria her task will be hard indeed.

SEA POWER AND THE BALKAN WAR.

Oct. 17.

It will have been observed that before the peace with Italy was definitely settled Turkish ships steamed out into the Aegean from the Dardanelles and into the Black Sea from the Bosphorus. These movements showed, *first*, that the Turkish fleet, or some part of it, was fit to go to sea; and, *secondly*, that Turkey's attention was directed to two separate theatres, on sea as on land.

The writer does not propose to weigh the chances of a conflict between the Greek and Turkish navies beyond noting that on paper and from the point of view of naval *material*, Turkey seems to hold a distinct advantage. Whether this advantage will be maintained in battle is a matter for naval judgment, which must have for its basis much more intimate knowledge of the *personnel* of the fleets and their efficiency than the writer can pretend to possess. But, assuming that the Turks, after shrewdly husbanding their naval strength during the war with Italy, will now strike with all their might, and that they will be able to succeed at sea, it is important to consider the advantages which success will bring in its train.

THE BLACK SEA.

In the Black Sea, unless Russia moves, Turkish predominance is assured. There are half a dozen little Bulgarian torpedo-boats, of which the Khrabry, Smeli, and Bistri will have to justify their names before they can expect to obtain any advantage.

The importance of the Turkish command in the Black Sea is connected mainly with questions of military concentration. This concentration can take place by rail to a large extent throughout the western area of Turkish territory in Asia Minor—namely, within the quadrilateral Skutari-Smyrna-Eregli-Angora. Within this area there are many thousand men of the Nizam reserve, besides 11 divisions of Redifs of the first category, and a steady flow of these troops towards Constantinople is now in progress. But in the eastern area, that is to say in the 3rd Inspection of the new organization, the Turkish 9th, 10th and 11th Army Corps have no railway facilities, and if these troops are to figure in Europe they must march to the coast, preferably to Trebizond, and thence take ship for Constantinople. This movement, we must assume, is in progress. It will be facilitated by the seizure of Greek ships and by the escort or cover secured by the passing of some Turkish warships into the Black Sea. There are some six divisions of Redifs at Kastanuni, Amasia, Samsun, Sivas, Trebizond, and Erzurum which may follow in case of need, and there would still be left, on the Russian and Persian frontiers, the 12th, 13th and 14th Army Corps and seven divisions of Redifs. Materials are wanting for any estimate of the

dates upon which the troops of the 3rd Inspection will appear in Europe, but they will probably be ferried across in relays and will continue to flow in for many weeks to come.

The question arises whether the passage of these troops by sea might not be utilized to develop an attack upon Bulgarian coasts, preferably at Burgas, in order to take King Ferdinand's troops in flank and rear. Such an operation must not be excluded altogether, and a demonstration on this side will be quite legitimate. But matters are likely to proceed too rapidly round Adrianople for this attack to have much influence. It would take time; troops could only be brought up piecemeal; land transport would probably be lacking; and if Russia entered the field at a later date, whether with troops or only with ships, the situation of this coastal force might become critical. The imperious necessity for concentrating a large force between the Bulgarian main army and the Turkish capital, combined with the doubt which the excitement in Russia must inspire, appear likely to cause Nazim Pasha to draw the Anatolian Army Corps to the capital as rapidly as he can, and to thank God if they arrive there safely and in time.

THE AEGEAN.

If the Aegean is sufficiently cleared of Greek ships, the transfer of the 8th Army Corps and some Redif divisions from Syria to the theatre of war will probably be attempted. The headquarters of the three divisions of this corps are at Aleppo, Damascus, and Jaffa and they might take ship at Alexandretta, Beirut, and Jaffa, or all concentrate on Beirut. If ships were available after the Anatolian Corps had been brought up, the 8th Corps and some Redif divisions might be employed in an attack upon Greece, preferably at some point like the Gulf of Volo, where the Greek offensive could be seriously compromised. Such an operation, however, would cost money and take time, and is rather too much to expect of Turkish strategy; but the moment is one of anxiety for the Greek headquarters, for, even if no Turkish troops land in Greece, a Turkish success at sea would lay open many points to attack, and might have most disastrous consequences.

THE THEATRE OF WAR.

Oct. 18.

All the military machinery in the Balkan Peninsula is now in movement, and a state of war exists. The headquarters of the various armies have left the capitals for the front: irregular bands are acting on all sides as the precursors of the armies; no one any longer talks of peace, and nothing but the inability of infantry to cover more than a day's march in a day intervenes between relative peace and absolute conflict. The theatre of war is extensive. There are at least seven separate zones in which operations threaten to take place. *First*, in Thrace, which is the theatre of the great decisions. *Secondly*, along the line of the Rhodope mountains, which will probably be given up to light troops and partisans. *Thirdly*, on the south-eastern frontier of Servia, between Uskub and Nish. *Fourthly*, in Old Servia and the Sanjak, towards which zone Montenegrin and Servian columns will probably wend their way. *Fifthly*, towards Skutari, the objective of the chief efforts of Montenegro; while lastly the campaign against Greece will have for its scenes the two theatres of Thessaly and Epirus. Capable indeed must be the strategist on either side who will assign to each force on each one of these frontiers its legitimate rôle and will combine all movements to a common purpose. Docile will be the Allies who will be guided by military considerations alone, and will not allow self-seeking to interfere with the steady prosecution of the main purpose of the war.

THE WAR IN THRACE.

The correspondent who is the first to tell us the exact composition and strength of the Serbo-Bulgarian main army destined to act against Adrianople will deserve the thanks of the public. We must expect that the mass of the Bulgarian army is here, and that a Servian contingent of some two divisions or more has come into line with it. But not all the Bulgarian army can be here, for Bulgaria has a long frontier and a coast open to attack. The railway which runs from the Servian frontier by Sofia and Philippopolis eastward is open to a raid from Turkey, and every likely avenue for such a raid must be held, at the risk of finding the chief line of communications cut and the allied army before Adrianople paralysed. The roads which lead upon Sofia from the south and south-west must also be occupied, and probably a division or two must co-operate from Kustendil with the Servians from Nish. The whole strength of Bulgaria cannot easily be directed upon Adrianople, and the first test of her strategy will be the proof whether her staff have had the hardihood to sacrifice the secondary to the principal objective.

THE SERVIAN FRONTIER.

The writer has already suggested that the reported movement of the Servian army into Bulgaria must only be taken to apply to a contingent, the exact strength of which remains to be determined. Charity begins at home, and between Mitrovitz and Kustendil there are many roads which give access for a Turkish invasion of Servia.

So far as the Sanjak is concerned, there is a report current, which must be taken for what it is worth, that Austria will not move if military operations take place in this district, nor if Turkey is able to hold it in the end, but that she will demand a voice in the settlement if other than Turkish claims to Novi Bazar are put forward.

The particular interest on the Serbian frontier is, however, between Mitrovitz and Kustendil, and the writer has already suggested that a Serbian concentration at Vranja was to be anticipated. It is towards this point—namely, at Ristovatz—that a Turkish offensive movement is said to have developed, and it is precisely in this quarter that we must anticipate the chief events. Vranja is fairly strongly defended, and if the Serbian staff has failed to accumulate strength in this direction it will probably pay the penalty. We must also suppose that a second Serbian column will descend upon Prishtina from Krachevatz and a Bulgarian column from Kustendil toward Uskub. In these mountainous countries it is not practicable to accumulate to any useful purpose more than a certain number of men in each column, and division of force becomes permissible when armies in such countries are large and converging attacks are practicable.

It is too soon to say what project the Turks may have on the Vranja side. This will appear quickly enough from the character of the hostilities. It is open to us to suppose that the news of a Serbian junction with the Bulgarian army is known in Constantinople, and that it may have provoked an order to hurry the Serbians at home in order to make them regret their detachment. A Turkish victory on Serbian soil would be a good means of sowing distrust between allies who have been in arms against each other, and this Turkish movement will be watched with interest. Nothing, however, for the moment justifies us in believing that the affair is serious.

THE MONTENEGROIN ATTACK.

The general impression given by the reports from Montenegro is that no great success has followed the initiative of King Nicholas. The losses turn out to be heavier than first reported, and Turkish villages on the extreme frontier are still in Turkish hands. The Turks have apparently broken the first onset of the mountaineers, and as 88 out of Montenegro's 56 battalions have apparently been committed, and Vukotitch's troops in the north are not easily recalled, very little remains for the Black Mountain folk to fall back upon. The issue of the contest was, however, still in doubt when the last reports came in, but a surprise attack of this character should hope for great initial gain, and this is not at present visible.

The Balkan Committee's Manifesto.

The following manifesto has been issued by the Balkan Committee:—

The outbreak of a Balkan war makes a problem for European diplomacy and imposes a duty on public opinion. The Concert has failed to prevent it; it now lies with the people of Europe to insist that diplomacy shall end it promptly by imposing on Turkey the only solution which can restore peace to the Balkan Peninsula.

This will be no ordinary war between the uniformed forces of civilized Powers. It will be a struggle between rival races, embittered by the accumulated hatred of centuries, and the brunt of its terrors will fall upon the women and children of the unfortunate peasantry.

Historically the responsibility for this war falls on the Powers, and in the fullest measure on Great Britain. This war was made at the Berlin Congress, which at the instance of Great Britain restored to the direct rule of the Turks the territory of peoples which Russian arms had rescued from them. From that day onward the choice lay between a second war of liberation and effective reform. It is war which has come, because reform was delayed.

From 1880 to 1912 the Concert sat idly, while the plight of the subject populations grew steadily worse. Six years were then wasted on the fatigues of the Mürsteg scheme. Then came the Young Turkish revolution and Europe did well to give the new movement its chance. The degeneration of the Constitution to a sham, the attack on the churches, schools, and communal life of all Christian races, the boycott of Greek commerce, the suppression of the Albanian language, repression, brutalities, and finally massacres have demonstrated the total incapacity of the most promising party which Turkey has yet evolved to introduce spontaneous reform in the government of its subject races.

Once more Europe failed to intervene in time. From the moment that the predatory attack of Italy on Tripoli demonstrated that no Concert existed a Balkan war became all but inevitable.

The failure of the Powers to respond to the vague Austrian proposal for "decentralization" gave further proof that the Balkan peoples must rely on themselves to end the hopeless miseries of

their co-nationalists in Turkey. The Concert has indeed come together at the eleventh hour. But its general formula of reform contains no detail which would enable it to be judged. The Powers have made no offer to execute their scheme themselves, and the wording of their Note reveals the fact that they have not yet agreed on any collective scheme at all. . . .

The Balkan Committee will do its utmost to rally opinion in support of a policy which it believes to be more in accord with public feeling in this country. The time has come to end the subjection of these promising races to an unworthy governing class. No solution short of autonomy under the protection of the Powers or of effective control by the Powers can bring finality. The last phase of Turkish misrule has produced the miracle of Balkan unity.

Indian Moslems and the War.

THE authorities in India, we have little doubt, are not in the least likely to overlook any reasonable means of preventing a misunderstanding, among the Mahomedan section of the community, as to the attitude of the British nation and Government toward Turkey in the conflict now unhappily begun. It is not the first time that the necessity has arisen of seriously considering the mischief certain to be caused should Indian Moslems be persuaded, or persuade themselves, that Great Britain was either a party to, or viewed with sympathy, acts of aggression against a sovereign who is regarded by the majority of them as the legitimate Khalif. Nor is there the least reason to suppose that the Home Government is unaware of an outburst of indignation, wherever Mahomedan feeling finds opportunity for expression, against the enemies of the Porte. On the other hand, we are equally sure that leading men among the Indian Moslems are far too intelligent, as well as too loyal to the British connection, to encourage the idea that this country is in some way and in some measure to blame for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, for the Italian invasion of Tripoli, and lastly for the bellicose designs of the Balkan League. And they will best show both their public spirit and a wise regard for the interests of Islam by exercising a wholesome influence on their co-religionists. At the same time it might be as well if the English Press was less ready to magnify the risk of uncontrollable excitement among HIS MAJESTY'S Mahomedan subjects when the fighting in the Balkans begins in earnest. The *Pall Mall Gazette* goes a little too far when it declares that "the views of experts without a very recent knowledge of India are of little account" in this matter; and that within the last few months "an almost unbelievable change has become visible among Indian Mahomedans." The bulk of them, we venture to think, are what they have been for a long while past.—*The Overland Mail*.

British Policy and the War.

BY LOVAT FRASER.

WAR has come in the Balkans, and the question men are asking is whether it might have been prevented. The existence of the Balkan League was known in London in July, but neither in London nor elsewhere was its full significance discerned. The miracle of Balkan unity had been achieved, the facts were public property, and yet England remained heedless. The secret of the imminence of war preparations was well kept. We knew the League had been formed, but its activity was veiled. Just as King Ferdinand concealed until the last moment his intention to claim kingship, so the stealthy preliminaries of mobilisation were deftly hidden from view.

Could the war have been stopped if the intentions of the Balkan League had been fully revealed? I do not think so. The efforts of the Powers might have been more vigorous had they moved earlier, but the ultimate result would probably have been equally negative. The exasperated criticism recently directed from one great capital to another is beside the mark. This is not a war of kings, but of peoples. The Kings have to save their thrones if they can. They had to take huge risks, and they have chosen the lesser risks. From the moment Balkan unity was accomplished they could no longer hold their flushed and eager subjects back. The time was propitious, and so good an opportunity was not likely to recur.

We are now witnessing the beginning of what may well be the most tremendous war any man living is ever likely to see. Beside it the South African War shrinks into insignificance. The Russo-Japanese War was less momentous, because it was distant and localised, and still more because its full consequences may not be made plain in our lifetime. The Balkan War, in those days when distances are shrunk to nothingness, seems at our very doors. It contains possibilities of which men hardly dare to speak. Some of

its results must be immediate. The rival armies are already almost at each other's throats. There will be no long period of suspense while the troops are being transported thousands of miles by sea and land. Reinforcements from Constantinople are being placed on the central battlefield within three days.

This is not a war about reforms in Macedonia. That was its first cause, but far greater issues lie behind. The Balkan armies are fighting to decide whether the Turk shall be driven from Europe. It was in 1358 that the Ottomans first established themselves in the Balkan Peninsula. To-day their descendants are marching forth to wage what may be their last great fight against Christendom on European soil, determined that if the Crescent flag falls it shall vanish in a sea of blood. The irony of the war in its present dimensions is that the issue will not ultimately be settled by the combatants but by others. The greatest danger to Europe will only emerge when the plains of Thrace are covered with the slain and the Powers begin to talk about the future.

All evidence shows that Bulgarian manhood has gone to the front with light-hearted confidence. No one, who has visited Bulgaria, can doubt the resolute spirit of the nation. The real struggle lies between Bulgaria and Turkey, and it may well contain surprises. In just such a spirit the Russians crossed the Danube in 1877, and yet the issue of their war with Turkey long hung trembling in the balance. We do not properly estimate the qualities of the Turkish soldier. We are still obsessed by the wonderful story of Plevna. The Turk does not fight with a spade alone. Anyone who has stood, as I have done, on the crest of Mount St. Nicholas, at the summit of the Shipka Pass, and studied the records on the spot, and seen the steep, bare slopes up which masses of Turkish troops hurled themselves again and again, must realise that the Turk is indomitable in attack as well as in defence. When he fails, as he failed at the Shipka, it is because the strategy of his commanders is at fault. The last unavailing sortie from Plevna was conducted with desperate valour, though the troops were doubtless animated by the courage of despair. Adrianople is a formidable obstacle, and we shall do well to avoid premature prophecy about the outcome of the war.

There is something more which England must avoid just now, and that is undue expressions of sympathy with either side. We have to watch and wait, and the more silently we wait the better. The business of the British Government is to strive earnestly to preserve the Concert of Europe, as it is doing. The business of the nation is to support the Government, without peering too closely into the relative motives of Austria and Russia, about which much might be said that is better left unsaid. All the mischievous and irresponsible little committees which issue manifestoes from back parlours and worry the Government to smite Moslems in Turkey and to pat them on the back in Persia must be swept aside unheeded. This is no time to hearken to Tooley-street tailors crying through a megaphone. Soon we may be hearing stories of atrocities, for this war will be without precedent even in the bloodstained annals of the Balkans. Let us keep our heads in that event, and remember that such stories will not be confined to one side only. Great nations cannot always frame their policies upon the motives which guide individuals. The issues at stake are too mighty to permit us to go crusading on behalf of either side.

It is not only useless but foolish and unpatriotic to blame the British Government, or the Foreign Office, or Sir Edward Grey, or to tell public audiences that England might have stopped the war if she had chosen. No human exertions could have saved the Balkans from being drenched once more with blood. Does anyone seriously suppose that even if Turkey had yielded to the ultimatum presented by the Balkan League on Sunday night peace would have been maintained? The Turks are not competent to carry out the reforms demanded, even under foreign supervision. Could they have brought them to completion this war would still have been fought, if not to-day, then within a limited period of time. It is part of the eternal encounter between East and West, another pulsation of the tide which has ebbed and flowed between Asia and Europe since written history began. It is not our affair. The general peace of Europe and, above all, the peace of these islands are our real affair.

A few hours ago I sat on the topmost slope of the Chilterns, beneath the shadow of the monument to men who had laid down their lives in the South African War. The broad vale below was steeped in mild October sunshine, the trees were flushed with their last outbreak of red and gold. All that placid valley was once trackless swamps and morasses. Our forbears drained it and won it for plough and pasture; their descendants live to till it and to hold it inviolate. It seemed to me, as I gazed onward, that our first duty is to ourselves, to guard our land, to save such sweet scenes from being perturbed by the note of war, to support that policy which seems best calculated to prevent England from being involved in the dangers which lie ahead. When we are asked, as we soon shall be,

to give rein to our emotions over the horrors now unfolding, let us think of England first, lest we spread the miseries of war without bringing succour to the distressed. The duty of all the Powers is to keep out of this business if they can.—*The Daily Mail*.

British Officers and the War.

Mr. N. Buxton (Norfolk, N., Min.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether any British officers were serving in the naval or military forces of Turkey or of any of the Balkan States; if so, in what capacity; and whether such officers would be recalled.

Sir E. Grey.—The services of British officers have been lent for the purposes of organization and instruction both to the Turkish and Greek Governments. In the former case there are British officers temporarily employed in the navy and in the Gendarmerie, in the latter case in the navy alone. In the former case the course followed at the outbreak of the Turco-Italian war was that British officers in Turkish employment at the outbreak of hostilities might continue at their posts on the understanding that they took no part in hostilities and that their services were not calculated to assist the belligerent in the war. In regard to the officers employed in the Turkish Gendarmerie they are simply instructors; but the continuance of their services was of course subject to the same conditions as those already mentioned in the case of the naval officers. In regard to the British officers, whose services have been lent for the reorganization and instruction of the Greek navy, it is stipulated in the contract, concluded in their case with the Greek Government, that in the event of war between the kingdom of Greece and any other Power, members of the mission shall not be empowered to take any active part therein. In such an eventuality it is provided that the contract in question shall be terminated on certain specified conditions as to pay and allowance. As at present advised I do not see why the course followed in the Italian-Turkish war should not serve as a precedent for future wars.

The Hegemony of the Turk.

(FROM THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople.

Ever since February last I have been pointing out that a question, the solution of which was of great importance for the Near East, would have to be taken into consideration sooner or later: the question of Turkish hegemony in the Ottoman Empire. Up till quite recently the Turkish newspapers avoided dealing with this grave subject. But the satisfactory terms granted by the Cabinet of Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha to the Albanian insurgents have made the question one of such immediate urgency that even the timid reserve of the Stamboul Press has been broken down by it. A well-known Turkish publicist, whose pseudonym of Sheik Muhsin Fani conceals a Young Turkish politician of the first rank, has gone so far as to write down the sentence: "To-day the Turkey of former times has ceased to exist." It is an opportune moment for me to develop my first statement at some length.

There is one book, a book that is not much read, and is, nevertheless, full of instruction for those who can read it, which gives us the faithful reflection of the former Turkish conception of the country's administration. This book is the *Sâl-Nâme*, or Imperial Almanac, an official publication giving a complete list of all the offices, large and small, in all the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire, with the names of their holders. If this book fell into the hands of a reader who had no other source of information regarding Turkey he would assuredly be led to conclude that no Empire in the world showed such homogeneity, both racially and in matters of faith; for, no matter what province may be concerned, and no matter what the function or office, the names of the functionaries indicate clearly enough that they are Moslems and Turks, with exceptions so rare that they constitute what mathematicians call a negligible quantity.

Anyone, however, who is acquainted with the exceptional heterogeneity of races and religions that characterises the population of the Ottoman Empire, knows well enough that the cause of this method of making up the Imperial Almanac must not be sought in the imaginary religious and racial unity of the Empire, nor even in the overwhelming superiority of the Turkish racial element, for this element represents only some 8,000,000 inhabitants in a population of 30,000,000. The reason is entirely different, and is analogous to that which determined the composition of the Royal Almanac of France before 1789.

Those who frequent the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris will remember that precious collection of Royal almanacs, old volumes bound in Morocco, and stamped with fleurs-de-lys, the long series from Louis XIV to Louis XVI occupying a whole shelf in the vast

library. In this case it is not a race whose names figure as holders of the various offices, but a caste: the nobility. And the non-noble names are as rare in these almanacs as the non-Turk names in the Imperial Almanac.

The two phenomena are analogous, and the origin of both is an analogous one. They arose from right of conquest, a warlike superiority. There is, however, this difference, viz. that the Turkish bey, to an even greater extent than the French gentilhomme, hardened in his pride as a conqueror by the very dogmas of his faith, was imbued with the idea that his status as a conquering Moslem Turk gave him the right of commanding the conquered, and, as reward for the authority thus exercised, the right to be supported by the product of the taxes. The organisation of the Turkish conquest was one long development of this sentiment in the shape of functions arising out of a few privileges of religious independence, and up to a certain point, of legal independence also, i.e., in legal questions which were considered by Moslem law as being of a religious character. These privileges were granted by the conquering Sultans to a few non-Moslem communities, such as the Orthodox Greek community.

The Turkish conqueror was neither an intolerant person nor a spoiler. The Turkish conquest did not bring with it either the Doom-day Book of the Norman Conquest or the auto-da-fé of the Spanish conquest. If the conquered races were submissive, respectful, not given to interference in politics, and paid their taxes, their conqueror troubled neither their property nor their religion. But wherever there was an office to be filled, whether military, civil, or legal, he took it upon himself to fill it. And this system, continued during six centuries, had the natural consequence of making the Turkish nation in the Ottoman Empire practically a race of office-holders by right of birth.

The same causes which ruined the popularity of the aristocratic administration in France ruined also the popularity of the Turkish administration throughout the Ottoman Empire. Having had for centuries the advantage of their racial privileges, the descendants of the conquering Turks forgot that negligence to acquire the necessary professional capacity for their positions could not be made up for by lineage alone; and that aristocracies, everywhere and always, were lost when they got into the habit of thinking that it was sufficient for them if they simply took the trouble to be born. A candidate for the Indian Civil Service, for example, not only takes it for granted that some knowledge of the history, the laws, and the languages of his country are a *sine qua non* for his success in his chosen career; but he would think it very extraordinary indeed if it were sufficient for him to know merely how to write and compose a few sentences in English in order to be appointed to some office, no matter what its nature, in the Punjab, Bengal, or Mandalay.

This, nevertheless, from the time of the conquest, was the conception of administrative qualifications held by the average Turk. The office to be filled might be in Albania, on one of the islands of the Archipelago, or on the plains of Syria, in regions where the traditions and customs of people differed to the greatest possible degree from those of the Turks themselves, and where the people did not understand a word of Turkish. It mattered not. No one thought it surprising that public offices of all kinds should be filled by pashas and beys from Stamboul, knowing only Turkish, and perhaps now and then a little Ottoman law into the bargain; and people even declared that the maintenance of this state of things was one of the most elementary principles of Ottoman jurisprudence.

This administrative dogma, and the situation to which it eventually gave rise, placed the civil and military supporters of the Committee of Union and Progress in a most puzzling dilemma at the time of the Revolution of July 23, 1908. It has often been said that the Committee was not exclusively Turkish, but it is useless to quibble with words in this way. If the Committee did include a few Albanians, Circassians, and Arabs, these people were Albanians, Circassians, and Arabs who had become, so to speak, Turkified; and by far the great majority of the members of the celebrated Committee were out-and-out Turks, both by race and sentiment. Hence the Committee, being a patriotic body, overthrew the prevailing system of absolutism and imported the Parliamentary system into the land, because the members of the Committee saw in Parliamentaryism the only means of making life bearable for Ottoman subjects, and, above all, of rendering foreign intervention unnecessary; but the Committee, again, being a Turkish body, wished at the same time to preserve for the Turkish race the hegemony which it owed in the first place to the conquest, and had maintained since the conquest.

The motive for this was not by any means a mere impulse of national pride; political considerations were also a factor. The Young Turk Committee feared that their constitutional and Parliamentary edifice would be violently and almost immediately overthrown if the Turkish element in the Empire, to which the dynasty and the

army belonged, perceived that the direct consequence of the Revolution was to be the transference of authority to the non-Turkish majority in the Empire. In addition—and this was, politically speaking, the highest factor in the object of the Young Turks—the members of the Committee saw in the Turkish element, and in the preservation of its supremacy, the only cement capable of ensuring the unity and personality of the Turkish Empire, for this element was alone capable of welding into a solid entity the units composing the Empire. If we examine carefully the series of political errors which helped to destroy the power of the Committee—the abuse of official candidatures, stubbornness on the language question, the exaltation of pan-Islamic principles and of the religious character of the Sultan, a blind partiality for Germany, where, it was thought, all-powerful sympathies could be found—it will be seen that the standpoint of the Committee was always the passionate desire to solve an insoluble dilemma: how, in a heterogeneous empire, with a Parliamentary regime, can we henceforth preserve for an ethnic minority a supremacy which in the past was based on the least Parliamentary foundations that can be imagined—the right of conquest and armed force?



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Vol. 4,
No. 16

Single Copy
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Delhi: Saturday, November 16, 1912.

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Speaking at a banquet given in his honour here, Mr. Gokhale denied that he had uttered veiled threats, or had suggested Imperial intervention. The Imperial Government would think ten times before taking up an attitude which could be construed as intervention. He hoped the question would be solved by the South Africans. Intervention, Mr. Gokhale said, would only put their backs up, and the solution would then be further away than ever.

Home Rule.

Mr. Boyer, speaking at Liverpool, said that the Unionists when in power would reduce the Nationalists representation in the Imperial Parliament to 45 members, and that that would end Home Rule for ever. Government was defeated in the Commons on the 11th instant by 228 to 196 in a division on the finance provisions of the Home Rule Bill. The House thereupon adjourned until next evening, when the Opposition cheered wildly. The Cabinet sat for over two hours and will meet again to-morrow. The defeat has undoubtedly created a position of difficulty, but the Whip says that Government has decided to go on. An authoritative statement has been issued to the effect that Government will not resign in consequence of to-day's snap division.

Government was defeated on an amendment by Sir Frederick Banbury limiting the sum to be paid by the British Exchequer to the Irish Exchequer to two and a half millions. On a division being taken Sir F. Banbury was appointed one of the Tellers. When he emerged from the lobby waving his paper, all Opposition leaders were present. Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Walter Long, etc. Hats and papers were thrown into the air and pandemonium ensued. Eventually Sir F. Banbury was able to shout the figures which were received with tremendous cheering by the Opposition. Mr. Asquith had now arrived accompanied by Mr. Herbert Samuel. He remained for a moment with Mr. Hingworth and quietly moved on to the next point. The Unionists indulged in joyous demonstrations pattering Mr. Bonar Law on the back. Meanwhile, Mr. Asquith walked out amid shouts of "Goodbye! the country is waiting for you." An official statement has been issued saying that Government does regard to-day's vote as involving any modification of its programme. It will take steps to ascertain the real opinion of the House. The statement explains that the division on the motion was not even put on the order paper, but was handed in manuscript without notice. It was destructive of the resolution adopted in the committee stage on Thursday by a majority of 121. The statement recalls the Premier's speech at Ludlow on October 5th that he would not allow his course to be affected by snap divisions. Government majorities since then have seldom been below a hundred.

The Week.

Mongolia.

TELEGRAMS received by the *Noroo Vremya* state that Chinese, residing in Koblai, have been sent to Harbin under a Cossack escort. There are only thirteen Cossacks and one officer at present at Koblai, but three *Soldats* with one battery are proceeding thither. The Mongolian garrison numbers five hundred. A Chinese force, six thousand strong, is advancing from Gutchen to Koblai. All news emanates from the *Noroo Vremya*, whose telegrams, in the absence of an authoritative statement, have caused the impression that a Russo-Chinese conflict is expected.

President Wilson.

DR. WOODROW WILSON has issued a statement calling on the progressive forces of the nation to unite to free the country from government by corporate private influences. The statement says no honest enlightened business man need fear interference in his affairs by the administration.

Mr. Gokhale.

THE Administrator on 8th November presided at a crowded meeting of Indians at which a casket containing an address was presented to Mr. Gokhale. The latter, in his speech, urged that the only possible solution of the Indian question was to place Indians on equal terms with other British subjects in the Union.

The McCormick Case.

The following "grounds" were filed on the 6th November by Mr. Henslyn, who has asked Government Advocate (Mr. G. Rutledge) to certify that in his opinion the case should be further gone into:—

1. For that the learned Judge erred in laying down at the commencement of the trial and before the Government Advocate had opened the case, and without hearing the parties thereon:—"That the case is not to be an enquiry into the conduct of Inspector Sherard, Captain Finnie, Mr. Buchanan, the Commissioner of Tenasserim, or that of the Lieutenant-Governor in connection with the case and that such matters were not relevant, the said matters being relevant under sections 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 of the Evidence Act. The whole of the preliminary order was without precedent, and the defence was greatly handicapped thereby; and further erred after ruling in such order that the case was not to be an enquiry into McCormick's guilt for the very obvious reason that McCormick was not on his trial devoting a great part of his summing up in dealing with the question of McCormick's guilt, and in effect finding him not guilty of the charges.
2. For that the learned Judge erred when summing up in mentioning to the Jury what the Lieutenant-Governor had done with regard to perusing the record and papers of the Mergui case, especially when the accused had desired the attendance of the Lieutenant-Governor as a witness, which was denied him by the District Magistrate or Magistrate, and whose evidence the learned Judge had by his preliminary order practically ruled to be irrelevant.
3. For that the learned Judge erred in disallowing evidence as to grants of Government lands given to McCormick by Mr. Andrew.
4. For that the learned Judge erred in directing the Jury "that there could be no possible doubt that when McCormick took the child, Me Sone was the guardian of the child," and in failing to tell the Jury that the mother Fatima had enjoined upon Me Sone, that Me Sone was to keep the child with her, but if Me Sone left the neighbourhood she was to give the child back; and the Judge further erred in practically directing the Jury that the charge of rape "was founded on the absolutely-incredible statement of a little girl and that is all"; and further erred in not pointing out to the Jury that Me Sone had left the jurisdiction of the Court and could not be called, though a subpoena had been taken out.
5. For that the learned Judge erred in holding that the evidence of Mr. Stokes was irrelevant, and such evidence would have proved that the alleged libels were based on information received from one "Vigilance," which information was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor, and which was corroborated by Mr. Buchanan, a witness for the defence, a Magistrate of many years standing and an officer of repute.
6. For that the learned Judge erred in telling the Jury that all those statements about the child being claimed after she was taken away had no real relevance to the charge of kidnapping or of abduction.
7. For that the Judge wrongly exercised his discretion in disallowing the evidence of Mr. Dias, an officer who was in charge of the Telegraph office at Victoria Point, as to the sending of telegrams between Mr. Finnie and Mr. Andrew and as to the sending of telegrams to the Lieutenant-Governor by Fatima, the mother of the child, for a transfer of the case from Mr. Andrew, when such evidence could have been allowed by a competent Court under the Criminal Procedure Code and under the Telegraph Act. Further there was no evidence on the record justifying the Judge telling the Jury that the Telegraph officer had told the Senior Advocate or the accused or his friends what had passed by telegram, and in saying "it was a wicked suggestion" and that "Telegraph officers as you have heard are bound to secrecy" and to suggest that "Mr. Dias had told him the contents of the telegrams that Finnie had sent was likely to bring him into trouble and to injure his character." The Judge was not justified in directing the Jury "that this was one of the methods adopted by the defence." The accused was greatly prejudiced by the said remarks of the Judge.
8. For that the learned Judge in leading the Jury to suppose that the child (Inna) might have been tutored in her statements, when there was no evidence at all that such had been the case. The Judge stated that "here is the poor little girl put up to tell the story of this man, said to be a big man, having had sexual intercourse with her."
9. For that the Judge erred in not directing the Jury, that penetration by the male, however slight, even though the hymen remained intact constituted rape and the Judge erred in drawing lurid pictures of what was alleged to have happened to another child, who was raped when there was no evidence of such on the record.
10. The Judge erred in stating that Dr. Evers's report went to show that the child could not have been raped by anyone when the said doctor had stated the child's hymen had been ruptured. The Judge erred in stating "was not this medical evidence destructive of any idea of rape having been committed"—"there was no doubt the child had a discharge and the hymen was ruptured, these are accounted for by the medical statement and by the admitted fact that the douche had been used to cure the child." The Judge failed to explain correctly Dr. Doulat Ram's evidence which stated that the said doctor was of opinion that the girl had probably been raped, that he would say some man had connection with her and partial penetration enough to rupture the hymen had taken place.
11. For that the Judge erred in not pointing out to the Jury that the girl was detained for three months by McCormick, notwithstanding the demands of her mother and her friends and that a jacket smeared with paint by McCormick, in this connection was not received in evidence by Andrew, and further in not directing the Jury as to the alleged written agreement of adoption.
12. Further that the Judge erred in not directing the Jury that Dr. Evers arrived at Victoria Point on the 22nd July 1911 with microscope and slides for the purpose of examining the girl (Inna) and that Mr. Finnie told him (Dr. Evers) that there was no necessity to examine the girl, this notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Finnie denied, on oath, that he knew Dr. Evers was at Victoria Point and despite the fact that in his (Finnie's) confidential diary he mentions that Evers "is expected on the 23rd July" and that Doulat Ram in a letter to Finnie mentioned that "Dr. Evers would arrive on the 22nd July with microscope and slides." And further erred in not directing the Jury that Mr. Finnie must have had an ulterior motive in not allowing Dr. Evers to use the microscope and slides.
13. For that the Judge erred in not telling the Jury that the mother, Fatima, had prohibited Me Sone from parting with the child and that if Me Sone did actually consent to the child's going away that it was against the expressed prohibition of the mother. The Judge erred in stating that "the mother and father had no remedy under the Criminal law when she had a remedy under section 100 and 522 of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Judge erred in stating that "All these statements about the child being claimed, after she was taken away had no real relevance to the charge of kidnapping or of abduction."
14. For that the learned Judge was wrong in not telling the Jury that under section 208, C. P. C., it was obligatory on the Magistrate at Mergui to call all such witnesses as may be produced in support of the prosecution, and in justifying Mr. Andrew's action in not calling some of the witnesses and stating that such action on Mr. Andrew's part was, as a matter of fact, in accordance with the law; and further erred in not pointing out that Mr. Andrew was wrong in mixing up the witnesses for the prosecution and the defence.
15. For that the learned Judge erred in stating the law as to Mr. Andrew allowing bail under section 497, C. P. C.
16. For that the learned Judge erred in not pointing out to the Jury that McCormick first denied taking the child and subsequently admitted it when it suited his purpose. And in not pointing out how McCormick's witnesses varied their statements and further erred in not pointing out that Mr. Andrew had no means of knowing whether McCormick was going to admit or to deny having taken the child until such time as McCormick was examined.
17. The Judge failed to point out to the Jury what Mr. Andrew's explanation was for calling Clarke, Me Sone and Ma Po Yin during the prosecution, viz., in that Mr. Andrew said: "The next witness I examined was Clarke. He was called by me in the interests of the prosecution. As a fact he was a witness for the defence. He rebutted the evidence of Fatima and Inna. Clarke's evidence supported by others put the case for the prosecution out of Court. After Clarke's examination-in-chief I told Fatima to put any questions she liked. I carefully explained what Clarke said." And the Judge erred in telling the Jury that Me Sone was practically a witness for the prosecution when Mr. Andrew admitted she was a defence witness, and in not directing them that the burden of proving Me Sone was lawful guardian was on McCormick.
18. The Judge failed to point out to the Jury that Mr. Andrew called upon the accused (McCormick) to cross-examine the said Clarke as appears from the note at the end of the said deposition and failed to point out to the Jury the various contradictory statements made by Mr. Andrew in connection with the calling of the defence witnesses during the case for the prosecution; and further failed to point out the last statement by Mr. Andrew in re-examination:—"I called and examined Clarke in the attempt to get at the truth at what happened. I had section 540, C. P. C., in my mind (a section wholly inapplicable) and in not dealing with the arguments thereon raised by Counsel."

19. Also, failed to point out that the telegram sent by Mr. Andrew to the Commissioner stated that Rs. 50 was the Advocate's fee required for prosecuting the Mergui enquiry and that Mr. Andrew prejudged the case by stating in his reply to the Commissioner: "do not think the rape charge can be substantiated: charge of abduction remains," and failed to point out that the Commissioner (an executive officer) had written and suggested to Mr. Andrew that the charge against McCormick was incredible.

20. Also failed to point out the evidence of Donlat Ram and Buchanan that the interpreter (Moosajee) had been indebted to McCormick and had been brought from Victoria Point to Mergui by McCormick as explained by Mr. Buchanan, also that Mr. Buchanan had handed over the witnesses on arriving at Mergui to the Inspector of Police there, and consequently had nothing further to do with them.

21. Also, in not pointing out to the Jury that Mohamed Din was not in Court when Moosajee was interpreting and he (Mohamed Din) was the very last witness called in the case.

22. Also, in failing to tell the Jury that with regard to the case being tried "in camera" that Mr. Andrew admitted that only himself, his clerk, the interpreter (Moosajee), McCormick, his advocate, and the Inspector of Police were the only people in Court, and it was proved by Donlat Ram and others that the people were not allowed near the Court.

23. Also was wrong in directing the Jury as follows:—"Really if you are satisfied there was no miscarriage of justice in the case, that the case was rightly decided, that the charge of rape was concocted and the charge of abduction unsustainable and unsustained, the question of intimacy is not of much importance;" (the question of intimacy being one of the chief points in the defence and the question underlying the two petitions submitted to Mr. Andrew not try the case); and further erred in not placing before the Jury the fact that the day but one after Mr. Andrew had discharged McCormick, Mr. Andrew invited the said McCormick to dinner, and that McCormick had stayed with Mr. Andrew as his guest for close on a fortnight during the Durbar festivities, and that the close intimacy commenced early in their acquaintanceship when on X'mas Eve 1910 Mr. Andrew personally danced with McCormick.

24. For that the Judge erred in not mentioning to the Jury, at all, the two petitions before Mr. Andrew, in which he was requested not to try the case on the grounds of his friendship with McCormick, and the fact that one of the strongest points for the defence was that Mr. Andrew ignored those petitions, in order to keep the case in his hands. The learned Judge also omitted to mention the telegrams which were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor.

25. For that the judge erred in telling the jury "Now gentlemen there is a reason on the face of it why the first telegram should have been in cypher." By such emphatic direction the judge usurped the functions of the Jury.

26. The Judge erred in not dealing with the rulings placed before him by the defence where it was held that after process had been issued, the Magistrate could not dismiss the case under section 202, C. P. C., but was bound to enquire into it, and the Judge failed to deal with the submission that Mr. Andrew must have known when he wrote to the Commissioner that "in the interests of justice proceedings should be held before a Magistrate" and that Mr. Andrew had no option but to enquire into the case. Further the Judge erred in not placing before the Jury the submission made by the defence that the meaning of the words "may want you" in the telegram, Exhibit CC., sent by Finnie to Andrew, meant that Mr. Andrew in consequence of Mr. Buchanan's action in issuing a warrant might or would have to enquire into the case apart from him (Finnie).

27. For that the Judge *inter alia* materially omitted to put before the Jury, the evidence relied on by the defence and failed to comply with the provisions of section 297 of the C. P. C. The learned Judge also erred in not directing the Jury that if there was any doubt in their minds the accused was entitled to the benefit of the doubt and generally failed to deal with the defence evidence.

28. For that the Judge failed to direct the Jury on the question of malice, and failed to point out that the prosecution had not proved "express malice."

For that the conviction amounted to a gross miscarriage of justice and the sentence was out of all proportion to the alleged offence, if any.

Replying to Mr. Bathurst in the House of Commons, Mr. Baker said that the Government of India had telegraphed its desire to defer expressing its views on the Arnold case, until it had received a full report of the trial and matured conclusions of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

The Government Advocate, Burma, has declined to certify the defamation case, Andrew *vs.* Arnold, as a proper matter for further inquiry. The application to re-open the matter will now be made to the Privy Council.

TETE TETE



Things are progressing satisfactorily with the All-India Medical Mission to be despatched under Dr. Ansari to Turkey, and £2,000 (Rs. 80,000) have been sent by cable to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali for the purchase of complete

Dr. Ansari's Medical Mission.

equipment for a Field-Hospital. But final applications of doctors, dressers, compounders, male nurses and ambulance-bearers have not yet been received in sufficient numbers, and although we have received from our readers large enough contributions during the week money is still needed. We would therefore once more appeal to the humanity, fraternal feeling and generosity of our readers to contribute all they can for this purpose. The ladies of Hyderabad—no doubt led by the talented daughter of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Hosain Bilgrami, C.S.I., wife of Nawab Khedive Jung—have contributed liberally, but still more is expected of the generous-hearted ladies of Hyderabad. Ajmer, associated with one of the greatest saints and evangelists of Islam, has also assisted us in the matter and we have great hopes that it would continue its assistance. That devoted worker of Mehdi Bagh, Nagpur, Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak Sahib, whose name is a byword for promptness, is sending telegraphic remittances from day to day, and the latest includes a very generous donation from the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. This rapidly-growing stream must grow even more rapidly if the Mission is desired to do all the noble work for which an eminent surgeon like Dr. Ansari is sacrificing his lucrative and increasing practice. One of the most recent contributors is an eminent Mussalman in Madras who writes to us as follows:—"I enclose a cheque for Rs. 100 as contribution to Dr. Ansari's Turkish Medical Relief Fund and wish it all speedy success. I attach the greatest importance to the moral value of such Medical Relief expedition, as it is likely to enable the patriotic Mohammedans of India to realise that our allegiance to Islam calls for daring and enterprise on the present occasion in the cause of humanity, justice and self-defence." We once more appeal to those of our contemporaries that have opened their own funds and to the various centres where money is being collected, specially Aligarh, to contribute at least part of their collections in aid of the All-India Medical Mission which is shortly to set out for Turkey. We also appeal to those who had volunteered for active service in Turkey to enlist themselves in a no less noble cause as nurses and ambulance-bearers, and we trust medical men, whether doctors, dressers or compounders, would apply through us to Dr. Ansari without the least delay, stating in detail their qualifications and also what portion of their expenses they are willing to pay themselves. This is urgently needed, as passports have to be obtained for all members of the Mission, and we have already requested the authorities to arrange the necessary preliminaries with a view to expedite the preparation of passports.

A MEETING of the Council of the All-India Moslem League will be held on Wednesday, the 27th November, at 4-30 p. m., at the Office of the League to consider the suggestion made by H. H. the Aga Khan and the Right Hon. Syed

Ameer Ali for the postponement of the coming Annual Session of the League. The text of the telegram received on 29th October is as follows:—

"Strongly urge postponement League Session token mourning grave peril Islam.

AGA KHAN. AMEER ALI."

Immediately on the receipt of this telegram an emergency meeting of the local members was called, and after due deliberation the

following telegram was sent to the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali on 30th October.

"Most important questions awaiting solution for next League Session. Gross preparations proceeding. Excitement prevailing. Mahrabad and all local members consider postponement unjustified and fatal to Indian Moslem interests. Turkey may still succeed; otherwise League Session in mourning much better than no Session. Wire reply with reasons."

In reply to this telegram the Secretary of the London Moslem League wired back on 5th November:—

"Ameer Ali's absence this crisis impossible. Red Crescent other important work suffer irretrievably if his presence wanted. Must postpone Session this year. Shall we return money?"

It is evident that Mr. Syed Ameer Ali, on account of the grave political situation in Turkey and his activities in connection with the Red Crescent Society, will not be able to come out to India to preside at the next Annual Session of the League. We are, therefore, left with two alternatives: either to hold the Session on the dates fixed or to postpone it this year. But in view of the obvious necessity of holding a session of the League—if the League is still capable of any useful work—we strongly urge that it should not be postponed. We, however, trust that no "leader" of the "retiring" order should be selected as the President. We suggest the name of Dr. Iqbal and, although we are not in the habit of urging personal claims to communal recognition, we are certain nobody will cavil at our suggesting a name on this occasion, for in electing Dr. Iqbal the community will confer no honour on him, but will confer one upon itself. It is men we want at such a juncture and not feeble mediocrities or invertebrate mountebanks.

The military situation, though still lacking in definiteness and precision, has since a few days emerged a little from the obscurity of the Wegener telegrams. The despatches of the representative of an obscure Vienna Journal have

The Course of the War.

been studied and deliberate in their sensationalism, and Bulgaria has gained as much through their decisive influence on diplomatic opinion as she has achieved through the undoubted prowess of her arms. Lieutenant Wegener has been anticipating events with incredible imaginative facility and preparing the world for the belief that Turkish defence in Thrace has been irretrievably shattered, that the Bulgarian armies have driven the beaten and demoralised hosts behind the Tchataldja lines, that these impregnable lines have been forced, that Adrianople is about to capitulate, and that the fall of Constantinople itself is imminent. It is no doubt true that the Bulgarians have, by a strategy of considerable promptitude and vigour, forced the main army under Nazim Pasha to retreat towards its last line of defence. Adrianople is also undergoing a vigorous siege. Again, it is also true that the Serbians have inflicted a series of reverses on the Turkish army in Macedonia and that Salonica is in the hands of the Allies. After admitting all this, and recognising the almost uniform success that has so far attended the arms of the Confederacy one may still believe that the situation has not become absolutely hopeless for the Turks. In the Macedonian theatre there are still 50,000 unbeaten Turkish troops prepared to offer vigorous resistance. In Thrace the fortune of the war is still undecided even though the Bulgarian armies lie camped in front of Tchataldja. As long as Adrianople holds on unaptured, and the Tchataldja defences remain unbroken, a new and surprising chapter may yet be added to the brief and dramatic history of this fateful struggle. The first flush of victory is apparently wearing off the Bulgarian advance, and the Bulgarian generals are beginning to realise the magnitude of their task. If Nazim Pasha succeeds in organising his last defence with the help of about 70,000 troops, the natural impregnability of the Tchataldja position, the approach of winter and the daily increasing difficulties of the Bulgarians in regard to men and supplies may turn the scale in his favour. Bulgaria has her last card in the field. Adrianople, with its powerful garrison, stands like a sharp wedge across the extensive line of Bulgarian communications and must be causing many an anxious moment to their generals operating at the gates of Constantinople. By a supreme rallying effort and organisation the Turkish Commander at Tchataldja may develop initiative and, after wearing down the enemy by a well-conducted resistance, may turn a probable disaster into a certain victory. But does Turkey still possess this degree of vitality? Are her resources adequate to the task? and are her generals cool and tenacious enough to be able to organise a fresh army unimpaired by the demoralisation of defeat and unhampered by the inefficiencies that have been responsible for the recent disasters? The total break-

down of the commissariat, the insufficiency of the officers, the utter disorganisation and chaos in the necessary military details, that have led to the failure of the Ottoman army in its last struggle in Europe, may not give us much encouragement in the direction of optimism. But there is such a thing as the genius of desperation; and if the Turkish generals and the Turkish Government have not lost all hope and courage, the Turkish soldier is still as undaunted and brave and as willing to die for his faith and fatherland as at any time in his history. The main question is: "Do the Turkish leaders possess enough moral stamina?" Turkish failure would, among other causes, be due to the moral bankruptcy of the Turkish authorities and not to the decadence of the valiant, simple peasants who form the true Turkish nation and who have ever been ready with the utmost eagerness to leave the plough for the battlefield in response to the call of duty and faith. The military issue, notwithstanding the brilliant and masterly advance of the Allies everywhere in the huge theatre of war, has reached an impasse in the principal part of that theatre. The military experts, whose opinions are entitled to weight, still hesitate to pronounce decisively on the issue, as the fate of the antagonists hangs on a delicate equipoise of circumstance and accident. A Bulgarian reverse at Tchataldja would in an instant produce a radical change in the situation. The Turks have everything to gain even if they find themselves at their last gasp in bringing it about. They would not lose much more than they have already lost if their resistance collapses under the pressure of Bulgarian onslaughts directed by superhuman will and courage. The reported efforts of the Turkish Government for mediation, if true, can be intelligible only on the assumption that Turkey lacks at this crisis a supreme directing mind who could successfully fight down chaos and despair and create hope and victory out of disaster and defeat.

The "Bull Moose" of American politics who cleft the Republican Party in twain in his mad race for "Progressivism" has rushed through a whirlwind of sensation to defeat. The Democrats have won the Presidential seat

The New President of the U. S. A.

after more than twenty years, and Dr. Woodrow Wilson has been elected by a large majority to be the new ruler at the White House. Presidential elections in America have seldom been free from a touch of the melodrama, but the full-blooded and furious energy of Mr. Roosevelt had rendered this campaign a series of thrilling adventures. Even the tough political palate of the average American voter has had some tickling and not very agreeable sensations this time. He had but rarely before been invited to a mere fulsome feast of the pseudo-picturesque. Mr. Roosevelt is a supreme American creation of the twentieth century. He has introduced an altogether new type of character and new political force in contemporary history. His ideal is incessant and strenuous activity, his will his only moral weapon and his method "the Big Stick." Altruism means but an ampler form of self-expression for his personality. One cannot imagine the type apart from the crowd. It thrives on the breath of popular applause and creates its supreme moments of self-exaltation on the platform. An orator holding forth on the needs of the people with a bullet in his ribs and reluctantly lifting up the veil from his terrible mystery to a horrified and speechless audience at the end of his stirring discourse, has no doubt a perfect sense of the glory of martyrdom and a fine contempt for its risks. Mr. Roosevelt has failed to ride back to dictatorship, perhaps because the popular wave could not bear his tremendous burden. Dr. Woodrow Wilson has furnished the necessary stimulus of novelty without overawing King Demos. His programme is popular like Mr. Roosevelt's though he has drawn a sharp distinction between the two. He recently described the Roosevelt programme as meaning an "accepted and regulated monopoly," while he summed up his own as "regulated competition which will prevent monopoly." Dr. Wilson is a scholar and educationist of high repute in America, and his career has until recently been associated with the Universities. He was for some time Professor of History and Political Economy in Bryn Mawr College and was also connected with the Wesleyan University. From 1890 to 1910 he was Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics in Princeton University, being at the same time President of the University from 1902 to 1910. He was appointed Governor of New Jersey in 1911. Dr. Wilson is well-known as a public lecturer and writer of considerable power. His keen interest in public affairs rapidly brought him to the fore in American public life. Among his principal works are a "Study in American Politics," "The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics," and "A History of the American People." A scholar in not always the best administrator, and in fact even eminent merit in the two walks of life is seldom combined. But those who have learnt to appreciate the worth of a Morley in both will look forward with hope to the success of Woodrow Wilson.

The Comrade.

The Sacrifice.

IN a previous issue we commended to the suffrage of Indian Mussalmans the suggestion of a supreme sacrifice at the approaching Id-i-Azha and reminded them of the sublimity of the sacrifice that the Builder of Ka'ba was willing to perform. We trusted that Indian Mussalmans would nerve themselves to a great sacrifice to assist the Defenders of the Ka'ba, and, while lending the Capital Fund of the proposed Moslem University to Turkey, would readily contribute a crore more wherewith partly to replenish the coffers of the University—the money lent by it being the first charge on the new collections—and partly to increase the loan to Turkey. When we made this suggestion we were painfully aware that it was the will of the rich and not the will of the poor that would count as the will of the people, and we said that the only question was whether the rich would be courageous enough to nerve themselves to such a sacrifice. Not content with voicing our feelings through the *Comrade*, we addressed express telegraphic messages to a fairly large number of eminent Mussalmans outlining our suggestion. And what was the response to this appeal? Well could we say with the Poet:

بان لب به لاکه لاکه سخن اضطراب مین
وان ابک خامشی تری سب کی جواب مین

Not that all the eminent men whom we addressed on the subject remained wholly silent. One of the most prominent leaders, who had displayed unexpected energy and devotion in the cause of the Moslem University, was the first to reply, and we must thank him for this promptness inasmuch as he was the only one to send us a reply by wire. But he reminded us, what no one in his senses could have forgotten, that the Moslem University Fund was not his personal property. We wired back to him that we were well aware of this, and had only begged him to use his influence in support of our suggestion. Since then we have heard nothing.

Another wrote to us sympathetically enough, but we must say we were not surprised to find him on this occasion also lacking in confidence in the strength, wisdom and magnanimity of his community. Throughout a long and arduous public career he has consistently mistrusted the public. Not that he has ever failed to appeal to the people for assistance with money. His appeals for funds addressed to his community have been as ardent as they have been numerous; but when the milch-cow has provided him with the milk, its work, in his opinion, is definitely and finally over. By some unknown process he has demarcated the realm of the rich from the boundaries of the poor, and has informed the world that out of the thirty lakhs collected for the Moslem University only eight lakhs are the contributions of "the Moslem public," the rest being the gift of the rich whom he thus excludes from the pale of "the Moslem public." We have not the faintest doubt that he feels the sting of the present situation as keenly as any, and that his heart beats in unison with those of his Moslem brethren throughout the world in this hour of unparalleled tribulation. But it seems to be a tiny organ ticking away like a lady's watch, incapable of harbouring a great hope and the faith that moves mountains. "If this money is sent to Turkey, it would make no considerable reduction in Turkey's difficulties; but for the Indian Mussalmans the material for permanent improvement, which has been gathered after an age, would be lost for an indefinite period." This is nothing strange from one who would have hoisted the white flag of surrender at the Lucknow meeting of the Moslem University Constitution last August if any other faint-hearted comrade had shown an indication of laying down his arms. This is, however, by the way. The fact remains that while publicly this eminent leader of the Mussalmans asks valiantly enough if "the collection of 30 lakhs is the limit of our communal enterprises," and if "the sympathy and zeal of the Mussalmans concerning Turkey are not even worth thirty lakhs," in his reply to us he shrinks from assessing Moslem sympathy and zeal even at this figure, and expresses the almost certain conviction that the limit of Moslem enterprise has already been reached. These thoughts are depressing enough, but it is no small consolation to us that when we first suggested the idea of commemorating the accession of King George V out of the funds to be collected by a deputation, headed by H. H. the Aga Khan, that may tour throughout India for extending the scope of the Aligarh College, it was men of this type who threw cold water on the scheme and doubted if even a few lakhs could be collected for an additional college at Aligarh. We have no quarrel with those in whose anatomy there is but a tiny

and feeble heart to keep company with enormous pretensions. It is enough for us to know that the old man whose rationalism in religion made his life a forfeit to the bigotry of his community designed plans for a magnificently housed University for a thousand resident undergraduates sitting at the feet of the hated Christians at a time when he could barely secure eight little urchins to spell their English Primers in a tumble-down thatched bungalow. He, at any rate, had no lady's watch in his anatomy!

Yet another prominent Mussalman, who is destined to become still more prominent in a few short weeks, has written to us in a similar despondent vein. His antecedents did not give us any hope of a great imagination or bold enterprise, but we must confess we were certainly not prepared to be told in connection with the Mussalmans bleeding for their faith and their fatherland in Turkey that somebody had somewhere said:

اول خویش بعده درویش (First yourself, and then the beggar.)

This is all the response that was made by the "leaders" to our fervent but fully considered appeal. The response of the organised bodies is even more disappointing than that of individuals. In spite of its many shortcomings to which we have alluded in these columns more than once, we still believe that Aligarh is the only Moslem organisation worth the name. But the late Secretary is busy formulating a futile scheme for the creation of an Urdu University out of funds which must not be thrown away on Turkey; the Secretary-elect would take no responsibility before he has taken over charge of his duties, and may even then be relied upon to wrap himself in the mantle of proverbial philosophy and stark individualism; and the acting Secretary is—what he is. The valiant band of local Trustees at Aligarh are as usual faint-hearted and cannot see beyond a horizon bounded by their own noses.

There was, of course, the All-India Moslem League which could well have taken the lead in the one important political work of Indian Mussalmans, and we appealed to it to co-ordinate the efforts spontaneously carried on in many widely scattered localities. But its Secretary has evidently a very different conception of the need of the moment and has saved his conscience by telegraphing to the Press nearly six weeks after the outbreak of the Balkan War a nauseating mixture of backneyed resentment, mock spiritualism and "practical advice" which has been "followed" long before it was so magnanimously offered. "Wanton and unprovoked attack." "Turks almost exhausted by failure of prolonged struggle with Italy." "the victorious march of the Allies now almost before the walls of Constantinople," "the view of God in regard to which we all agree is that he is the Infinite Spirit and Life and Power," "this mighty truth as the great central feature of human life," "golden thread that runs through all religions and amidst all diversity of religious and theological opinion," "Salvation through Self-Sacrifice," "Kingdom of Righteousness," and the rest of this platitudinous twaddle are followed by the discovery that "while the lines of work hitherto pursued by Red Crescent Societies may be continued with advantage, it will arouse and sustain interest if other suitable methods are associated with the labours and activities of their workers." It will no doubt assure these workers of salvation in the hereafter to know that the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League has blessed them here. "What has already been done is a good beginning," says the gracious Secretary, "but—much more remains still to be done." What that unknown "much more" may be is elaborated only "paraphrastically," and amounts to—"Bakra-Id qurbani-proceeds and portions of endowments set apart for charitable purposes in Rangoon and elsewhere in India." Then comes the "fervent appeal" that all Provincial and District Moslem Leagues throughout India should—"hold meetings and concert other necessary measures." But this too is to be undertaken "as soon as practicable." And this electrifying message to his fold ends with a tag of spurious latitudinarianism about a cause "the essentials of which are based on faith and common humanity which dominates all distinctions of colour and creed." After this exhausting creative endeavour we trust this new god is resting on the seventh day.

We have noticed a recent development in the Moslem community tending to the destruction of the discipline without which no organisation can exist. Those who are prominent in public life have of late been criticised in a manner that could not have encouraged them to undertake the responsibilities of taking a leading part in communal affairs. The manifestations of this development were very disquieting to us at the time, and, although we ourselves have never hesitated to criticise the actions and views of public men when occasion demanded, we must confess we considered that the limits of useful criticism were not always observed by some of the recent additions to the Moslem Press. But in view of the backsliding of some, and the lassitude displayed by every one of the public men of the community in the matter of the Moslem University, and now the hesitation of all to undertake the formation of an All-India organisation for collecting funds for a loan to Turkey,

we are compelled to revise our opinion about the critics and those they have been criticising. Many that have led on occasions of some difficulty have been pushed to the front. Many others that went forward of their own accord have been retained there almost by main force. This fears the impending revision of the Land Revenue Settlement; that has hopes—no better than his confreres' fears—of the coming Honours List. One is so utterly wrapped up in self that he can only work as a Dictator,—either a Caesar or nothing. Another has so little faith in mankind that his doubts paralyse his good intentions. A third is valiant enough to lead his followers right up to the walls of the beleaguered castle and then—retires. A fourth shows the utmost courage but little intelligence, and produces in his followers feelings alternating between admiration for his sincerity and despair at his futilities and contradictions. A fifth, coming from the bosom of the unknown, flits across a gaping world as a bright-tailed comet, and then—mysteriously disappears, perhaps into the bosom of the unknowable.

It is a review of men and organisation such as this that leads one so often to despair. But the vitalizing words of Iqbal ring in our ears and dispel the crowding hopelessness of the situation:

آہ! کسی جستجو آوارہ رکھتی ہی تجھی؟

راہ تو رہو بھی تو رہبر بھی تو منزل بھی تو
وایے نادانی کہ تو محتاج ساقی ہو گیا!

ی بھی تو مینا بھی تو ساقی بھی تو محفل بھی تو
بی خبر تو جوہر آئینہ ایام ہی
تو زمانی مین خدا کا آخری پیغام ہی

We say to ourself, why wander in quest of leaders when we ourself may be the way as well as the wayfarer, the guide as well as the goal? We have tried one "leader" after another, and found them all either wanting or inaccessible in the hour of need, and with the Arab saying:

كَبُرَني مَوْتُ الْكِبْرَاءِ

(The death of the great has made me great)

as a concession to modesty, we are ready to step into the breach.

At this juncture we have taken two undertakings in hand. The more modest endeavour minus only at the despatch of a Medical Mission under Dr. Ansari which, we hope, will soon sail away on its work of mercy. We shall work in this in conjunction with the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, and we expect larger contributions not only from our readers but also from the funds raised by our contemporaries, particularly the *Zamindar* of Lahore, and at various centres, specially the fund which owes its existence to the characteristic self-sacrifice of the students at Aligarh who are showing themselves worthy of their great Alma Mater. The second and the more ambitious of the two schemes is the loan of a million pounds to Turkey. In this connection we suggested that the Moslem University Fund be offered as a loan to Turkey. If the leaders had agreed to our suggestion they could have invested the thirty lakhs of the University Fund in Turkish paper, and appealed to the community to contribute another crore or crore and a half, on the distinct understanding that the first thirty lakhs thus collected would go to replenish the coffers of the University. We had three objects in view in offering this suggestion. In the first place, Aligarh would have provided a ready-made and well-tried All-India organization for collecting funds. In the second place, as money attracts money, the thirty lakhs already collected for the University would have made a sum even four or five times as large gravitate towards the existing Fund. But no less important than these was the third reason, namely, the rehabilitation of the reputation of the Aligarh authorities. Before the University Movement was taken out of the "dead hand" of Aligarh's local Trustees, Aligarh had become synonymous with narrowness. All this was, however, changed into confidence in its altruism during the last two years. But since some of the local Trustees of Aligarh have been gravitating towards the views of the Secretary of State and the India Council in the matter of affiliation, people have begun to suspect that affiliation was used by them merely as a stalking-horse and was never sincerely desired. It is undoubted that the Moslem community feels very strongly on the subject of affiliation; but it feels a hundredfold more strongly on the subject of Turkey, and it would readily forgive the backsliding of some of the local Trustees of Aligarh and others if they put faith in the community and in Turkey and cheerfully accepted the suggestion we offered. At the worst, it would have meant a deliberate self-sacrifice that is far more elevating than a hundred Universities. At the best,

it meant the loan of a million to Turkey, and a full University coffer, with a universal love for Aligarh and added confidence in the Mussalmans' own powers into the bargain. We had considered the men to whom we had appealed to be capable of taking this much in; but it seems they were not. We have yet to see if they are any more capable of taking the risk which our suggestion involves in expectation of a far more probable gain.

While we are on this subject, let us dispose of a few objections to the suggestion. H.H. the Aga Khan thinks "he has been completely misapprehended." "Nothing," says Renter, "is further from the truth than that the Aga Khan wishes the University Funds to be transferred to non-educational purposes." We do not know who misapprehended His Highness and when; but if he refers to us we may equally well complain that we have been completely misapprehended. We have no desire to wreck the University scheme which we ourself had suggested to His Highness on the accession of His Majesty King George V. Had we any such desire we could have easily gratified it by asking for the return of our own contribution, however small, or its transfer to the Turkish Relief Fund. We are not too modest to think that at least a small, but fairly disconcerting, landslip would have occurred. But we have no such desire and our mite is still safe in the University coffers. All we suggest is that the Capital Fund of the University should no longer remain as a loan to the Government of India which has no need of it, but be lent instead to the Ottoman Government which has evident need of it and of much more. This Fund is invested in Government of India paper to-day, and could as well be invested in Turkish securities to-morrow. That is surely not the same as the "diversion" of the Fund to "non-educational purposes."

It may, however, be said that Turkey is not as safe as the Government of India. That is no doubt true, but this only settles the question of comparative security. Whatever Turkey may be, she has still a National Debt exceeding 120 million sterling, and many non-Moslems and Europeans believe so far in Turkey that they have not yet sold out all their Turkish stock, which is still familiar to the bourses of Europe. Yet it may be asked: "May not Turkey become bankrupt after this war?" Our reply to this is two-fold. In the first place, the surest way to make Turkey bankrupt is for Mussalmans themselves to doubt the solvency of Turkey. In the second place, if the Turk goes under, shall we mourn the brother that is drowned or the gold watch we had lent him which lies with him at the bottom of the sea?

It has been suggested that the Turk is a hopeless failure; that he must go because he cannot govern; that Indian Mussalmans are bolstering up a moribund creature that is past such endeavours; and that the Mussalmans of India are better men and better Mussalmans than those of Turkey. Now, frankly, we do not believe a word of this, much as this confession may be humiliating to us. Those who thus flatter Indian Mussalmans are exactly the people who talk of efficiency and education when a Moslem candidate applies to them for a petty appointment. But, for argument's sake, let us say we believe every word of this comparison and proceed. Does all the reasoning supply a single reason for withholding from the Turks the practical sympathy of Indian Mussalmans? Abraham Lincoln once rescued a pig vainly struggling in a miry ditch, and when people marvelled at his altruism, because he had ruined his clothes for a mere pig, he said with evident sincerity that all the talk of altruism was nonsense, for he rescued the pig only because he could not otherwise relieve the anguish of his own heart. Surely the Turk struggling heroically against the encompassing misery of his situation is not worse than the pig in the mire, and may not Indian Mussalmans relieve the anguish of their own hearts as well as Abraham Lincoln?

But a truce to all needless arguments, and let us turn to business. In reply to our cable to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, intimating that H. E. the Viceroy had declared the advance of a loan to Turkey by Indian Mussalmans to be in no way in contravention of His Majesty the King-Emperor's declaration of neutrality, and that we were carrying on negotiations with banking houses in India, we have received a letter in French from H. E. Djafer Bey, the Ottoman Consul-General at Bombay, of which the following is a translation:—

Ottoman Consulate General,

Bombay, 14th Nov. 1912.

Mr Editor,

I am instructed by my Government to thank you for the lofty sentiments which you have shown in carrying on negotiations with the Banks to whom the Government of India has given permission to advance money to the Ottoman Government, and to inform you that, in view of the impossibility of contracting a foreign loan, we have levied a war tax. We are going to issue Treasury Bonds for £T3,000,000, offering as a

guarantee the new impost. We shall pay through the agency of the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the Public Debt interest at the rate of 6 per cent., and we shall redeem the stock in three years at the rate of two instalments per year. We should like to know the quantity required in India. We shall send to the Banks mentioned by you as many bonds as you require.

I beg you to send me a reply and to accept my thanks in anticipation.

Mohamed Ali, Esqr.,

Editor of the "Comrade,"

Calcutta.

E. DJAFER,

The Consul General.

This has made our task easy, for no new loan need be raised in India. All that Indian Mussalmans need do is to invest a portion of their savings in the new Treasury Bonds. We are arranging with some banking houses in the country for receiving deposits with a view to effect purchase of these bonds, and in the meantime the Proprietor of the *Comrade* intends to go on a tour to the chief centres of Moslem activity to canvass for the ready sale of these bonds. If this endeavour succeeds, let there be no mistake about it, the Mussalmans of India will have done constructive work far exceeding in importance and magnitude even the creation and development of Aligarh, for apart from its greatness, the work would be one of unalloyed altruism and based on a self-sacrifice that is the life and essence of a great nation. But if it fails, there is still the consolation of some thing attempted which had in it the germs of nobility and selflessness, there is still the reward eternally held out by the Post of our land to all such workers:

شکست و فتح نصیبون می می ولی ایسے میر
مقابلہ تو دل ناتوان نی خوب کیا

Whatever may happen let it not be understood that this is to be, or can ever be, one man's work. It is to be the work of a whole nation, and can succeed only with the united efforts of a nation. But Providence often works through insignificant instruments, and none of us need plume himself too much on merely performing a task for which he was destined by Providence to be a humble, if necessary, instrument. Let others have whatever glory there be in this, for we are content to toil in a good cause and to go on wiping the steaming brow when our comrades are receiving a grateful recognition of their endeavours.

The Crescent and the Cross.

THE famous writer of "The Great Illusion," while preparing his bold thesis on the futility of war and victory, must have found his atmosphere in the psychology of the most advanced industrial groups in modern Europe. The spirit of that psychology is a relentless appetite for gain. For a thinker, having a close grip on economic facts and relations and enough logic to manipulate them, it should not be a task of great intellectual difficulty to prove that war is a pure economic disaster for the victor and the vanquished alike. The thesis would directly appeal to the most intimate instincts of a complex industrial society, though the orthodox pacifism of the humanitarian might fail to move. The murderous struggle in the Balkans is, however, the result of a very different set of motives and psychology. The issues are not primarily economic. The rulers of the Balkan States entered into an offensive alliance with a set purpose and definite design, no doubt. But the fierce passion and ferocity of the struggle have been fed on impulses quite distinct from those that would move a matter-of-fact, industrial democracy to war. "The Great Illusion" that has chiefly roused the war passions of the Bulgar, the Serb, the Montenegrin and the Greek masses is not a prospect of economic gain. The motive is a pure thirst for glory and revenge, which has been sanctified in the most solemn manner by their sovereigns and their priests. The leaders of the Confederacy had of course the common ambitions of territorial expansion and empire and talked of reform and liberty after the manner of their kind. Their peoples, however, have known only one passion—a fanatical hatred of the Turks; and this passion has been most skillfully and thoroughly kindled into flame in the name of Christianity. The masses have been made to feel that they were witnessing another struggle between the Crescent and the Cross. The atmosphere has been deliberately charged with the blood-stained memories of creed and history. The armies of the Confederacy have marched to battle under the intoxication of religion. They have been proudly acclaimed by their chiefs as soldiers of Christ.

Some might be disposed to wonder that another inferno with all the havoc and the lightning-play of medieval fanaticism could be lit up in the twentieth century. But King Ferdinand and his "August Allies" have achieved it. Peter the Hermit could have done scarcely better. One need not, however, be surprised at the methods with which the Balkan fanatics have been driven to war against the Turk. These were perhaps the only methods that could move them at all. Knowing this, the allied kings could not but apply them with

thoroughgoing freedom from scruple if, indeed, their secular plans were to prosper. The fact need not create surprise, though it cannot be on that account belittled or ignored. The sympathies of Christian Europe have been frankly on the side of the Confederacy. This moral support has always been justified on the ground that the Balkan movement represents the eminently just aspiration of the oppressed Christians for liberty and good government. There are many Europeans, we admit, who believe the cry to be genuine, though their belief is, to a very large extent, the result of their Christian zeal rather than of reasoned opinion based on fact and experience. But there are many more who exploit the passions underlying the Balkan cry for their own political purposes, while the number of those who hate the Turk because he is a Turk is legion. A Moslem may not be as clever a politician as a Christian of modern Europe. He has, however, learnt some very instructive lessons in the course of a single year. He has shed many a fatal enthusiasm that the success and glamour of Europe had created in his mind, and he feels that he stands before a new political horizon to-day. The Italian raid on Tripoli had begun his political education and the Balkan struggle has completed it. He had a child-like trust in the good-will of Europe and the beneficence of its secular message at the birth of the twentieth century. In the beginning of its second decade he has learnt that he had grievously erred in supposing that his secular ills could be cured through an alien inspiration. The message of Western culture is fair to the ear. Its spirit has, however, been intensely sectarian, and all the more intolerant because irresponsible. The Mussalman, who had dreamed of justice and fairplay in a world of international brotherhood and peace, has been rudely awakened to the naked reality. He has learnt that the spirit of the political forces of Modern Europe is hard as iron, though they work with a nimble subtlety of manner. The lesson has sunk deep in his mind and he is not likely to forget it in shaping his future career in the world.

The fruits of the political Phariseism of the times must, in all conscience, be bitter; but the European who has supplied the motive and created the enthusiasm for all that has been recently happening in Moslem lands should be the last person to complain of his handiwork. He can state his standpoint with admirable force and lucidity, and the world is familiar with the passionate denunciation and appeal of his arguments. But has he ever taken the trouble to understand the standpoint of the victims of his ambition or his zeal? Would he care to know the feelings with which a Mussalman is watching the Balkan struggle and the passions that it has stirred in Christian Europe? Perhaps he would not. Those feelings, however, are bound to affect the destinies of a large portion of mankind and may considerably influence the course of the world's history. They may not count to-day, but they will count in human affairs some day if Islam continues to be a vital force in moulding the lives of millions. What then are the feelings of the Mussalman who has been following the course of events in Turkey? He knows that the Ottoman Empire is the last bulwark of Islam as regards its secular power and moral prestige. He knows as well that the enemies of that Empire are many and formidable, and that the Turk has been steadily losing his power and prestige through intrigue, diplomatic manoeuvring and combined aggression. Since the establishment of the Constitution in Turkey he had been doubting if the attitude of Europe towards the Turk was honest and the cry for reform sincere. If the old Turkish methods of government were repellent to European liberalism, the Young Turk régime ought surely to have been an object of its support and sympathy. Every device has, however, been adopted by her enemies, ever since the success of the constitutional movement, to thwart the regeneration of Turkey. Hostility and aggression increased as soon as the Young Turks began to apply more vigour and energy to the task of building up a reformed administration and a consolidated empire. The forces that could not tolerate a strong and rejuvenated Turkey drew together and at last took shape as the Balkan Confederacy. It adopted "Macedonian reform" as its war-cry, for it must needs pay some concession to the sentiments of Liberal Europe. What it really wanted was the partition of European Turkey. The hypocrisy of the whole business became manifest when the Confederacy informed the so-called European Concert that it had no territorial ambitions whatever in its demands for reform, while it resolutely set itself to rouse the Balkan mobs with direct and open appeals to their lust for power and glory and to their race hatred and religious fanaticism. The manifestoes of King Ferdinand and King Peter to their respective peoples and the messages received by the King of Greece from his allies, all of which we publish elsewhere, lay bare the motives that have been applied to drive the mobs to battle. The "Tsar" of Bulgaria refers to the "Christian Liberator," who had freed the Bulgarian nation, exhorts that nation in turn to liberate "the Christians in Turkey," and invokes the blessings of the Almighty and the sympathies of Christian Europe "in this struggle between the Crescent and the Cross." The Servian

King openly strikes a note of conquest, bringing in its train "liberty, fraternity and equality." The King of Greece had already suggested the device "In hoc signo vinces" to his allies in "the new Crusade for the deliverance of their oppressed brethren." Christian bishops and clergymen have preached in churches and in the European press that the Balkan struggle was a Holy War, and that Moslem rule in Europe must cease because it was "incompatible with the conscience of Christendom." The conflict has been deliberately heated into a war of creeds, and its religious aspect has been emphasised with an insistence that is amazing. Even a statesman of Mr. Asquith's cool, clear mind and even temper felt the thrill of the moment and could not help reminding his hearers, at the Guild Hall Banquet, of the significance of the capture of Salonica, "the gateway through which Christianity first entered Europe." England is neutral, but her Government is composed of Christians, and it should not be surprising if they feel a natural sympathy with their Christian brethren in the Balkans. Mr. Lloyd George had declared his hope at the outbreak of the war that one result of the war would be "that the boundaries of freedom and good government would be extended." That a responsible Minister of England can indulge in flagrantly one-sided speeches and make veiled though quite obvious imputations against Turkey conveys its own lesson. The sympathy of Mr. Masterman, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, was even more emphatically declared at Bethnal Green at a small Radical gathering. He asked his hearers "to take a sympathetic view towards those fighting in the cause of liberty and progress, and who have been suffering for years owing to the murder and pillage of the Turks." It is, however, satisfactory to know that there are Englishmen who sincerely resent such expressions of sympathy on the part of responsible members of His Majesty's Government and who realise the grave consequences to which such utterances may give rise. The letters of Mr. George Lloyd and Sir John Rees to the *Times* on the subject are reproduced elsewhere and will be read with interest. A question was also asked in the House of Commons referring to which the London Correspondent of the *Englishman* writes as follows:—

Of course, when Mr. Masterman was tackled by Lord Wolmer, Mr. George Lloyd and Lord Charles Beresford, in the House of Commons, he stoutly declared that in his speech, he had modified the shameful passage quoted above by warm expressions of a desire for our national neutrality. But that in no way palliates or excuses the expression, by a responsible Minister of the Crown, of his own personal opinion so injurious and insulting to our allies the Turks. On this, Lord Charles Beresford on Wednesday evening put a strong and pointed question to the Prime Minister himself asking him whether he was aware that such wicked utterances were calculated to increase animosities between Christians and Moslems—whether the statements of Mr. Masterman had been repudiated by members of the Government, and whether he, the Prime Minister, would now repudiate it? Mr. Asquith wriggled, and amid the loud laughter of the Opposition declared that "the question was obsolete." But seeing that the whole Unionist Party was determined to fight the matter out, the Prime Minister so far knuckled down as to confess—this after His Majesty's Proclamation of neutrality!—"that the attitude of His Majesty's Government in regard to the war is one of strict neutrality." And when this statement was ironically cheered by the Unionists—after Mr. Lloyd-George's and Mr. Masterman's speeches they might well be ironical—Mr. Asquith added—"Of course, it is the duty of Ministers as well as of every one else to use no language which is inconsistent with that attitude." In common decency, alike to his colleague, Sir Edward Grey, to our allies the Turks, to our Mohammedan fellow-subjects in India, Egypt, and elsewhere, and to the immense number of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom who are inclined to sympathise with the Turks rather than with their assailants, the Prime Minister would hardly have said less than this. But even for this grudging statement he will probably have to suffer from the turbulence of his master in the Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd-George. Mr. Masterman's declaration that he emphasised our national neutrality does not go unchallenged. The report of his Bethnal Green speech was sent out by the London News Agency, and the reporter who took down his words states most positively that Mr. Masterman never at any time during his speech mentioned the word "neutrality." Here is a flat contradiction which Mr. Masterman cannot very well ignore.

Such incidents only serve to indicate that the Balkan struggle carries a distinct religious appeal to Christian Europe. And though there are large-hearted and wise Christians who would appraise the fulminations of King Ferdinand and his Allies and the fanatical appeals of the clergy at their true value, a Mussalman can mistake neither the motives of the struggle nor the character that it has been made to bear. Can he honestly be expected to believe that the combination against the Turks is based on a disinterested love of reform and liberty? He has been accused of fanaticism and taunted on account of his supposed weakness for "Jehad" ever since modern civilisation has been flaunting its garish wares before him. Will he now be asked to admire the ethics, the purpose and the message of that civilisation when its votaries have launched a live crusade against his brethren whose only sin is that they happen to be Mussalmans? Is it thus that the end of freedom and good government in the world would be achieved? The word "Jehad" was supposed to possess immense imaginary perils, but the cry of "Christendom" and "civilisation" is becoming a much greater and much more real peril to the freedom and independence of Moslem lands. The official who stopped a speaker at a recent Lucknow meeting because he desired to explain the futility of "Jehad" and cried halt to another who was appealing with more than necessary emotion for funds to

relieve the sufferings of the Turks had taken fright at an old bogey that can have no terrors in India. The terrors of the war-cries raised in the Balkans have, however, become very real for the whole Islamic world. The dark shadow of this new menace looms ominously across the future of Islam. Everywhere the Moslem is beginning to feel as if he stands at the parting of the ways. He is passing through a grave mental and moral crisis. While we trust he will recover his faith and optimism in his own future and the moral tendency of human things, we fervently hope the cynicism, the intolerance and the hypocrisy of modern times will teach him self-reliance without embittering his feelings or obsessing his mind. As regards the vainglorious boast of King Ferdinand, his Allies and his Christian admirers that they would deliver Europe from Islam, we would only quote the remarks of the *Times of India*:—

We fancy that Christian missionaries in Mahomedan countries will not find their task made any easier by this preaching of the gospel of the sword, and the fanatics of Europe will do well to remember, what Mr. Fazlulhoy Carrimhoy pointed out on Sunday, that "while Serbian regicides and Montenegrin bandits thus join forces with allies for whom they have little love, to enforce the Christian gospel of peace at the point of the sword, it is Ottoman troops who day and night keep guard in Jerusalem to prevent the warring sects that profess and call themselves Christians from cutting each other's throats."

Verse.

To the Turks.

Not since the day when from Arabia's plain
The heaven-directed tide of Conquest roll'd,
And many a throned monarch, proud and bold,
Did bend the neck—or wore the captive's chain,
From Persia's Magian shrines to Gothic Spain,
From Memphian deserts to Byzantium old,
Beneath the Crescent-banner's glitt'ring fold,
Hath Faith's undaunted heart e'er leaped in vain!
Lo! there it waves in the bright eye of Heaven
To nerve your arms, to bid your hearts ne'er quail,
Though crowding dangers threaten, near and far.
Up, up, ye brave, unto whose hands 'twas given!
The Past looks on,—let not its glory pale!
The eye of God shines through the clouds of War!

NIZAMAT JANG.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

Sahibzada Sahebs of the Dargah Sharif of Hazrat			
Khawaja Muin-ud-din Chishti, Sultan-ul-Hind,			
Gharib Nawaz, Ajmer	...	2,000	0 0
Through Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak Sahib, Nagpur	...	1,750	0 0
Nazir-ud-Huq, Esq., Delhi	...	12	0 0
Fida-ul-Ia, Esq., Delhi	...	10	0 0
Through Siraj-ud-din, Esq., Aligarh—			
Collections from Gunguon and Rewari	...	433	9 0
Through S. M. Ishaq, Esq., Patna	...	120	0 0
Through Munvi Mohamed Omar Sahib, President,			
Anjuman Sunnat-wal-Jamaat, Benares	...	110	0 0
Through Sami-ul-Ia, Esq., Lakhimpur—			
Collections after Jum'a prayers	...	110	0 0
Through Abdul Majid, Esq., Chapra—			
Collections from Kazi Sahib's Mosque	...	75	0 0
Through Abul Ola, Partahgarh, (2nd instalment)—			
A Mussalman Benefactor	...	100	0 0
M. Makhdum Hasan, Esq.	...	25	0 0
Sa'ad-ud-din Hyder, Esq.	...	50	0 0
Messrs. Raza Ali and Mohi-Tar Khan, rupees			
fifteen each	...	30	0 0
M. Ghayas-ud-din, Esq.	...	10	0 0
Messrs. Wahid Ali, Ghulam Abbas and Zafrud-din,			
rupees five each	...	15	0 0
Minor subscriptions	...	10	0 0
Through Ghulam Hyder, Esq., Mehar—			
Mrs. Rasul Baksh of Jacobabad, Sindh	...	60	4 0
Ali Ahmad, Esq., Patna	...	50	0 0
Through Fazle Ilahi, Esq., Mianwali—			
Messrs. Sikandar Khan, Mahbub Ilahi and Zahur-			
ud-din, rupees ten each	...	30	0 0
Messrs. Sultan Mohamed and Zahur-ud-din,			
rupees five each	...	10	0 0
Minor subscriptions	...	10	0 0
Through Nazar Ahmad, Esq., Benares	...	50	0 0
Through M. A. Wadood, Esq., Allahabad—			
Abdur Rahman, Adhami, Esq.	...	5	0 0
Messrs. Mohamed Ayub, Resat Ali Khan,			
Abdul Kayyum, Abdus Sattar, Ali Saman,			

Tahzib Hosain, Abdul Halim, Wali-ul-la, and Abdul Hakim, rupees two each			18	0	0
M. Manzur-ud-din, Esq.	...	...	8	0	0
Minor subscriptions	...	...	20	0	0
Through S. M. Naim Husain, Esq., Basti	...	...	43	7	0
Through Latafat Husain, Esq., Basti	...	...	40	9	0
Through Aziz-ul-Hasan, Esq., Jubbulpur :—					
Some Mussalmans of the station	...	...	30	0	0
Some Sympathisers from Ranchi	...	...	25	0	0
Through Abdul Aziz, Esq., Nawabganj, Bareilly, Self	...	...	10	0	0
Abdus Samad Khan, Esq.	...	...	10	0	0
Through Abdul Majid, Esq., Chapra	...	...	20	0	0
Aftab Ali Chaudhri, Esq., Dacca :—					
Collections from friends	...	...	15	0	0
Sadulla Khan, Esq., Khairagadh	...	...	15	0	0
Through Mrs. Nazirabbas, Aligarh :—					
Self	...	...	15	0	0
Mir Amjad Ali's children	...	...	9	0	0
Mirza Mashuq Ali's children	...	...	1	0	0
Through Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq., Sandila :—					
Some Mussalman sympathisers	...	...	17	5	0
Through Nizam-ud-din, Esq., Dera Ismail Khan :—					
M. Ghulam Mohamed, Esq.	...	...	7	0	0
M. Nizam-ud-din, Esq.	...	...	2	4	0
T. A. Alam, Esq., Netrakona	...	...	5	0	0
Syed Abdul Wajid, Esq., French Rocks	...	...	5	0	0
Through Sami-ud-din, Esq., Allahabad :—					
Self	...	...	2	0	0
Ehsan-ul-Huq, Esq.	...	...	1	0	0
Minor subscriptions	...	...	1	0	0
Shahab-ud-din, Esq., Masulipatani	...	...	3	0	0
Mohamed Wasi, Esq., Sagri	...	...	3	0	0
Mohamed Yaqub, Esq., Jhansi	...	...	2	0	0
A sympathiser, Agra	...	...	3	7	0
Chaudhri Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib, Sahawar, District Etah			337	0	0
Through Qazi Mohamed Yamin Sahib, (Rais Palwal, District Gurgaon			500	0	0
A Travancore Moslem	...	...	5	0	0
Jamil Musaji, Esq., Masa, Rangoon	...	...	1	0	0
Through Syed Altaf Husain Esq., Hyderabad Deccan, S. H. S. (1st instalment)			25	0	0
Through M. Altaf Hosain Esq., Etawah :—					
Amount collected by the students of Islamia High School, Etawah	...	...	250	0	0
Abdul Ghani, Esq., Pschlingaon	...	...	18	0	0
M. I. Keekceebhai, Esq., Rangoon	...	...	5	0	0
Abdul Qayyum Khan, Esq., Tank	...	...	19	0	0
Through K. B. H. M. Malak Sahib, Nagpur	...	...	100	0	0
Through Masleh-ud-din Ahmad, Esq., Lucknow	...	...	18	0	0
Through Mohamed Ismail, Esq., Gorakhpur :—					
Self	...	...	50	0	0
M. Zamir-ul-Huq, Esq.	...	...	90	0	0
Moulvi Ehsan-ul-la, Sahib	...	...	25	0	0
B. Aziz-ul-Haq, Sahib	...	...	63	3	3
Syed Wilayat Ali Esq., Sabzposh	...	...	70	0	0
Nawab M. Ali Nasir Khan Sahib	...	...	50	0	0
Hakim Barham and M. Abdul Ali Sahibs, rupees twenty each			40	0	0
Messrs. Niamat-ul-lah, Mohamed Karim, Wali-ul-la, Abdul Qayyum, Shah Nazir, Abul Ali Khan, and Hafiz Mohamed Ishaq, rupees ten each			70	0	0
M. Mohamed Sadiq, Esq.	...	...	23	0	0
Through M. Asad-ul-la, Esq.	...	...	23	0	0
M. Ishaq-ul-la Esq.	...	...	20	0	0
Through Abu Nasar, Esq.	...	...	7	13	0
Wife of M. M. Ata-ul-la Sahib	...	...	5	0	0
Messrs. Mohamed Khalil, M. Abdulla, and M. Farahat Ali, rupees five each			15	0	0
Through Khaja Sakawat Sahib	...	...	5	10	0
Collections in Juma Masjid	...	...	321	1	0
Mohamed Sulman, Esq.	...	...	4	0	0
Messrs. Abdul Kadir, Ali Akbar, and Mazhar Abbas, rupees two each			6	0	0
Petty collections	...	...	0	14	9
Through Mohi-ud-din Ahmad, Esq., Arrah :—					
Mussalmans of the town	...	...	100	0	0
Through Moulvi Hafiz Abdur Rahman Sahib, Teacher, Islamia School, Amroha			600	0	0
Through K. B. H. M. Malak Sahib, Nagpur	...	...	140	0	0
Through Captain Mohamed Khan Sahib, 4th Infantry Regiment, Hyderabad Deccan			192	0	0
M. L. M. Bellur, Via Hasan	...	...	100	0	0
Through Latafat Hosain, Esq., Treasurer, Red Crescent Society, Barh, Dist. Patna			137	12	0
Through A. R. Adhami, Esq., Allahabad :—					
Messrs. Shah Sami-ul-la, A Sympathiser and Mohsin Ali, rupees five each			15	0	0
Messrs. Amir-ul-Hasan, S. M. Mansur, Chaudhri Ram Dhan Lal, Mohamed Husain, Mohamed Khalil, Murtaza Beg, Rafiq Ahmed Khan, Masud Alam, Hayat-ul-lah, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Masud Hasan, and Manzur Husain, rupees two each			24	0	0
Minor subscriptions from 36 subscribers	...	...	33	0	0
Through Amir Khan, Esq., Balrampur :—					
Messrs. Wajid Husain, Waris Ali, and self, rupees ten each	...	...	30	0	0
Messrs. Salamat-ul-la, Mohammad Ibrahim, Inayat Mohammad Khan, Gulam Kibraya and Syed Mohammad Askari, rupees two each			12	0	0
Wife of Amir Khan Sahib	...	...	2	0	0
Minor subscriptions	...	...	3	8	0
Mohamaden Boarders of Government High School, Sitapur			25	0	0
Rashid Ali, Esq., Abbasi, Lucknow	...	...	25	0	0
Mirza Altaf Husain Sahib Hyderabad Deccan	...	...	25	0	0
Through the wife of Syed Burhan Haidar Sahib, Barabanki :—					
Self	...	...	13	8	0
Osman Haidar, Esq.	...	...	1	4	0
Zuhaida Khatoon Sahiba	...	...	1	0	0
Sultan Haidar, Esq.	...	...	2	0	0
A maid servant	...	...	0	4	0
Abdul Jabbar, Esq., Ajmer	...	...	25	0	0
A sympathiser, Ranchi	...	...	15	0	0
Through a sympathiser, Ranchi	...	...	5	0	0
Through Riyat Husain, Esq., Dharampur	...	...	15	5	0
Through Ahmad Ilyas Ahani, Esq., Hardoi :—					
Mrs. and Miss Ibrahim of Bhadoi	...	...	13	0	0
Muaz Khan, Esq., Fulbaria	...	...	10	9	0
Messrs. Abul Alam and Brothers, Ellore	...	...	10	0	0
Syed Moimul Inam, Esq., Bankipore	...	...	5	0	0
S. Ajmal Z. M. Ahmad Khan, Esq., Allahabad	...	...	5	0	0
A sympathiser, Agra	...	...	2	0	0
Sharif-ud-din Kunki, Esq., Baroda	...	...	5	0	0
Through Mir Akram Ali Esq., Rajahmundry	...	...	5	0	0
Mother of Reaz-ud-din Sahib, Badaun	...	...	3	0	0
Through Abul Ola, Esq., Partabgarh :—					
(3rd instalment)					
Mussalmans of Partabgarh town	...	...	40	8	0
Mussalmans of Katra	...	...	29	8	0
Punchayat Mukerian, Partabgarh	...	...	50	0	0
M. Murtaza, Esq.	...	...	17	0	0
Mir Irshad Ali Sahib	...	...	10	0	0
Abdulla Khan, Esq.	...	...	15	0	0
Syed Hasan, Esq.	...	...	10	0	0
Messrs. S. H. Askari, Wilayat Husain, Habib-ul-la, Rafi-ud-din, Syed Ahmad, and Muntaz Husain rupees five each			30	0	0
Messrs. Sheikh Ali Asghar and Mohamed Asghar rupees fifteen each			30	0	0
Minor subscriptions	...	...	28	0	0
Through Mohamed Omar Khan Sahib Basti :—					
Self	...	...	50	0	0
Moulvi Saifulla Khan Sahib	...	...	100	0	0
Messrs. Atta-ul-la, Abdussami, Hakim Shakur Baksh, Murtaza Husain, and Mazhar Husain, rupees ten each			50	0	0
Messrs. Mohamed Ibrahim Khan, Abdul Hakim, Hafiz Musa, Ali Baksh, Mirza Tahir Beg, Sheikh Sultan, Abdul, Syed Ahmad and Mohamed Siddiq, rupees five each			45	0	0
Messrs. Abdul Ghafur, Mahbub Ali and Safdar Hasan, rupees three each			9	0	0
Sheikh Haidar Ali, Esq.	...	...	4	0	0
Messrs. Faiz Buksh, Fida Hasan and Mohamed Shafi, rupees two each			6	0	0
Messrs. Husaini and Sami-ul-haq, rupee one each			2	0	0
Minor subscriptions	...	...	79	0	0
Yunus Khan Sahib, Rais Dataoli, Dist. Aligarh	...	...	500	0	0
A sympathiser, Domariaganj	...	...	10	0	0
Through Nawab Khadev Jang Bahadur, Hyderabad Deccan (1st instalment)...					
Some ladies of Hyderabad, names not yet received	...	...	1,196	2	10
M. Rahim Baksh, Esq. Deraghazi Khan	...	...	5	0	0
Amount received during the week			11,497	1	10
Amount previously acknowledged			81,851	0	8
Total			43,348	2	1

The War Supplement.

The War in Tripoli. The Treaty of Peace.

THE following are the operative articles of the Treaty of Peace signed by the Turkish and Italian Plenipotentiaries at Onchi on the 18th October:—

Article I.—The two Governments undertake, immediately after the signature of the present Treaty, to take the necessary steps for the immediate and simultaneous cessation of hostilities. Special Commissioners will be sent to the scenes of hostilities to ensure the execution of the above-mentioned steps.

Article II.—The two Governments undertake, immediately after the signature of the Treaty, to send orders recalling their officers and troops, and also their civil functionaries, respectively, the Ottoman Government from Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and the Italian Government from the islands occupied in the Aegean Sea. The effective evacuation of the above-mentioned islands by the Italian officers, troops, and civil functionaries will take place immediately after the evacuation of Tripoli and Cyrenaica by the Ottoman officers, troops, and civil functionaries.

Article III.—Prisoners of war and hostages will be exchanged with as little delay as possible.

Article IV.—The two Governments undertake to grant full and complete amnesty, the Royal Government to the inhabitants of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and the Imperial Government to the inhabitants of the islands in the Aegean Sea, subject to Ottoman sovereignty, who may have taken part in the hostilities or may have compromised themselves in that connexion, without committing crimes against the civil law. In consequence, no individual of any class or condition shall be proceeded against or troubled in his person or property, or in the exercise of his rights on account of political or military acts, even of opinions expressed during the hostilities. Persons detained or deported for such cause shall at once be set free.

Article V.—All treaties, conventions, and undertakings of all kinds, sorts, or nature concluded or in force between the two high contracting parties, previously to the declaration of war, shall at once come into force again, and the two Governments shall be placed in regard to each other, as shall their respective subjects, in the identical position in which they were before the outbreak of hostilities.

Article VI.—Italy undertakes to conclude with Turkey, at the same time as she renews her commercial treaties with other Powers, a commercial treaty "based on European public law"—that is to say, she consents to leave Turkey all her economic independence, and the right to act in commercial matters and matters of Customs in the same way as all European Powers without being bound by the Capitulations and other Acts now in force. It is clearly understood that the said Commercial Treaty shall not come into force except in so far as commercial treaties concluded by the Porte with other Powers, on a similar basis, shall be in force. Further, Italy consents to the increase from 11 per cent. to 15 per cent. of the *ad valorem* Customs duty in Turkey, as well as to the creation of new monopolies, of the levying of consumption surtaxes on the five following articles:—Petroleum, cigarette paper, matches, alcohol, and playing cards. All this is on condition that the same treatment be applied simultaneously and without distinction to the imports from other countries. In so far as there is a question of the importation of articles which are the object of monopolies, the administration of such monopolies is bound to procure goods of Italian origin, according to a percentage based on the annual importation of these goods, provided that the price offered for the supply of such monopoly goods shall be in conformity with the state of the market at the moment of purchase, taking into consideration the qualities of the goods to be supplied and the average price ruling during the three years preceding that in which war was declared for similar qualities. It is further understood that, should Turkey, instead of establishing new monopolies on the five articles mentioned above, decide to levy consumption surtaxes on them, such surtaxes shall be imposed in the same degree on the similar products of Turkey and all other nations.

Article VII.—The Italian Government undertakes to suppress the Italian post-offices operating in the Ottoman Empire at the same time as the other States having post-offices in Turkey shall suppress theirs.

Article VIII.—As the Porte proposes to open negotiations, at a European Conference or otherwise, with the Great Powers interested for the cessation of the capitulatory régime in Turkey, and the substitution for it of the régime of international law, Italy recognizing the good grounds for these intentions of the Porte, declares its willingness henceforth to give the Porte its full and sincere support to this end.

Article IX.—The Ottoman Government, being desirous of testifying its satisfaction with the good and loyal services rendered to it by Italian subjects employed in different branches of the Administration whom it was forced to dismiss on the outbreak of hostilities, declares its readiness to reinstate them in the situations which they gave up. Half pay will be given to them for the months that they were unemployed, and this interruption in their service will in no way prejudice employes having the right to a retiring pension. Further, the Ottoman Government undertakes to use its good offices with the institutions with which it has relations (the Public Debt, Railway Companies, Banks, etc.) to obtain the same treatment for Italian subjects who were in their service and found themselves in a similar position.

Article X.—The Italian Government undertakes to pay annually to the Caisse of the Public Debt, on account of the Imperial Government, a sum corresponding to the average of the sums which, in each of the three years preceding that of the declaration of war, had been assigned to the service of the Public Debt out of the receipts of the two provinces. The amount of the said annuity shall be determined in agreement by two Commissioners appointed one by the Royal Government and the other by the Imperial Government. In case of disagreement the decision shall be referred to an arbitral Court composed of the said Commissioners and an arbitrator appointed by agreement between the two parties. Should no agreement be reached on this point each party shall designate a different Power, and the choice of arbitrator shall be made jointly by the Powers thus selected. The Royal Government and the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, by the intermediary of the Imperial Government, shall have the right to demand the institution for the above-mentioned annuity of a corresponding sum capitalized at the rate of 4 per cent.

As regards the foregoing paragraph, the Royal Government declares that it recognizes at once that the annuity cannot be less than the sum of 2,000,000 Italian lire, and is ready to pay to the Administration of the Public Debt the corresponding capitalized sum directly a demand is made for it.

Article XI.—The present treaty shall enter into force on the day of its signature.

THE SULTAN AND TRIPOLI.

The text of the *firman*, addressed by the Sultan of Turkey to the inhabitants of Tripoli and Cyrenaica, is as follows:—

Since my Government desires on the one hand to aid you effectively in the necessary defence of your country, but realizes the impossibility of so doing, and since, on the other hand, it regards your present and future prosperity, it wishes to terminate a war ruinous to you and to your families and disastrous to the State. Hoping to restore peace and prosperity to your country, We, basing Our action on Our sovereign right, hereby grant you full autonomy. Your country will be governed by new laws and special regulations. You shall enlighten and guide your compatriots to the end that the said laws shall be in conformity with your manners and customs.

Shems-ed-Din Bey, a high dignitary of the Empire, a former Minister of Evkaf, who has been decorated with the Orders of Medjidieh and Osmanieh, has been appointed by Us with the title of Naib-es-Sultan. To him We confide the Ottoman interests of your country. To him We delegate full powers for a period of five years. On the expiry of the period, his mission may be renewed by Us or a successor may be appointed.

Our Imperial desire being the application of the prescriptions of the *shariat*, We shall select and appoint a Cadi for that purpose.

The said Cadi will appoint Naibs chosen from the local Ulemas in accordance with the *shariat*.

The emoluments of the Cadi will be paid by Us; those of the Naib-es-Sultan and all the functionaries of the *shariat* from the revenues of your country.

THE AEGEAN ISLANDS.

The Iradé, signed by the Sultan regarding the inhabitants of the Aegean Islands, runs as follows:—

Administrative and judicial reforms will be introduced in order to assure to the inhabitants of the Aegean Islands placed under the sovereignty of Turkey an equal distribution of justice and well-being without distinction of cult or creed. Officials and judges will be appointed from among persons who are well-known to be expert in the local language, and of indubitable capacity. A complete and full amnesty is granted to the inhabitants of the said islands who have taken part in hostilities and who may have compromised themselves in the course thereof, crimes against common law being excepted. Consequently, no individual of any class or condition whatsoever will be liable to prosecution or persecution in regard to his person or property, or in the exercise of his rights on account of his political or military acts, or even of any opinions he may have expressed during the progress of hostilities, and persons under arrest, or deported for these causes, will be immediately set at liberty.

This decree is practically identical with the corresponding decree issued by the Italian Government regarding the native inhabitants of Tripoli and Cyrenideia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Ouchy, Oct. 18.

The Treaty of Peace was signed by the Turkish and Italian Plenipotentiaries to-day. The representatives of the two Powers then separated after cordial expressions of mutual regard. They thus ended two months of hard and anxious work. The representatives of Turkey left this evening for Constantinople and the Italians will leave to-morrow for Rome.

The two parties of signatories were conducted to the meeting place by a representative of the Swiss Federal Council.

The Press so far accepts the terms of the Turco-Italian Treaty of peace with comparative equanimity, even the *Jeune Turc* pointing out that what would have been a disaster for the Government in other circumstances may be regarded as a distinct success at the present moment when continuation of the war with Italy would have exposed Turkey to most serious risks. As for the general public, any regret it may feel at losing the African provinces is drowned by its enthusiasm at the prospect of a struggle in which the real strength of the Turkish army will be displayed. As for Arab feeling, the attitude of Arab notables here certainly gives the impression that the Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, while deploring the loss of the provinces, realize that the Ottoman Empire could not afford to enter the Balkan conflict with an enemy the more.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENTS.)

Berlin, Oct. 23.

According to South German newspapers the text of the Peace Treaty of Lausanne, as communicated to the Swiss Press, contains a sentence which has not appeared in the versions published elsewhere, and which refers to four appendices (*Zusätze*) as constituting an integral part of the Treaty. It is, of course, suggested that the "appendices" here referred to are secret clauses of the Treaty and, further, that they concern eventualities in the Balkans.

It is semi-officially stated that the Marquis di San Giuliano will shortly return the visit which the German Foreign Secretary, Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter, paid last January to Rome.

Rome, Oct. 23.

Telegrams from Tripoli report that the Italian and Turkish commanders have already been able to confer about the means of carrying out the provisions of peace at Homs, Zuara, and Misurata, and will shortly do so at Tripoli.

The War in the Balkans.

News of the Week.

London, Nov. 8.

The *Daily Mail* publishes the following telegram from its Correspondent at Bucharest:—"Have just arrived here from Sofia. I believe that Adrianople surrendered last Tuesday, but that the Bulgarians are concealing the fact fearing intervention of the Powers before Con-

stantinople is taken." A telegram to the *Times* from Sofia, dated the 7th instant, 11-20 p. m., says it is reported that the Bulgarians have occupied the Tchataldja lines. The surrender of Adrianople and the occupation of Tchataldja are not confirmed from any quarter and are not credited.

A message from Constantinople says that Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commander, informed the Government yesterday that the army had determined to fight to the last and had adopted the motto "Death or Victory." The Cabinet thereupon met and the principal officers, who remained in the capital, attended. The latter handed to the Grand Vizier a signed declaration in favour of continuing the war. Subsequently Talat Bey and Prince Said Halim waited on the Grand Vizier, promising the Union Committee's support if the war was vigorously prosecuted. The Government is consequently in a difficult position. A disease resembling cholera has broken out in Constantinople among the wounded arriving there.

The battle on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday is described as the Bulgarian Mukden. The central point was the strong entrenched position taken up by the Turks on both sides of Cherkess Keyu to cover the retreat to Tchataldja. The Turks under Nazim Pasha fought with supreme tenacity and even made a desperate, though disastrous, advance against Uzunhaji in an endeavour to break the Bulgarian centre. A simultaneous assault against the Turkish right and centre, however, proved decisive, and the whole of the divisions attacking Uzunhaji were completely annihilated. The retreat of the Turkish army became a rout under pressure of the pursuit. Rain and snow in Turkey are at present important factors rendering the roads impassable and delaying military movements. Lieutenant Wegener, Correspondent of the Vienna *Reichspost*, telegraphs that the Bulgarian attack on Tchataldja lines is progressing most successfully. The Turks have already been driven back on the principal points.

Typhus has broken out at Adrianople.

The Turkish reports of the recent successes of the Western Army are somewhat confirmed by the Serbian admission that their losses in the two days' battle preceding the surrender of Philip were heavier than those of the Turks, while it is stated in Athens that "though no official report is published in connection with the Division which was compelled to entrench itself at Banitza, no uneasiness is felt as to its fate, because it is believed that the Crown Prince has despatched strong reinforcements to its aid."

A message from Athens says the Greeks have crossed the Vardar River and are now before Salonien. Fifteen thousand Turks are prepared to offer resistance, but it is not believed that the opposition will be serious. The Greeks will probably enter the town to-day.

The Greeks have occupied Salonien.

A message from Cetinje says the Montenegrin troops, south of Sentari, have been compelled to retire owing to floods and lack of provisions. They, however, repulsed the attack of the Turks from Sentari and retired in good order.

Five Ambassadors met the Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister yesterday with reference to the measures that should be taken for public safety. They also discussed the question of mediation. The Turkish Government has decided to send the refugees to Asia Minor. The European Press during the lull in the fighting is giving attention to the question of the partition of the conquests. A detailed plan is published parcelling European Turkey among the allies on ethnological lines. The future of Albania promises to be a thorny point. The Serbian Premier, in an interview, said that the existence of Serbia depended upon her obtaining access to the sea. She wanted the ports of San Giovanni Di Medua, Alessio and Durazzo. On the contrary it is asserted in Berlin that a secret Austro-Italian Agreement guarantees the integrity and independence of Albania, Germany fully supporting them. The Serbian desire for a harbour, it is maintained, can be satisfied on the Aegean. The Albanian Pretender, Prince Gesika, has arrived at Athens. His requests for employment at headquarters and an interview with M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, were ignored. The difficulties of the future settlement are beginning to assert themselves. Serbia is taking a strong tone and is repudiating Austria's right to dispute her claim to regain ancient Serbian ports on the Adriatic. At a conference held at Bucharest yesterday the Roumanian Premier and Russian and Austrian Ministers discussed Roumania's eventual claims to territorial compensation for her neutrality. Reuter learns that the Powers are all agreed that the least said the better of the differences between Austria and Serbia while angry, excited feelings prevail. They trust that time and reflection will enable a conclave of the Powers to deal with the difficult questions. A suggestion has been thrown out to make Salonica an international port whereby Serbia would gain access to the sea.

The British Red Crescent Society, in response to a suggestion from the British Minister in Sofia, is sending a special mission there for Turkish sick and wounded. The Aga Khan is contributing £500 sterling for this project. The Society is also despatching another hospital to Constantinople. Further funds are urgently needed.

The Turkish Consul, Madras, has received the following telegram:—Stambul, 6th November.—Serowitch has been re-captured from the Greeks who have retreated leaving behind a great number of rifles and ammunition at Prelip. A squadron of horse and mitrailleuse battery have been destroyed and the enemy routed.

London, Nov. 9.

A Sofia wire says it is unofficially reported that the Bulgarians have reached Derkos at the northern end of Tchataldja lines.

It is stated at Bukharest that Turkey has requested Roumania to intervene with the Allies.

A Constantinople wire says that the Sheikh-ul-Islam has appealed to the Ulemas to join the army and preach a holy war, citing as an example priests with the Cross in their hands in the ranks of the Allies.

The Commanders of the foreign warships met on the French cruiser yesterday to concert measures in the event of the protection of nationals being necessary.

An Athens wire states that the King has left for Salonica. The fall of Salonica was received in Athens with wild enthusiasm. The *Te Deum* was sung, bells were rung and the city was illuminated. An official telegram is published in Constantinople, dated the 8th instant, reporting a skirmish at Ordu. The message adds that the Turkish headquarters at Hademkui and Churkess Keny are in constant wireless communication with Adrianople, Cetinje and Belgrade report a heavy fall of snow in Montenegro and Macedonia.

A Vienna wire says the Austrian Minister at Belgrade, who was recently summoned to Vienna, is returning to his post with fresh instructions. It is understood that he will emphasize Austria's desire for good relations if Serbia offers guarantees that she will return to the policy she pursued when Count Andrassy was Premier. It is asserted in the Press that the German and Italian Ministers in Belgrade have been instructed to declare that the Triple Alliance will regard the appearance of Serbia on the Adriatic as contrary to the interests of the three Powers. The newspapers in Belgrade, however, are unanimous in insisting upon the vital necessity to Serbia to have her own seaport, and guarantees to that effect must be given before peace negotiations are begun. There is a growing feeling in Constantinople that the Triple Entente is siding with the Allies and the Triple Alliance with Turkey. Concern is expressed as to the upshot.

An Athens wire, despatched at 1-30 this morning, says the Government announces that it has not yet received official confirmation of the fall of Salonica, but the news is not doubted by the inhabitants of Athens, who continued their rejoicings till a late hour last night after the *Te Deum* had been celebrated in the cathedral and a procession, headed by municipal authorities, had marched to the residence of M. Venizelos Premier, and presented him with an address of congratulation. A message to the *Daily Chronicle* from Constantinople states that there was massacre of non-Moslems before the Greeks entered Salonica. The Greeks imprisoned the officials and officers. Altogether they took 27,000 prisoners. The Greek fleet is transporting troops to the left bank of the Maritza, with a view to attacking the Dardanelles. They intend entering Constantinople with the Bulgarians.

A message from Reuter's Correspondent in Constantinople, received by an indirect route, says that though the public is apparently unable to realise the completeness of the Turkish defeat, and is therefore eager for the war to continue, well-informed persons are of opinion that nothing can prevent the Bulgarians from entering Constantinople. Three battleships have gone to the Black Sea to co-operate in the defence of Tchataldja.

Tales of panic, pillage and massacre by troops are coming in. It is rumoured that the town of Silivri, on the coast of Marmora, was burned after the Greek inhabitants had been massacred. These rumours have increased the panicky feeling in the capital, but there is no basis for the sensational tales telegraphed abroad. There will soon be twelve foreign cruisers there, while the Government is taking most comprehensive measures to prevent disorder. Should an outbreak appear certain, the districts will be immediately closed and cordons drawn round all cross-roads. There are ten thousand wounded in hospitals here, most of them are only slightly wounded. This indicates that the badly wounded have little chance of being picked up. All are on the verge of collapse. Many of them have for days been without food and without water. The number of refugees is incalculable. They

are crowding in daily. They express no wish to return to their villages, but say: "Europe is not for us. The Government will give us lands in Asia Minor, where we shall live in peace." The processions of carts, containing families with their effects, are most impressive. It is like the beginning of the migration of the Turks from Europe.

The fall of Salonica is confirmed from Constantinople.

Although the Bulgarians insist that they must enter Constantinople, or else their victory will fail to impress the Mahomedan world, the *Times* urgently advises them against even a temporary occupation. A few months' rule in Constantinople, that journal says, will demoralise the simplicity of mind and life which to-day is a valuable asset for the Bulgarians. Moreover, the seizure of the city will probably cause a great revulsion of feeling in Russia against Bulgaria. Turkey, the *Times* concludes, must remain at Constantinople and take charge of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles, because it is expedient for all nations that she should do so.

Several Servian columns are marching towards Durazzo. A Belgrade wire says that the Servian casualties at Philip were 2,500. The Turks lost six thousand.

A Malta wire states that the battleships *Hybernia*, *Britain*, *Commonwealth* and *Dominion* and the cruisers *Black Prince* and *Cumberland* have been ordered to proceed immediately to the East. Only destroyers will remain at Malta.

A Sofia message states that the Bulgarians have captured two important forts outside Adrianople. The Queen is visiting the wounded at Mustafa Pasha.

An Athens wire states that the Crown Prince has telegraphed to the King that the terms of surrender of Salonica have been signed and that 25,000 surrendered.

A Gibraltar message states that the cruiser *Shannon*, which is being repaired, has been ordered to be in readiness to sail in forty-eight hours.

His Highness the Aga Khan has made a statement that he emphatically opposes the diversion of any part of the Moslem University Funds to the Red Crescent. His advice to Moslems was to concentrate their efforts at present on the relief funds for the sick and wounded Ottomans. He had been completely misapprehended. Nothing is further from the truth than that the Aga Khan wishes the University funds to be transferred to non-educational purposes.

A Constantinople wire states that the Vali of Adrianople reports that after a violent battle, which ended yesterday after lasting thirty-six hours, the Turks gained a victory which may be regarded as one of the most brilliant feats in Ottoman history. He states that the Bulgarians retreated in disorder before the bayonet charges of the Turks, who captured quantities of rifles and ammunition.

It is reported at Sofia that the Bulgarians have captured Korrada and that the Turks, who were unable to escape, surrendered. They also captured Gumarjina, on the Salonica-Constantinople Railway.

London, Nov. 10

A Warsaw wire says that all privates whose time expires in November have been ordered to remain with the colours until March. The leave of officers has been suspended and mobilisation in the Warsaw district is expected.

A Belgrade wire states that Servian troops entered Salonica with the Greeks. An Athens wire says that the Crown Prince, describing the capitulation of Salonica, does not mention any massacre of non-Moslems. The report appears to be unfounded.

A Rieka wire states that the Montenegrins, in spite of a heavy storm, have transported siege guns to the Eastern shore of Lake Skutari and have completed preparations for a fresh storming of the town. Moslem refugees have swelled the population of the town to seventy thousand. The people are in dire straits.

A Belgrade wire states that typhoid is raging among sixty thousand prisoners in the Capital and in the interior. M. Pasich, the Servian Premier, in an interview with Reuter's representative, said that Serbia must have an outlet on the Adriatic, and for this reason she had shed her blood, rather than for territorial extension. She had been offered an outlet on the Aegean, but this would only offend her Allies, if accepted.

An Athens wire states that there are now 29,000 prisoners in Greece, besides 2,000 sent by the Montenegrins. The Greek Minister, M. Rastivan, has been appointed Governor of Salonica and has proceeded there with a numerous staff.

Lieutenant Wegener telegraphs that the two forts captured outside Adrianople are Kartaltepe and Papaztepe, lying to the north-west and south-east of Adrianople. They were captured on Thursday night. Both forts now dominate Adrianople, the capitulation of which is expected hourly.

The Ministry of the Interior has issued a proclamation pointing out that the war has not yet yielded any satisfactory result. The presence of the enemy at Tchataldja, the gate of Constantinople, where the possibility of failure must be faced, is a cause of anxiety for the safety and tranquillity of the Capital. Government has neglected no measures to preserve order, and exhorts the inhabitants to remain calm. It warns disseminators of false reports, which cause the Powers to send warships, that they will be severely punished.

The *Statesman* published the following special cablegrams, dated London, November 9:—The Bulgarians having captured the northernmost forts, broke through the Tchataldja lines in three places and stormed the heights commanding Tchataldja town which capitulated after a heavy bombardment and a fierce resistance. The Turks died fighting to the last. The Bulgarians are now twenty miles from the Capital whither thousands of refugees are flying. The fighting at Tchataldja was the most desperate since the outbreak of the war. The international situation is extremely acute in view of the possibility of a Russo-Austria conflict. The Triple Alliance insist on the independence of Albania. Italy will agree to Salonica becoming Austrian if, in return, her own proposal to place the Duke of the Abruzzi on the Albanian Throne is agreed to. Russia is naturally hostile to these proposals, hence the fear of an international crisis.

The Guildhall banquet took place to-night, and was the usual brilliant function, among the gathering being the Cabinet Ministers, Members of the Lords and Commons and distinguished representatives of the Army, Navy, Church and the City. Mr. Asquith made an important pronouncement on foreign affairs. Responding to the toast of the Ministers, the Prime Minister said:—

"We are living in anxious times, and are spectators of great and moving events. The Balkan armies are in effective possession of Macedonia and Thrace. Salonica, the gateway through which Christianity first entered Europe, is occupied by the Greeks, and we may at any moment hear of the fall of Constantinople itself. It is a satisfaction to be able to assure you that, so far as this country is concerned, its relations with the other Powers, without a single exception, were never more friendly and cordial. The Great Powers are working together with a closeness of touch and frankness and freedom of communication and discussion which are remarkable, and which may seem almost unintelligible to those who believe that because, for certain purposes, the Powers have been and are ranged in different groups, they must therefore in time of European crisis be arrayed in opposite camps. Nothing is further from the fact. The Powers have been blamed in some quarters because they did not succeed in averting the war. They sought, and sought honestly and earnestly by diplomatic pressure and without resort to force, to secure a condition of order and good government in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, but forces were at work which were beyond the control of any diplomatic manipulation. The Balkan States having matured their plans, perfected their equipment, co-ordinated their reciprocal action and decided that force was the only effectual remedy and that they, and they alone, were prepared to use it. They took the matter into their own hands. Things can never be again as they were, and it is the business of statesmen everywhere to recognise and accept the accomplished fact. When Pitt, mortally stricken by the news of Austerlitz, came home to die, he told those about him to roll up the map of Europe which hung on the walls. But even the campaign of Austerlitz did not produce changes so sudden and so startlingly, overwhelmingly complete as those which during the last month have been wrought by the Balkan Confederacy. The map of Eastern Europe has to be recast, and in the process it may be that ideas and preconceptions of policies, which were born in what is now a bygone era, will have to be modified and reconstructed, or even go altogether by the board. Upon one thing I believe the general opinion of Europe to be unanimous, that the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear. (Loud cheers). In so far as I know, there is no disposition anywhere to belittle the magnitude of the struggle or dispute the decisiveness of the result. This country may have no direct interest in the exact form which consequent political and territorial redistribution may ultimately take, but there are other Powers whose special relations, geographical, economical, ethnical and historical with the scene of the conflict and its destination, are such that they cannot be expected not to claim a hearing and voice when the time comes for a permanent settlement. I purposely refrain at this stage from even indicating the points, some of them full of difficulty, which must inevitably emerge for solution,

and so long as the state of belligerency continues the Government will, so far as their influence goes, deprecate the raising of isolated questions which, if handled separately and at once, may seem likely to lead to irreconcilable divergencies, but which may assume a different and perhaps more practicable aspect, if they are reserved to be dealt with from the wider point of view of a general settlement. War is terrible, though it may from time to time be a necessary form of arbitration when deadlock arrives in human affairs, and none of its worst horrors has been absent from the campaign which is now being waged. It is at this moment the first and greatest of European interest to circumscribe its scope. For that object the Great Powers have laboured as with one will. So far they have laboured successfully, and it is our hope and belief that they will continue to labour to that end. At such a time as this the burden of responsibility which falls on the shoulders of the Government, onerous as it always is, is exceptionally heavy, and it is a source of sincere gratification to them to know that, however much we may be divided among ourselves in the arena of domestic controversy, we have in these larger matters the sympathy and support of the whole community and can speak in the Council of Europe in the name and with the authority of a united people." (Loud and general cheers.)

London, Nov. 11.

The *Daily Telegraph's* Correspondent sends a graphic description of the flight after the battle at Luleburgaz. He left Tchorn on the 2nd November, and the whole of the 30 miles to Cherkess Keny, where he spent the night, was a long line of starving stragglers and wounded, tramping doggedly along. There was no vestige of order. Cherkess Keny was a pandemonium. There was no army, only a mob of soldiers and refugees, crowds of whom were fighting to reach the four trains waiting to start. These were already packed to suffocation with women and children, household goods being piled anyhow in cattle-trucks. The wounded were thrown into the carriages pell-mell. Two saloons were occupied by Nazim Pasha and his staff and the foreign Attachés. Cherkess Keny was burned at night, indicating that no stand would be made there. The whole of the next day he saw the same weary, spiritless tramp of remnants of the army to the rear, except that most of the sick and wounded had now dropped out and perished. Mingled with the rabble of the soldiery were thousands of bullock-waggons, in which country people were driving with all their goods to Stamboul. It was the migration of a whole people, the return of the Turk to Asia, that the train enwiled past. The last train to leave Cherkess Keny, whistling continually to clear a path through rabble, was festooned with humanity, women, children and soldiers clinging to the front of the engine, to the footboards and couplings and crowded on the roofs. Numbers of men on tramp endeavoured to gain a footing. Some were beaten off while some were successful. The whole line of retreat was marked by burning villages. The Correspondent reached Tchataldja on the 4th instant. There were no signs of a stand being made at the time, no camp and no army, but he learned that there were 4,000 troops in the front at Hadenkeui. Even these were half starved, though only 20 miles from the capital. The train reached Constantinople on the 5th. The whole hundred miles was an unbroken, endless chain of soldiers and refugees. Not a single regiment, not a single company of organised soldiers was seen. Only men without arms, food or morale, whose officers had utterly disappeared. Apparently they had not even troubled to blow up the railway behind them. The *Morning Post's* and *Daily News'* Correspondents followed the retreat along the road from Tchorn to Silivri and thence, by boat, to Constantinople. They describe similar scenes, vessels weighted with human cargo to the water's edge replacing the trains. They also describe the scene as the migration of the Turks and their final departure from Europe. It is remarkable that there is no news whatever of the Bulgarian advance or successes at Adrianople and Tchataldja except the most brief unofficial messages from Sofia and Lieutenant Wegener's despatches. The Military Correspondent of the *Times* argues from the various indications that the Bulgarian attack on Adrianople, from the 22nd October to the 8th November, proved abortive in spite of repeated onslaughts. He believes that the Turks are altogether in a good posture of defence and says it remains to be seen how far Lieutenant Wegener's despatches are overcoloured in the direction of optimism.

A message from Constantinople states that the Turkish fleet yesterday bombarded a Bulgarian battery near Rodosto.

A second warship of each of the Great Powers is arriving at Constantinople. The Porte has authorised in addition the passage through the Straits of Dutch, Spanish and Roumanian warships.

Constantinople reports that the Government is taking active measures to disarm all classes of the population including refugees. Cartloads of guns, pistols and knives are being daily conveyed to the Ministry for War for storage.

Unconfirmed reports are current in Belgrade that the Serbians have captured Dibra after severe fighting, and that Monastir also has surrendered. The third army is advancing on the Adriatic, but its progress is delayed by the appalling roads. The fall of Durazzo is expected in a day or two. Russian papers of all shades of opinion are denouncing Austria's attempt to deprive Serbia of the fruits of her sacrifices. Commenting on Austria's attitude the Servian Government organ *Mir* insists that the Powers should realise the changed conditions and cease treating the Balkan States as *protégés*, but says that any agreement, on the basis of perfect equality for the rights of both parties, will be welcome.

The President of the Bulgarian Sobranje has arrived at Budapest and has conferred with Count von Berchtold and the German Ambassador. The Emperor Francis Joseph received in audience to-day Dr. Danef, President of the Bulgarian Sobranje, who afterwards visited the Archduke Francis Ferdinand.

London, Nov. 12.

The Porte yesterday evening telegraphed to the Powers asking what progress had been made in the matter of obtaining terms with the Balkan States with a view to the cessation of hostilities, as hitherto the Porte had received no reply to its recent appeal to the Powers. It is stated in Paris that the representatives of the Powers in the Balkan Capitals have been instructed to make a concerted and simultaneous communication of Turkey's request for mediation, and to ask if the Allies are disposed to accept mediation, and on what terms.

A Constantinople wire states that the Bulgarians began the attack on the Turkish advanced position at Tchataldja on Sunday. The fighting, which was very fierce, continued yesterday. Many wounded are arriving in Constantinople, where the hospitals are already congested. Many are being sent to Broussa. It is reported that cholera has broken out among the Bulgarians.

The conferences at Budapest between the Emperor and Dr. Danef, President of the Bulgarian Sobranje, and Dr. Danef and the Archduke Francis Ferdinand have attracted much attention, especially the presence in Budapest of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who is shortly going to Germany as the guest of the Kaiser.

A belated despatch from Lieutenant Wegener, dated November 6th, reviewing the strategy since the beginning of the war, makes an interesting admission in connexion with the strength of the defence of Adrianople. He says that sanguinary fighting continued without interruption up to the end of October. The Turks fought most bravely and displayed much initiative. The Bulgarian siege guns were excellent, but were not sufficient; some of the Turkish positions, built of ferro-concrete, in modern style, were exceedingly strong. The Bulgarian onslaughts were carried out in a most reckless manner, and the losses sustained by the attackers were cruel. In one instance only two companies returned out of two battalions.

An Athens wire states that M. Venizelos, Greek Premier, has gone to Salonica. The Greek Crown Prince has asked a landing party from foreign war vessels to return to their ships. The Greeks, after prolonged fighting, have occupied the fortified pass of Pentagadia, which is the key to Janina.

There have been frequent demonstrations recently in favour of the Balkan States, in the southern and Slav portions of Austria-Hungary. The Servian National Anthem was sung at Agram, Croatia and cheers were raised for King Peter of Serbia as King of Croatia. In the Municipality of Spalato a torchlight procession was held in which the flags of the Balkan States were carried. A Sofia wire states: "The official organ *Mir* says that the insistence of Austria in preventing a natural solution of the Balkan question of which the granting of a port on the Adriatic to Serbia is a *sine qua non* may sow the seed of a future war which it will be impossible to localise."

A Malta wire states that the destroyer flotilla has been ordered to the East.

The greatest reticence continues to prevail on the Bulgarian side with respect to the doings outside Adrianople and at Tchataldja. It is understood that the Bulgarians have encountered difficulties in transport which, according to *The Times*, have been relieved by the construction of railway connexions to Kirk Killish. There are 80,000 men, mostly Turkish prisoners, now working on these connexions.

Telegrams from a Turkish source report fighting at Rodosto in which a Turkish man-of-war took part and successful sorties from Adrianople, while a despatch from Sofia announces the repulse of a sortie on Sunday night.

Notwithstanding the acerbity of the Austrian Press and the violent tone of the Russian newspapers, Reuter has reason to believe that the situation is far from acute. Austria has said or done nothing from which there would be any difficulty about withdrawing, con-

sequently various opportunities of compromise are likely to present themselves. The occupation by Serbia of Turkish ports on the Albanian coast will be regarded as ordinary acts of war, and not as making the position worse. Possibilities are suggested of an eventual free open port on the Adriatic to which Serbia will have access. Much confidence is felt in King Ferdinand's statesmanship and the mission of Dr. Danef, President of the Bulgarian Sobranje, to Austria.

London, Nov. 13.

A Constantinople wire says it is confirmed that the Porte is negotiating an armistice with Bulgaria direct. Nazim Pasha has been instructed to communicate with the Bulgarian Generals personally and he is already on his way to the Bulgarian headquarters. Fighting at Tchataldja has ceased for forty-eight hours.

A Paris wire states that speaking at a banquet last night M. Poincaré, Premier, said he was confident that the Balkan question would be finally arranged in a manner satisfactory to the Balkan States and the Great Powers. It did not seem possible that Mr. Asquith's appeal would remain unheard, with so many goodwills sincerely directed towards the preservation of peace. He did not doubt that we should be spared the most frightful war in the history of Europe.

It appears that the Porte is negotiating direct with Bulgaria, owing to the delay of the Powers in handling proposals for mediation. An easier feeling prevails on the Continent on the subject of the Austro-Servian difficulty. It is understood that Austria does not object to Montenegro and Serbia dividing Novi Bazar. She hopes, however, that Serbia will accept access to the sea at an Austrian port through Bosnia. The Turkish proposal to Bulgaria direct, to negotiate an armistice, synchronises with the mediation proposals which have been hanging fire for a fortnight owing to various hitches. The terrible weather and the consequent delays to transport, added to the outbreak of cholera among the Bulgarian troops, will most likely affect Bulgaria's decision. The military situation is enigmatic, owing to the contradictoriness of the news. It is beginning to be accepted that various operations have been announced long before they occurred. Anyhow, the reports have had the effect of mystifying the enemy besides the public. While the telegrams from Constantinople declare that fighting has ceased at Tchataldja where there have hitherto only been unimportant outpost encounters, Lieutenant Wegener, telegraphing yesterday, said that murderous fighting has now lasted three days. The Turks are making the most stubborn defence, but their resistance is weakening. A Sofia wire states that the Premier has replied to the Powers that he will submit Turkey's request to headquarters and to the Allies. A Sofia wire states that the representatives of the Powers have received instructions regarding mediation, and have met to discuss the method of communicating with the Bulgarian Cabinet. Private reports have been received in Sofia that the Bulgarians have penetrated the centre of Tchataldja lines and occupied Hadenkeni.

A Constantinople wire says that the Commander of the cruiser *Hamidieh* reports that his squadron, at a range of from 7,500 to 7,900 metres, compelled the Bulgarians at Tchataldja, Dragonkeay, Deirmen, Tipeli and Djenchilik to retreat behind the heights with heavy losses.

A Reika wire says that the Austro-Hungarian Minister, in an audience with King Nicholas, protested against the Montenegrin operations against San Giovanni, Di Medina and Alessio, which places had been reserved for an autonomous Albania. The King emphatically declined to accept the protest. The Italian Minister subsequently made similar representations. King Nicholas replied that Italy was acting contrary to its national interests if she persisted in the demand. All Europe recognised that the territorial *status quo* was gone and Italy's engagements with Austria in regard to Albania had consequently lapsed.

The *Empire* publishes the following special cablegrams. London, November 14th:—The *Daily News* special correspondent at Constantinople telegraphs that cessation of hostilities has been arranged. Contracts for military supplies have been cancelled and no more stores are to be sent to the front. Peace terms are being discussed, the only difficulty being the Bulgarian insistence on a formal entry of their troops into Constantinople, though they do not desire a permanent occupation and are ready to march out next day. This is impossible, the Turks point out, while the Sultan is in the Capital.

News from Turkish Sources.

Bombay, Nov. 9.

The Ottoman Consul-General, Bombay, received the following telegram, dated Stamboul, November 7, at 5 p.m. to-day:—"Commandant of the Western Army telegraphed yesterday: Operations

of war in the plains of Serovich continue with success. Besides arms and prisoners we have taken five covered wagons, full of ammunition, and three guns which we are using. Enemy has taken to flight towards the frontier abandoning five more guns and innumerable arms and ammunition and sanitary requisites. Our troops continue pursuit. During operations against Servian forces, have inflicted on enemy considerable losses. We have taken one Standard and considerable quantity of arms. Operations against Servian forces also continue with success.

Madras, Nov. 9.

The Turkish Consul, Madras, has received the following telegram from the Aga Khan and Sir Syed Amir Ali: "The Turkish hospitals disorganised. Terrible suffering. Wire us help."

The Turkish Consul in Madras has received the following telegram from Constantinople via Teheran, dated November 11th:—"After successive and victorious engagements in the region of Serowitch the enemy was in a complete state of confusion yesterday. Again ten guns and ammunitions of the artillery were taken from the enemy. No change in Janina, Salonica, and Scutari."

The Turkish Consul in Madras has received to-day the following telegram, dated Constantinople, November 7th. Here is an account of the battles fought till now around Adrianople:—

"On the 22nd and 23rd October the force attached to the garrison at Adrianople attacked the line at Laray on the south of Taneu and Kairondjon. The fight resulted in Ottoman successes. The enemy attacked from their side Zene Maruoca. The engagement which followed was sanguinary and the attack was violently repulsed. A sortie was effected. On the 29th they inflicted on the enemy very heavy losses. The enemy was repulsed as far as two or three kilometres. On the 5th instant the enemy suffered new heavy losses."

Calcutta, Nov. 12.

The following is the translation of a cablegram sent to-day to the *Hablati-Matin* from its agent at Constantinople in the Persian language:—

"The battle at Chataldja continues. The Bulgarians have sustained reverses, their losses being between twenty-five to forty thousand. The Turkish position is good. Their army is concentrated to advance on Lule Burgas and Baba Eski.

"The Bulgarians cannot hold these positions any longer. The capture of Adrianople disappointed them. Military critics do not give importance to the Greek and Servian victories.

"The Turkish wounded are 39,000 and their condition is pitiable."

Moslem Feeling.

Bombay.

A LARGELY attended meeting of Mahomedans was held in the Town Hall here. Sir Gurrabhai Barabhai presiding, to raise funds for the relief of Turkish wounded. A number of speeches were made. Amidst scenes of much enthusiasm an announcement was made that three lakhs has already been promised in Bombay, the subscriptions including five hundred from the Governor, who had also undertaken to forward the amount raised. A speaker who attacked the Christians was not allowed to proceed or to move any resolution.

Badrin.

Two meetings of the Badami Mussalman were held in Janan Masjid and Dargah Sultanul-Arshin on the 8th and 10th instant, respectively. Thousands assembled, different sects being represented. The people prayed for Turkish victory. Subscriptions poured in. The first instalment of fifteen hundred was sent to-day.

Moradabad.

An enthusiastic meeting of Mussalman of Moradabad was held on Friday, the 8th November, in the Janan Masjid to raise subscriptions for the Turkish Relief Fund. About 6,000 Moslems, from all parts of the district, attended. More than a thousand rupees were collected on the spot. It was resolved to immediately start systematic collection of funds. The gathering dispersed with a resolution thanking His Excellency the Viceroy for his donation of Rs. 1,000 towards the Turkish Relief Fund.

Rangoon.

An enthusiastic meeting of Young Memons was held on Tuesday night, the 5th November, in the Memon Jamat Library Hall, Rangoon, to raise subscriptions for Turkish Relief Fund which was very largely attended. The following resolutions were unanimously passed with great enthusiasm:—(1) That every member of the community, employed in any grade of service, shall pay one-fifth

of his salary of the current month towards the Turkish Relief Fund. That Memon volunteers, selected from this meeting, have agreed to go begging for collecting money in aid of the Turkish Relief Fund in all the Musjids and places of worship on the coming Bakr Id. (3) That this meeting appeals to Mahomedan bodies and communities of all parts of Burma and India to follow suit and adopt similar measures.

Cawnpore.

A general attended meeting was held by the Muslims of Cawnpore to express their deep sympathy with their brethren in trouble in Turkey. Several speeches were made and especially the poem, "Far-yad-i-Islam", evoked great enthusiasm.

After the usual resolutions were adopted, an appeal was made to raise subscriptions. Besides a number of promises, a sum of about Rs. 2,000 was paid on the spot. Several women presented their ornaments; and there were two students who gave up all their belongings including their garments, shoes and caps too. Further large subscriptions are forthcoming, and sub-committees were formed to collect subscriptions for every quarter.

Lucknow.

The following telegrams have been sent by Molvi Abdul-Bari Sahab, of Pirangi Mahal, Lucknow, to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and His Imperial Highness Prince Iz-ud-din, Heir-Apparent of Turkey, on the 4th and 7th instant, respectively.

Sent to Hyderabad:—"I, as an Alim and conveyor of God's messages to men, presume to tell your Highness to help the wounded Turks and their widows without hesitation with the money God has lavished on you. Do as your contemporaries are doing. The British Government is not so narrow-minded as to mistake philanthropy for sectarianism. The officials of the Government have helped them, and it is your duty more than theirs to help your co-religionists at this critical moment, so that you will not be ashamed when you stand before God and his prophet with whom wealth is no consideration and who do not listen to excuses."

Sent to Turkey:—"Qiam-ud-din Abdul Bari Ansari, of Lucknow, implores His Gracious Majesty Khalef of the Faithful through your Highness to seek mediation of none except the most high Almighty God, and that the next attack throughout war shall be made after prayers and with Allah-o-Akbar. Nothing can give us success but faith in God."

Calcutta.

A general meeting of the Mohamedan Sporting Club was held on the club ground on Tuesday, the 12th instant, at 5-30 p.m. The following resolution was passed:—"That a committee, consisting of members only, be formed to raise and collect subscriptions in aid of the Turkish Relief Fund." A subscription list was opened when Rupees 700 (Seven hundred) were promised on the spot. Mr Kuzen-His the Vice-President of the club headed the list with a subscription of Rupees 500. Further subscriptions from other members of the club and their friends are shortly expected.

Nagpur.

A mass meeting of the Mohamulans of Nagpur was held in the Macdonald Town Hall on Friday, the 8th November, 1912, in the afternoon under the presidency of Raja Azam Shah with a view to express sympathy with the Turkish sufferers of the Balkan war and collect subscriptions for the Red Crescent Society. The attendance was very large. The hall, the verandah and the galleries above were full packed. Deep feeling of sympathy were noticeable. Several gentlemen appealed for funds. Suitable compositions were recited. The audience liberally responded to the appeals. Considering the condition of the Mohamudan masses of Nagpur, the amount Rs. 2,251-13 collected on the spot eloquently expresses the sincerity of the audience. From the fact that copper alone amounted Rs. 45 it is evident that almost everybody present paid his quota.

At the Bulgarian Headquarters.

("MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND "DAILY CHRONICLE" TELEGRAM.)

ARMY HEADQUARTERS, STARA ZAGORA.

Oct. 22.

I WAS allowed to leave deserted Sofia yesterday morning, and arrived here by train through Philippopolis late last night. All the stations along the line were blocked with ambulance trains, horse and buffalo-trucks, army stores, rations, hay and other necessaries of war.

This place is now the headquarters of the Bulgarian army. King Ferdinand is living here with the general staff in the gymnasium in the High School. The foreign Attachés are in private houses.

The railway leaves the main Constantinople line at Philippopolis, and passes on from there to Yamboli and Burgas, on the Black Sea. The town, which was formerly Eski Zagra, stands on the southern slope of the lower range below the Balkans, with the famous Shipka Pass almost due north. In the war of liberation the Russian army under Gurko entered the Eastern Roumelian Plain here after the Shipka Pass encounter. There were many battles and heavy fighting against Sulaiman Pasha beside a low hill half a mile away. The Turks then burnt the town almost completely.

Frederick Villiers, the veteran war artist, has just been showing me how he entered the ruins with the Russians and was shown the wells choked with dead and dogs gnawing the heads of long-haired girls in the balkened streets. There would seem to be no fitter place for headquarters in a second great liberation war.

Since its liberation from the Turks the town has grown, and has now straight, broad streets, a park, schools, and the usual modern buildings. Twelve thousand people, still largely Turkish, have gathered round the central mosque. The Turks, contented with the Bulgarian rule, are returning to their ordinary occupations, and though they do not serve against the Sultan, are treated just the same as Bulgarians.

From the top of the town the view is over the great plain, south-east to the distant hills near Mustafa Pasha, where the Bulgarians have crossed the frontier at several points, and now approach the strong Turkish lines extending from Adrianople to the heavily fortified town of Kirk Kilisseh, where the first great Turkish resistance is expected. The two river valleys of the Maritza and the Tundja here converge on Adrianople.

There is little further official news to-day, but I learn that the Bulgarians have the frontier in the Rhodope Mountains to the westward, and everywhere they are reported in excellent spirits. No Bulgarian has up to now been captured, and no Turk has crossed the frontier anywhere. The weather is dry and sunny.

An official bulletin, issued this afternoon, announces that the Bulgarian armies continue their successful advance. One force has advanced along the Struma river, and the country on both sides of that stream, and between the Mesta river and the Bregalnitsa, on the eastern borders of the Vilayet of Kosovo, has been occupied.

In the same direction, over the Rhodope Mountains the village of Mahonia (or Razlog), in the narrowest part of the valley between the two rivers close to Banya, has been captured, together with two companies of Turkish regulars, arms, and baggage. Another village has shared the same fate, and in it were taken a flag, 45 prisoners, four cases of shells, 80 Mausers, ammunition, and stores.

At the town of Kirdjali, in the district of the same name, the Turks were probably concentrating in order to advance on Philippopolis and cut off the main Bulgarian army—for this is the nearest Turkish town to the pass through the mountains. The town, as well as the commandant and a detachment of Nizams, have, however, been captured, and the Turkish plans have been frustrated.

The Pomaks, or Bulgarian Moslems, in this mountainous district are now joining the Bulgarians, and are handing over the arms with which the Turks have supplied them.

I am informed that no bombardment of Burgas has taken place as was reported. What happened was that a number of Turkish sailors attempted to land at Kavarna, near Varna, and were completely wiped out by a small party of Bulgarians.

Rejoicings in Sofia.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, Oct. 24.

THE news of the fall of Kirk Kilisseh was known here about a quarter to five this afternoon. A great crowd gathered around the War Ministry, including a number of Macedonian volunteers with flags, and the first real display of warlike excitement that I have hitherto witnessed in Sofia followed. The people cheered wildly and the throng became denser every moment. The following laconic announcement was presently distributed from the window of the Ministry:—

After a series of desperate combats the town of Lozengrad (Kirk Kilisseh) has been taken by the Bulgarian troops, together with a large number of war trophies and prisoners.

At this moment the Greek Minister, M. Panas, who was unaware of the joyful news, appeared in the neighbourhood on his way to the Hotel Bulgaria. He was immediately seized,

hoisted on the shoulders of the crowd, and carried down the street amid a scene of wild enthusiasm. Any one who remembered the past history of the two races might well ask himself as he looked on this strange spectacle whether the age of miracles had returned.

This evening the bells of the churches are pealing, and *Te Deums* will be celebrated throughout the night for the hard-won victory. The popular joy is not unwarranted. For some days past no little uneasiness has been felt by the initiated regarding the progress of General Dimitrieff's army, and even the uninformed multitude began to inquire why the military authorities vouchsafed no news. It was known that the troops had been for some days in front of the fortifications, but only a few were aware that a desperate series of attacks were taking place and that heavy losses had been suffered. The final and successful assaults began last night, and by noon to-day the Bulgarians were in possession of the fortress.

In view of the great difficulties which nowadays attend the capture of fortified places, the achievement must be regarded as a remarkable one. The series of attacks began on Saturday, and were continued on Monday and Tuesday without success. It was decided to renew the attack on Tuesday night, but heavy rain began to fall and continued till yesterday afternoon. During the interval the troops were allowed a rest, and last night, when the weather had cleared, the offensive was resumed. No details are yet furnished in regard to the losses sustained, which were probably very heavy, as the fortifications are stated to have been of the most modern type and were constructed under German supervision.

General Savoff's Strategy.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Oct. 22.

VIENNA, like the other capitals of Europe, is anxiously awaiting tidings of the great struggle that appears to be in progress near Kirk Kilisseh. One unauthenticated telegram from Sofia this evening states that the Turkish line of defence is already broken through.

Should this information be confirmed it would indicate that the Bulgarian strategic plan indicated by the *Reichspost* on Sunday and reiterated in a message from its war correspondent to-day is in course of successful execution. The displacement of the bulk of the main Bulgarian Army from the Stara Zagora-Mustafa-Pasha-Adrianople line and the advance to the Jamboli-Kirk Kilisseh line is, he writes, the great secret of the Bulgarians. Four days before the proclamation of war General Savoff secured the acceptance of this plan, which implied a complete alteration of the intended concentration then proceeding in the Maritza valley. Only about two and a half divisions with the heavy guns were left in the Maritza valley and most of the other forces were diverted towards Jamboli, whence they followed first the Tundja valley and afterwards bore to the east under orders to take Kirk Kilisseh. Simultaneously on Thursday afternoon the Bulgarian right wing advanced from Kurtkelli along the Arda valley against Adrianople from the south-west. The march of the main army down the Tundja valley was delayed by the insufficiency of the railway communications. The reason for the change of the strategic plan, says the correspondent of the *Reichspost*, was the fear of the Bulgarians that a blow struck with all their strength straight at Adrianople might not avail to overcome the strong Turkish fortifications and heavy artillery. Information had been received that three weeks ago heavy artillery was being brought to Adrianople from the forts on the Dardanelles and that, on the other hand, the Turkish forces to the east of Adrianople were much weaker than originally assumed.

The same correspondent telegraphs from Stara Zagora under yesterday's date that the main attack in the direction of Kirk Kilisseh is commanded by General Dimitrieff with nine or ten divisions, behind which follows a general reserve of about three divisions. Fighting round Kirk Kilisseh began on Sunday evening.

Before the arrival of these despatches a military authority of obvious competence published in the *Reichspost* the conclusion that, all things considered, the best Bulgarian tactics would be to attack the eastern portion of the Turkish front between Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh while enveloping the extreme Turkish right to the east of Kirk Kilisseh. He considered the chances of success to be about one to two, that is to say, that the attack though not hopeless would be more likely to fail than to succeed. The resolution of Abdullah Pasha not to be enticed into an offensive action despite the Sultan's orders that the Turkish

Army should advance has, in the view of this authority, immensely increased the advantages of the Turkish position. Nevertheless, the battle of Mukden, and even Osman Pasha's originally successful attempt to break through the Russian lines at Plevna, show that the Bulgarian attack is by no means certain to fail. Should it succeed, it would promise a speedier and more complete victory than could be won in any other way. One great advantage enjoyed by the Bulgarians is that the country falls gradually from the Bulgarian frontier towards the Adrianople-Kirk Kilissch line, and that in the middle of the line, a broad belt of wooded country would provide cover for the Bulgarian advance. The risks, however, are great, and to break through a fortified front, even though it be 30 miles long, may, adds the writer, be merely to prepare for the attacking army a first-class funeral.

The Great Battlefield.

(By THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THERE can be little doubt that the Bulgarian advance came up against the Turkish line of resistance on the front Adrianople-Kirk Kilissch on the morning of Tuesday, October 22, and that heavy fighting took place throughout the day, especially on the Turkish right, and probably continued yesterday.

The result of this conflict is not yet announced, though successes are claimed by both sides. The question whether the main Turkish Army was engaged on Tuesday, or only its covering troops, cannot at present be definitely answered. It is probable, however, that the line in question was held by a covering force, perhaps amounting to 70,000 men, and that the main Turkish Army on Tuesday last was some two or three marches to the southward, echeloned along the railway.

The concentration of a Turkish force in Thrace, now probably amounting to 230,000 men all told, has been successfully carried out, but the organization, supply, and transport of this force must take time to organize. It is probably for this reason that the main army has been spread along the railway two or three marches to the southward of the area of Tuesday's conflict and that the advanced line has been given the mission of delaying the Bulgarian advance, of causing loss, and of gaining time for fresh troops to join Abdullah Pasha.

This mission the covering force appears on the whole to have successfully accomplished, much outnumbered though it must have been, during the fighting of the 22nd. Three weeks have elapsed since war was probable, and in three weeks a covering force of Turks can dig itself into the ground and present an obstacle of some gravity to an assailant. Kirk Kilissch, we can be sure, was greatly strengthened during the military moratorium, and if this point has been made reasonably secure against an ordinary attack, the covering force, with its two wings fairly safe, might make a good fight. It is true that the gradual fall of the ground from north to south is far from making the Adrianople-Kirk Kilissch line an ideal battlefield against a Bulgarian attack, for the command would rest with the Bulgarian artillery positions as a rule. With good arrangements, however, this advantage might be partially neutralized, and we can be sure that the necessity for approaching Adrianople itself with some caution will very largely occupy the First Bulgarian Army. On the whole, the covering force cannot be expected to resist indefinitely the Eastern Bulgarian Army, and it is a question for the Turkish command whether the exposure of a detachment to possible defeat is worth the gain caused by delay.

The question remains—making the large assumption that the above suppositions are near the truth—what course Abdullah Pasha would have taken when he learnt on Tuesday that his advanced line was attacked. If he decided to advance he might be in a position to support his covering force by to-day, when a counter-offensive would profit by the exhaustion of the Bulgarians during the two previous days of fighting. He might, of course, attempt to withdraw his advanced line, but this would be a difficult operation now that it is so deeply committed, and on the whole an advance, if sufficient mobility is assured, is most probable. In this case, provided that the covering force was not overwhelmed in yesterday's fighting, and provided also that Adrianople holds off the Bulgarian First Army, there is a good opening for the Turks. The question really hinges upon the degree of readiness for the field of the Nizam and Redif troops, and whether the arrangements for supply and transport enable this probably rawly army of 160,000 men to march and fight at three or four days' distance from the railway. On this subject no certain information is forthcoming, and we can never blame strategy if its instruments are too defective for skilled work.

There is a certain dullness about Turkish leading in Macedonia, but here as elsewhere—or perhaps more elsewhere—organization, supply, and transport present great difficulties. The Turkish command on this side has not proved capable of dealing with the converging attacks from Vrania and Kustendil in the manner which circumstances appeared to dictate, but so long as Kumanovo, and more particularly Uskub, remain in Turkish hands the result of the first operations on this side remains unsettled. We do not at present know which of these two points will be the centre of Turkish resistance, and the only needs we have from the Turkish side is that there are 100,000 Turks at disposal in this quarter. Here, as in Thrace, the fall of the ground is against the Turks, but immediately to the south of Uskub, on the right bank of the Vardar, there is a chain of heights which commands the town and railways, and might prove attractive if the Vardar army is unequal to the offensive. The dangerous point for the Turks is less the attacks from Prishtina and Vrania than those which have a tendency towards envelopment, and are now indicated by the presence of Serbo-Bulgarian columns near Kumanovo and at Kratovo and Kotehana. The Turks on this side have to show front parallel to their railway line of communications, and if they are not able to free themselves by a vigorous stroke within the next few days, the campaign in Macedonia may go hardly with them.

We must, however, remember that in the two chief theatres the main Turkish forces have not yet been engaged, and that success in the principal theatre—namely, Thrace—would rapidly change the entire situation.

The Adrianople Position.

(By THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

WE publish to-day a map of the Adrianople position towards which are converging two Bulgarian armies.

Standing at the junction of the Maritza, the Tundja, and the Adra and covering with its works the chief roads and the only railway in this section of the frontier, Adrianople is well placed to facilitate defensive or offensive operations, and much has been done for it during the last seven years. The positions and names of the chief works are shown upon the map. The modernization of the defences began in the year 1905, but it has been particularly during the past three years that serious endeavours have been made to enable them to resist attack. Many of the old permanent works have been transformed or abandoned, and there has been added an almost continuous chain of semi-permanent and field works, which have no doubt been extended and completed during the three weeks which have now elapsed since the allies mobilized their armies.

The Adrianople position has, in fact, been expressly designed to meet the actual case which has now presented itself. In addition to the garrison of the place, which may not exceed 20,000 men, there have been in occupation of the defences for some years nearly 60 companies of fortress artillery, and the armament, which numbers approximately 400 guns, has some heavy cannon, a medium armament of 5.38-in. Krupp guns, and a large number of field and machine guns. The defence is arranged by sectors in the usual manner, and each part of the defences has its separate organization, garrison, and armament, while a strong central reserve exists to meet any threatened attack. We must take it that the finishing touches have been put to the place during the last three weeks, and that mines, obstacles, barbed wire entanglement, fougasses, and supplementary infantry redoubts and deep trenches have been accumulated at all points open to attack. The Turks have a good number of 8.6-in. projectors which we must expect to find in the chief works, and these will increase the difficulties of night attacks.

Adrianople is no Port Arthur, but unless the Turks have lost their military virtues it is no place to treat in a cavalier manner. It may be expected to fulfil its mission, which probably is to break the first wave of invasion, to give time for the assembly of the Turkish field army, and to facilitate a subsequent Turkish offensive. Until its resistance is overcome the railway cannot be utilized for a Bulgarian advance, and without the railway it will not be easy to supply a quarter of a million men. It is often possible in case of this kind to run a branch line of rail round the town at a safe distance from its guns and so to ensure uninterrupted railway communication, but the topography of the Maritza Valley does not readily lend itself to this design.

The importance of the position of the railway is so immense from the Bulgarian point of view that a desperate effort to take the place by assault is almost justified. Considering the time which has elapsed since mobilization was ordered, this attempt should fail. The Bulgarian fortress artillery possesses a good many Krupp and Canet 12cm. and 15cm. guns and howitzers, besides a surplus of field guns

of now and ancient type. With these it might hope eventually to establish superiority of fire on the front selected for attack, but, on the other hand, the Turks have prepared many emplacements for their movable armament, and they are adepts at fortress warfare. Nothing but gross incompetence or some failure in the Turkish morale, upon which we have no right to count, is likely to deliver up cheaply Adrianople to the Allies.

So much for the technical side of the question. But we must remember that Turkish defence has been made in Germany, and that in this military nation certain very clear views are held concerning the interaction of fortresses and armies. Marshal Von der Goltz can scarcely have been in Turkey so long without causing these ideas, which the writer has often described, to filter down into the minds of the Turkish staff. It is to the mental play of the field army and of Adrianople that we must look for the meaning of this defended position. If the two Bulgarian armies are covering upon the place, they must, to invest it, hold and defend a perimeter of not less than 30 miles, and this duty will occupy and engage a considerable portion of their field army. When they are fully committed the Turkish field army, which is quite intact even if its exact position is for the moment indeterminate, should be able to attack its enemy with some advantage, while if the Bulgarians gamble and attempt investment with too weak a force they are always open to an offensive movement from the garrison of the place. It is not an agreeable mission for the Bulgarian staff to tackle Adrianople while Abdullah Pasha's army remains unbeaten and within call of the place.

The Turk, on their side, have no reason to provoke a crisis, and have everything to gain from time. It is possible that their field army may be growing at the rate of several thousand men daily, and only the Turkish staff can know when the best moment for their offensive will arrive. They risk, perhaps, to see Adrianople cut out under their eyes and 20,000 men lost to their army, but they may consider that the losses which the enemy would suffer in such an event might compensate for the loss, and that the confusion which would ensue might give a good opening for a counter-offensive. In any case, we are not justified, because the Turks delay their stroke, in girding at them as laggards. Let us be sure first on which side the laugh is going to be.

If we could obtain authentic reports from the front upon the numbers and positions of the troops, the plans of the command, and the spirit of the combatants we could venture to form a definite opinion upon the probable result of these interesting operations, but it would be pure conceit and temerity to do anything of the kind when our skilled observers are compelled to winter in rear of the armies. There are 80 correspondents now at Sara Zaggera, and we must hope that they are happy there without feeling confident of the fact. Not even the Military Attachés are allowed to accompany the Greeks. We have practically no first hand news from competent and independent observers at the actual front, and, although our correspondents at Sofia, Constantinople, Salonica, Belgrade, and Athens have told us very much of deep interest, they are still far from the armies, and the bulk of other news consists of things which the Turks or the Allies wish us to believe. There has been no modern campaign in which the door has been so pitilessly closed upon the war correspondent; nor can we justly rail at the combatants on this account, for the issues are too vital to allow them to relax any effort to keep their enemies, and consequently the rest of the world, in the dark.

The Corps of Turkish Officers.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Oct. 17.

WHEN one watches the great military movement that is now taking place in the Ottoman Empire, one's mind naturally turns to speculation upon the motive power that directs this huge mass of peasant material that is pouring into the capital to be almost as quickly spirited away in sombre khaki dress to the northern frontiers of the European vilayets. What of the staff—what of the corps of officers that is directing and will ultimately lead these accumulating cohorts? The answer is not easy. The corps of officers is barely sufficient for the needs of a modern army. Moreover, it has been torn during the last four years with political discussions, some traces of which must influence the conduct of its great army in the field. At present the writer is not competent to discuss the effects of this trying period. There is hope, and many Turkish officers have expressed this vehemently, that the life-and-death issue that has been thrust upon the Ottoman Army has swept away the trail of dissension in the desperation of the national cause. This is understandable; let it be left at that for want of better information.

There are means of judging of the quality of a corps of officers which present themselves to those accustomed to men and armies that admit something of a general estimate. It is the opinion of the writer that the stirring periods since 1908 have, in ratio to what they have done for the army generally, done very much for the Turkish officer individually. To begin with, he carries his uniform in a very different manner from that in which it was carried ten years ago. This is not a small matter. It means, to take one factor alone, that the responsibility of command is better understood. The Ottoman General Staff has elected in its wisdom to adopt the German model in its devices for making war. There is no reason to quarrel with this election. The Turkish officer is quite frank in his reasons for the choice. He considers the German Army the best model in the world. There is, however, a rough judgment at the back of the Turkish mind that instinctively rejects in a model that which is not suited to the Ottoman framework. In spite of German instructors, in spite of the classic influences of Von der Goltz, the Ottoman Army is not as Germanized as the world is led to believe. It is an army distinct in its own class, typical of its racial limitations, and no foreign influence, as the Turkish General Staff permits it to be applied, will alter this.

To judge from the many officers that have been seen in and about the War Office and mobilization centres here in Constantinople during the past ten days there seems a very fair level of intelligent understanding of a soldier's duties. It must be remembered, however, that these officers are mainly drawn from the ranks of the Levantine Moslems, whose contact with Europe has not been without its mental results. The educated Albanian also always produces good officers, who combine both executive and administrative qualities. It is not, however, possible to judge entirely from what can be seen in the capital, and the impression of the writer is that, generally speaking, the Turkish Army is under-officered, and that the leavening of expert brains is dangerously small for the masses that will be called into the many theatres in this war. Of the courage and bravery of the Turkish officer it would be impertinent to take count. The traditions alone of this martial race are sufficient guarantee of their steadfastness in war. Nor is the writer yet competent to judge of the quality of those entrusted in higher command.

The Origin of the League.

IN the course of a reply to the Pan Slavist agitation against the alleged disloyalty of France and England to the Russian cause, the *Temps* makes a statement which it is important to record. It says:—"It is sufficiently well known that Russia, in the course of the whole year, has worked largely in co-operation with Italy. It is known that this rather meddlesome labour was not alien to the preparations of the Balkan *Entente*. One knows that the Bulgarian loan, the result of this *Entente*, and the prelude to its manifestation, had at its birth two sponsors among the diplomatic corps at Sofia, an Italian and a Russian."

The admission that Russia and Italy had a hand in the formation of the Balkan League is the more valuable as the *Temps* was the first to announce the existence of the league to the world.

King Ferdinand's Manifesto.

The following is the text of King Ferdinand's manifesto to the nation, published on the 18th October:—

"Bulgarians,—In the course of my reign of twenty-five years I have always sought in the peaceful work of civilisation the progress, welfare, and glory of Bulgaria, and it is in this direction that I wished to see the Bulgarian nation constantly advance. But Providence has judged otherwise. The moment has come when the Bulgarian race is called upon to renounce the benefits of peace and have recourse to arms for the realisation of a great problem.

"Beyond the Rila and Rhodope Mountains our brothers in blood and religion have not been able, until this day, thirty-five years after our liberation, to obtain a bearable life. All efforts made to attain this object, both by the Great Powers and by the Bulgarian Government, have failed to create conditions permitting these Christians to enjoy human rights and liberties. The tears of Balkan slaves and groans of millions of Christians could not but stir the hearts of their kinsmen and co-religionists, who are indebted for our peaceful life to a great Christian liberator, and the Bulgarian nation has often remembered the prophetic words of the Tsar Liberator: 'The work is begun, it must be carried through.' Our love of peace is exhausted. To succour the Christian population in Turkey there remains to us no other means than to turn to arms. We see that it is only by this means that we can assure them protection of life and property.

"Anarchy in the Turkish provinces has even menaced our national life. After the massacres of Ishtib and Koohana, instead of according justice and satisfaction, as we demanded, the Turkish Government ordered the mobilisation of its military forces. Our long patience was thus put to a rude test. The humanitarian sentiments of Christians, the sacred duty of succouring our brothers when they are menaced with extermination, and the honour and dignity of Bulgaria imposed upon me the imperative duty of calling to the colours Bulgaria's sons who are prepared for the defence of the fatherland. Our work is a great and sacred one. With faith gathered in the protection and support of the Almighty, I bring it to the cognisance of the Bulgarian nation that war for the human rights of Christians in Turkey is declared. I order the brave Bulgarian army to march on Turkish territory at our side and with us fight for the same object against a common enemy. The armies of the Balkan States are allied to Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro, and in this struggle of the Cross against the Crescent, of liberty against tyranny, we shall have the sympathies of all those who love justice and progress. Strong in these sympathies, let the valorous Bulgarian soldier remember the heroic act of his forefathers and the bravery of his Russian masters and liberators, and let him fly from victory to victory.

"Forward! May God be with you!"

King Peter's Proclamation.

Belgrade, Oct. 19.

THE proclamation, which King Peter read yesterday to the Servian troops at Nish, concluded with the following passage:—

With us are advancing the valiant allied armies of Bulgaria and Greece. We have suffered in common and common interests bind us together. To secure the welfare and liberty of Macedonia is our common task. My army will find in Old Servia, living side by side with Christian Serbs, Musulman Serbs, who are equally dear to us, and with them Christian and Musulman Albanians with whom our nation has led a common existence for thirteen centuries, sharing nearly always with them their joys and sorrows. We bring to them all the same liberty, fraternity, and equality that we bring to the Serbs. Servia will introduce in Macedonia the tranquillity and progress that were introduced in the liberated provinces in 1877 and 1878, which are peopled with free and happy citizens. We must also establish these conditions of existence on the banks of the Lab, Situitza, Drin, and Vardar. I ask you to assist with all your hearts and all your strength my valiant army. Long live my dear Servian nation!

Allies' Congratulations.

THE King of Greece received the three following telegrams from his allies:—

King Ferdinand of Bulgaria telegraphed from his headquarters at Hara Zagora on the 19th:—"Profoundly moved by the fine and touching thought which inspired in your Majesty the noble words that you addressed to me. I express with all my heart to my august friend and ally my keenest and most sincere gratitude at the moment when, filled with the sentiment of sublime reciprocal and mutual confidence, our peoples, brothers in faith, unite in a sacred agreement to ask the Almighty, Defender of the Rights of the Weak and Protector of the Oppressed, to grant the fervent prayers that ascend to His throne from the four allied nations, and the God of Battles to crown with success the joint effort of our arms for the triumph of the doubly righteous cause of faith and liberty. In these sentiments we, the Bulgarian nation, its army, and its leader, address to your Majesty, to the Greek nation, and to its valiant army our fraternal thanks, taking like them for our standard and guide in this new Crusade the sacred sign of the Redemption."

The King of Montenegro telegraphed:—"With indescribable joy I, my people, and my army have learned through the kindness of your Majesty the news that the Greek army, under the chief command of the Crown Prince, has already crossed the frontier. At this solemn moment, so important for the future of our States and our oppressed brethren, my people, my soldiers, and I in indissoluble union, fraternity, and alliance address to your Majesty, the Greek people, and its brave army our cordial greetings and our most sincere wishes for the victory of the worthy descendants of Themistocles and Miltiades. May God bless our efforts for our sacred cause."

The King of Servia's message was as follows:—"In giving orders to my troops to cross the frontier and bring deliverance to our oppressed brethren I follow the thought of your Majesty, my august friend and

ally, on whom the same noble task falls, trusting to God that the forces of the Balkan States, united in religion and led by the traditional sentiment of their peoples, will triumph in their generous work. I hail with confidence the commencement of our joint action, and wish for the complete success of the valiant Greek army and hasten to transmit to your Majesty and the Crown Prince, the Commander-in-Chief, as well as the classic nation of Hellas, my most affectionate greetings and my best wishes for the holy cause of the war."

The Struggle of the Balkan Peoples.

THE *Times* received the following letter, signed by the Bishop of Oxford, Canon Barnett, Dr. Clifford, Canon H. S. Holland, Mr. D. C. Lathbury, the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, the Rev. F. B. Meyer, and the Rev. Dr. Dearnley:—

We, the undersigned, venture to call public attention to the fact that the contest, now definitely begun in the Balkans, whatever other complicated issues it involves, presents one issue which is simple and, in our judgment, dominant.

Whatever be the other objects of the Allied States, this at least is clear—they have adventured the life-blood of their citizens, they have imperilled their existence as free nations, in order to liberate from age-long oppression peoples of their own kindred. Ever since the 14th century, the Christian races of the Balkans have lain under a bondage which destroyed freedom without establishing order, and which was equally fatal to national and intellectual progress. It cannot be to the interest of the civilized world that barbarism and misery should continue to prevail in regions of Europe which admit of prosperity and plenty, it cannot be compatible with the conscience of Christendom, or even with ordinary humanity, that a Government which has been again and again convicted, and convicted within the last few weeks, of extortion, pillage, massacre, and outrages on women, should when at least challenged in war be suffered to bear down by superior force the efforts of the defenders of liberty, and to re-establish in face of Europe an intolerable wrong.

It may be no part of an Englishman's duty to forward the ambitions of the Allied States, but it is, in our judgment, the duty of Englishmen to make it evident that they will not tolerate in any event a return to anything like the present situation; and it is the duty of every Christian man to work and to pray for the ending of the present tyranny, and for the inauguration of good government—in whatever reasonable shape—throughout those regions which have not yet attained their freedom.

British Ministers and the War.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—Referring to Mr. George Lloyd's letter in your issue of this date, Mr. Masterman is only following the lead of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the *Time* reports are as accurate as they usually prove to be, Mr. Lloyd George in a public speech on the 12th inst. said:—

"Whatever be the issue of the conflict in the Balkans we may hope that at any rate one result will ensue, and that is that the boundaries of freedom and good government will be extended."

No one is likely to misunderstand this thinly-veiled expression of sympathy with the hostile coalition which is attacking our friends the Turks, or to underestimate the effect such a speech from such a quarter is likely to produce among our Mahomedan fellow-subjects. The London All-India Moslem League has already protested "against the use by a Minister of the Crown of dubious phrases, which might be construed to imply partisanship"; and unless I have studied in vain for 30 years their languages, Press literature, and character, millions of Musulmans, to whom the Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph of Islam, will endorse this protest.

Your obedient servant,
J. D. REES.

Tavellers' Club, S.W., Oct. 21.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,—In view of the complete neutrality that Great Britain is observing towards the Powers concerned in the Balkan struggle, it becomes necessary to enter a warm protest against such partisan and misleading statements as were made by a member of his Majesty's Government in a speech at Bethnal Green on Friday night.

Mr. Masterman, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, is reported as having said the following :—

"I am one of the few Englishmen who have been right through the district now the scene of war, and I ask you to take a sympathetic view towards those fighting in the cause of liberty and progress and who have been suffering for years owing to the murders and pillage of the Turks."

There are others beside Mr. Masterman who have some knowledge of the countries concerned, who have perhaps spent more years than Mr. Masterman has spent days in the study of these questions and who would yet hesitate in a few words to apportion to one side or the other the blame for Macedonia's unhappy condition.

But considerably more important than the Financial Secretary's views on Balkan politics is the fact that Mr. Masterman is a member of the Government, and that in view of the Government's neutrality the country has the absolute right to demand that Ministers, if they must make public reference to the war, should do so with the utmost restraint, and that their words should be free from any suspicion of bias towards one side or the other.

A more responsible politician might have paused to remember that, whatever his own personal opinions might be, there were many millions of British subjects in India who are being deeply moved by the Balkan struggle, and that such careless words—fortunately endorsed by no other member of the Government—could only be read by them with pain and dissatisfaction. I am, Sir, Your truly,

99, Eaton-place, S. W.

GEORGE LLOYD.

The Sons of the Sultan.

By MARK SYKES, M. P.

THERE is no greater mistake than to imagine that the Ottoman soldier is a distinct individual with salient characteristics of a uniform singular type. This is an error into which many war correspondents fall, and gives rise to a host of false impressions.

The Turkish army is made up of so many races, tribes and composite types of Homo Sapiens that to generalise is to blunder for a certainty. Not only is the Turkish army a composite body, but the ingredients are inextricably mixed up in the very units themselves, while the incorporation of a percentage of Christians under the "Constitution" has further leavened the mass with fresh variations.

An attempt will be made in this article to analyse the chief components as a step towards appreciating the resultant whole.

Let us make up an imaginary detachment of men we have actually known. Let us say that Lieut. Seifullah is in command of a section of twenty details he has brought from Koufa and is waiting for his steamer on the quay at Haidar Pasha. The detachment is going to guard a bridge somewhere between Adrianople and the Chataldja lines. At a glance they are a well set up, cleanly, healthy-looking party of men. Their uniform is khakhi, very much like that of the English soldier, with the exception of the cap, which is like that of the English convict, the equipment is fairly good and the rifles and bandoliers are excellent. Standing in line they are a very level lot, but one glance at the faces shows extraordinary differentiations, when we examine some of them in detail.

The Lieutenant, Seifullah Effendi, is a good looking young fellow of about twenty-five; his complexion is fair, his moustache brown, his eyes grey-blue. He is a little above medium height, smart well set up, and superficially very like any other continental officer. His uniform is khakhi of a tint very little different from that of the British linesman—pattees and brown boots, a tin sword of the worst, a Mauser pistol of the best, a pair of Zeiss glasses, an aluminium water bottle and a grey woollen cap complete his equipment. This not unprepossessing young gentleman is worth studying. He is well acquainted with all the latest theories of war—trajectories, outposts, advance guards, field fortification, &c., which on paper are familiar to him: in fact, he knows rather too much of this kind of thing—he is apt to stick to theories and to forget realities. The old illiterate Turkish officers of Abdul Hamid's time probably knew more about the practical side of soldiering than Seifullah and his friends would care to allow. Still, it would be a mistake to underestimate the capacity of this modern young officer. People like Seifullah are very easy to underestimate, as the following will show :—

"A young Englishman once came into a Turkish town. The Englishman had done thirty days' trekking and riding, was large, sunburnt and fit, dressed in dusty clothes and thick shooting boots. He looked the typical outdoor man, in good training and sound in mind and limb. At the barracks of the town he found a Turkish Lieutenant of his own age; the Turk was yellow, unwholesome, idle and degenerate. By his own showing the Turk had not been beyond the stinking bazaars for over a month; his diet was grease, rice, and bad

brandy, his mode of life neither elevating nor wholesome; his clothes consisted of thin-soled "Jemima" boots, thick blue uniform overalls, and a tight German tunic. Near the town was a ruined castle on a mountain top; the Englishman wished to see it, and the lieutenant volunteered to show the way up. The Englishman thought in his own mind that the officer would probably expire before the ascent was commenced. Half-way up the mountain the Englishman sat perspiring under the shade of a rock, blown and exhausted; near the top he was glad enough to take the officer's hand to help him over a difficult place. When the ruin was at last reached, the Englishman unslung his water-bottle and passed it to the Turk. "I am fasting; it is Ramzan!" said the Turk. The climb had been 700 feet, the hour was 2 p. m., the temperature about 110 degrees in the shade. The Turk had not turned a hair; he had neither eaten nor drunk since midnight. Decidedly you cannot judge by externals."

Therefore, though Seifullah will seem a perfectly ridiculous person, brought up in a harem, spoiled, and coddled all his boyhood by a host of incredibly stupid and ignorant women; his avowed ideals are to go to Paris, drink champagne and eat bacon; his sword would be a disgrace to a Drury Lane "principal boy" singing a patriotic song; his theories and shop seem incoherent, half learned and pointless; his character seems purposeless and indolent—still he will probably have something in him which would surprise you. He is at bottom intensely, furiously, simply patriotic; he has the pride of race, and tremendous traditions behind him, has nerves of steel (why I know not, but there it is!), and will not be upset by privation or disaster. He will fight hard, keep his authority over his men and do what he is told.

Osman Chansh, the colour-sergeant, is a different type of individual from the young lieutenant. He is about thirty-five years of age. He stands about six feet two inches in his thick woollen stockings, has huge, heavy shoulders, straight limbs and deep chest. He is of the fleshy muscular type of man in body, and in complexion was once fair, but his cheeks, tanned by years of exposure, are as brown as an Egyptian's. His brows overhang like those of a gorilla; his small blue eyes are deeply sunken in his head and peer out from under his projecting sandy eyebrows like two little grey beads; his nose is of the button order; his bristly moustache, which is of a ruddy gold, sweeps downward like the tusks of a walrus; his chin and jaw are square; his skull is small and round; his teeth are beautifully white. Osman can lift a cottage piano or a pony; he is a gruff, quiet man who has little to say for himself. He has spent his life in fighting Kurds, Arabs, Druses, Greeks, and such like, and war is no novelty to him. In temper he is rather like the great water buffalo that a child can lead, but if it loses its temper may devastate a village.

There is no finesse about Osman; obedience is the keynote of his character; he was promoted to be colour-sergeant because in the Yemen he marched with a message alone, without taking any precautions, straight through the enemy's lines. To have been captured meant death. The officer who sent him did not know of the danger. Osman did, but it did not occur to him to mention the fact, any more than it occurred to him to take a more circuitous route. Osman can read and write, and will apparently do anything that he is told to do somehow. He was once told to drive an engine on the Hedjaz Railway, because the proper engine-driver had dropped off the foot-plate with cholera. Half-an-hour's instruction in broken Turkish by a Greek engineer sufficed. It sank into Osman's brain that if fire was put in such a place, and a certain watch pointed to a certain point and certain handles were pulled in certain ways the train would go on, if other handles were pulled it went slower, if the first handles were pulled in another direction it stopped—the engine of course was ruined, but the train arrived at its destination. The law of Osman's life is that all orders must be obeyed until the end; if there are no orders nothing can be done.

Osman drills the men patiently, and repeats the formulae of musketry and company drill like a child of seven repeating the three-times table of multiplication. He rarely makes conversations if he does it is about the coolness of water in certain valleys and the quality of various airs. As far as Osman is concerned, the detachment will do very well if Seifullah remembers the right things to tell him to do when the critical moment comes.

Zekki, the lance-sergeant, though fair-haired, is a great contrast to Osman: lithe, active, small-waisted, with neat, clean-cut regular features he is a typical Circassian. He is only twenty-two, and is pushing his way to a commission if he can get one. He looks like a gentleman, is a wonderful shot, has an eye for country like a bushranger, and an eye for a horse like a Yorkshireman. By rights he need not serve in the army, being a refugee from Russia. Unfortunately, in the course of his youth he stole a horse; the horse still more unfortunately belonged to a Consul; finding that capture was inevitable if he remained at large, Zekki decided to

retire into the army. Two years' garrison duty in Baghdad enabled him to cover his tracks, and finding that he had acquired a trade, he decided to remain. Zekki has every quality necessary for a soldier; faithful, resolute, courageous, calm, with plenty of initiative, but I cannot deny that he is capable of some cruelty. When Zekki's grandfather came to Turkey in 1879 he settled in Eastern Syria with some hundreds of other colonists from Russia; the local Bedawin, according to ancient custom, first welcomed the strangers and then stole their cattle. The Circassians, thinking that one definite example might save further trouble, caught the son of the Shaikh of the offending tribe, flayed him alive, and hung his inflated skin on a pole at the end of the village. Zekki thinks this a very good joke and is never tired of telling it. When he told it to Osman the latter only said: "Was it an order?" If Seifullah and Osman are missing after the first action, and Zekki gets charge of an isolated detachment he will go off on his own, and very little verbal evidence will be forthcoming as to what the detachment does.

Ahmed, Mehmed, Yussuf and Haji Mohammed all come from the same district in the Kaza of Tash Kiopri in the Vilayet of Kastamuni; they are four of the most peaceful men in the wide world, mild and sober peasants; they are there to do their duty for just so long as the Padishah wants them.

Broad-shouldered, yellow-haired, blue-eyed men, their colouring betrays their origin: they are the descendants of the Gauls of Galatia, who formed the backbone of the armies of Byzantium. Their one hope is that the war will end in time for them to get home for the next harvest. Like Osman, they obey orders. The land they come from is a land of forests and fields, hot summers and Arctic winters; it is a land of absolute calm and peace. Though the roads are bad and the policing is infinitesimal, there are no robbers and no quarrels, save occasional village squabbles over landmarks. They are strict Moslems, yet not in the least fanatical. As soldiers they are perfect, inured to every climate and every hardship; they are always cheerful, always obedient, always patient. When the present writer was in Baki Shahr a train came into the station at midnight with 800 such fellows on board. They had nothing to eat since morning, and were travelling in open trucks; they were reserve men going to various battalions. There were no officers, and no one was in charge of the train. The moment the train stopped the whole mass leaped out and dashed off to the cafés which surround the station. There was no shouting or fighting, no robbing or plundering. Such men as could get near the counters bought bread, biscuits, or pastry. Ten minutes later the engine-driver blew his whistle: back into the darkness rushed the 800 men, three minutes later the train moved off without a man missing. There is something more than mere passivity in troops with such discipline as that.

During the Russo-Turkish war an Anatolian battalion and an Albanian battalion lay side by side; food was short and the two were put on half-rations. The Albanians, fine fighters though they were, grew restless and threatened to leave their posts. The Anatolians went to their officers and said, "Give the Albanians half our rations, and put us on quarter-rations, so that they may remain to fight the enemy." Unless previously misadvised these men should do well. Those who say that the Turks were only good in defence during the Russo-Turkish war should remember that the levies from Asia had hardly been drilled at all.

Standing next the men of Kastamuni is Ibrahim of Sivas, a dark-skinned, short, ill-favoured little man, with a face pitted with small-pox, hooked nose, black beard and savage brown eyes like a fox's. A town Moslem of the worst type, fanatical and ruthless, he treasures in his heart monstrous thoughts of what he will do if war gives him his opportunity. At present his head is bandaged because he called an Armenian soldier "a Gaiur," and Osman Chavash remembered he had an order that no Christian was henceforth to be called a Gaiur; a mallet that was lying handy descended on Ibrahim's head like a Nasmyth hammer. "Shameless one, there is an order that no one shall call any Gaiur a Gaiur."

The next three men are a strange contrast to all the others—Gindo, Bero and Hollo are Kurds; the reforms have swept them into the army and from it there is no escape. Gindo is a mountaineer; he comes from the south-eastern slopes of the Taurus; lithe, sinewy, active as a cat, with the vicious twinkling eyes of a serpent and the beak of a hawk, a wide mouth, thin lips, square chin and small face. Gindo knows nothing, so he says, except how to shoot. In his belt he treasures a long curved dagger: "What should I do with this iron *hâr*?" he exclaimed, when given a bayonet. He can run a couple of miles without distress, can scramble up a precipice and can see a man where another would only see a rock or a bush. He talks to the other Kurds in a peculiar staccato language which they can hardly understand, for he is a Zaza and they are Folo Kurds. A strange, simple, elvish creature, he is singularly at sea in the army;

he says no prayers and will eat any food that comes his way. His religion is something secret; when no one is looking he ties bits of rags to trees and puts up little piles of stones in various crevices in the hill-side, and, since curiosity is the last defect of his companions, no one asks him why. Nor do they know that only a year before Gindo shot, with his own hand, six soldiers of the regiment in which he is now serving from behind the walls of his native village; nor will this fact make him any the less backward in fighting when he is required. Bero and Hollo, on the other hand, though Kurds, are as different from Gindo as they are from all the others: tall, lanky men, with bony, high-bridged noses, close set brown eyes, dark skins and hairy faces; sullen and laconic, they look like two ogres in a pantomime. As a matter of fact, they are neither of them so terrible nor so wicked as they appear. As soldiers they are not really the best material; they knew too much about war, accustomed to irregular fighting since their infancy, with a full knowledge of the dangers of skylines and the advantages of cover; they have no confidence in Seifullah, are terrified of artillery and feel completely paralysed without their horses. Bero and Hollo are really ideal lushwhacking cavalry men, and it is a pity to see them on foot, uncertain, lost and doubting.

The next man of this strange detachment is Krikor Damalian, the Armenian, 6 feet 3 inches, round-shouldered, big limbed, heavy featured, dark eyed, silent; he is submissive and quiet. Krikor's father was killed in 1896 by Turkish soldiers, and his sister was carried off by Kurds, and Krikor has not forgotten either incident; yet he has no love for the Greeks, and to him Bulgarians, Servians and Montenegrins are Greeks. Krikor's companions know all that Krikor has suffered and in their hearts are ashamed, save Ibrahim of Sivas, who would like to kill him if only in revenge for his broken head. Krikor, however, has made himself a place in the detachment; if clothes require sewing, rifles oiling, cigarette cases mending, ropes splicing, boots patching, they are invariably brought to Krikor—his huge, passive body and his submissive, dull, unspeculating eyes are in direct contradiction to his nimble brain and fingers. Banker, bootmaker, locksmith, blacksmith, tinker and tailor, Krikor is any one of these things and a master in each. He has had the wit to make himself indispensable to everybody, from Seifullah Effendi, to whom he lends money, down to the cook whose pots and pans he mends.

The last men in the detachment we need consider are the Arabs, bright-eyed, brown-skinned, vivacious and talkative, they form a group apart—Ismail and Mustapha of Syria, Ayub of Mossul and Hussein of Baghdad. They hold the Turks and Kurds in contempt as barbarians and fools, they are bursting with conceit, poetry, and vainglory, and are for ever quarrelling among themselves. As soldiers they are not very dependable. On a cold wet day or in snow they will crumple up and mourn their hapless fate; on a dark night they will blaze into the darkness and fly shrieking from imaginary enemies. Yet on occasion they can be worked up to an hysterical fighting frenzy, in the throes of which they will perform deeds of amazing recklessness and valour.

Here, then, we have a detachment typical of the drafts which are now pouring up from Asia to Constantinople. What an army so composed will do it is difficult to say, since every element has something uncertain about it. A lucky combination may lead to extraordinary success, an unlucky one to singular and signal disaster. If we learned that the Turkish transport had completely broken down, that the ammunition was faulty, that the army was listless, hopeless and dispirited, that desertion and wholesale surrender were rife, there would be nothing surprising in it. On the other hand, unexpected efficiency, extraordinary powers, tremendous enthusiasm and overwhelming victory are just as possible. It is no desire to hedge that makes the present writer say this. Is it credible that the handful that has put up such a superb fight in the Tripoli could be the same material as that which gave such a miserable exhibition against the Druses in Syria? The wretched conduct of the Turks in the Crimea and at Nezi does not tally with the heroic defence of Plevna, Kars and Erzerum, or the fighting in the Shipka. The excellent conduct of the campaign in Thessaly cannot excuse or palliate the miserable failure in the Yemen.

To go back to history we can find that sometimes the Turks fought splendidly, as at Kossovo; or hopelessly, as at Belgrade. The Turkish army has ever been composed of mixed elements, and it has met victories and disasters in fairly equal succession. I have known overwhelming Turkish forces routed and destroyed by a few hillmen. I have seen whole tribes of warlike people kept in awe by a tiny detachment under a good officer. To prophesy would be ridiculous, since the more one knows the more doubtful does the issue become.—*The Saturday Review*.

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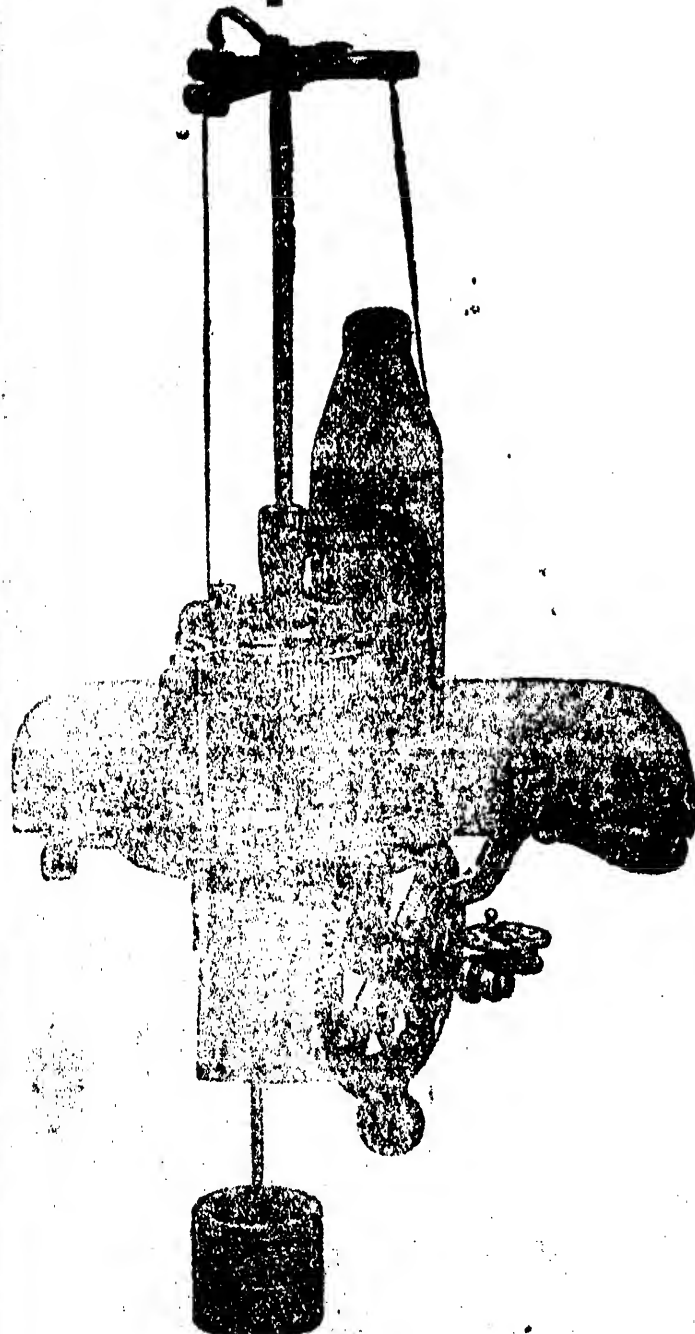
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The Week.

Home Rule.

Colonel Seely, Sir Rufus Isaacs, and Mr. Masterman addressed meetings on the 15th instant. They insisted that the disturbance in the Commons had not harmed the Government, which would not swerve a hair's breadth from its purpose in passing Home Rule.

Colonel Seely, describing how the scene in the Commons was concerted, said that Opposition members received a code telegram :

"Meet me at Marble Arch at four—Susie."

Though the telegram had temporarily embarrassed the Government he heard that it caused still greater embarrassment to married Unionist members whose wives had opened it.

Mr. Redmond, speaking at York yesterday, said that recent occurrences would somewhat delay the Government programme, but what was a few days or even months in this fight? He declared that he and his colleagues would shrink from no sacrifice to help to pass the Welsh Disestablishment Bill and other British measures. The House of Commons, on the 15th instant, adopted the new financial resolution of the Home Rule Bill by 318 votes to 207 after an uneventful debate.

The House of Commons was crowded on the 18th inst. but the excitement and tension had largely evaporated. Mr. Asquith proposed to negative the financial resolution, and to introduce a

new one. The Opposition agreed to the negative resolution without a division. The net result will therefore be that the Government re-establish the Bill, but with loss of seven valuable Parliamentary days. Mr. Asquith said the Government had immediately responded to the Speaker's appeal, though they considered that their original proposal, if not within the letter, was within the spirit of Parliamentary procedure. If they now suggested another course it was owing to their repugnance to the possible recurrence of disorder, and because it was impossible to ignore the appeal of the Chair.

Russia and Mongolia.

A Cossack force is being sent to Urga. Its strength is not stated. The Russian frontier authorities have arranged for the storing of tents and supplies at various stages of the march to Mongolia. An association formed of numerous Mongolian chiefs and dignitaries who have recently arrived in Peking has issued a statement denouncing the declaration of independence of Mongolia by Hutukhau Urga, and disavowing the treaty with Russia, and declaring that it is impossible for a rebel community representing less than one-tenth of Mongolia to arrogate to itself the right of deciding the political fate of Mongolia.

Mr. Gokhale.

Mr. Gokhale will confer with General Botha, General Smuts and Mr. Fischer on the 14th November and lunch with Lord Gladstone to-morrow. He will leave for Delagoa on the 17th instant, sailing for India on the 19th instant. Mr. Gokhale had an interview on the 15th November with General Botha, General Smuts and Mr. Fischer lasting two hours. Mr. Gokhale declared afterwards that he was quite satisfied with the frank and full interchange of views on the position of Indians in South Africa. He was certain that both sides appreciated the Indian and the European standpoint. A cablegram from Johannesburg, dated 15th instant, states that Mr. Gokhale will arrive at Bombay by the German East Africa steamer *President* on December 10th, instead of on the 6th as originally settled.

Egypt.

A student named Ahmed Mukhtar, arrested for posting seditious placards, has been sentenced to imprisonment for ten years.

Afghanistan.

Affairs in Khost would seem to be still in an unsatisfactory state though Mangals are not yet again bent upon rebellion. According to news from Kabul strong reinforcements are being sent to the valley where civil government is practically in abeyance.

The Kabul Durbar has ordered that registers of recruiting shall be accurately kept. One man in eight is liable to military service, but there have been numerous evasions. Measures are

now being taken to ensure the full supply of recruits. The demands of Afghan troops in the Jallalabad and Asman districts for an increase of pay have not yet been complied with. The Amir has caused it to be made known that the question of pay throughout the army is to be taken up shortly.

A frontier correspondent states that Barbara Mullah who recently appeared with a large following in the southern Mohmand country has gone back to Hada to consult with the successor of the celebrated Hada Mullah. It is reported that he intends returning with larger force in order to coerce the Kamali, Halimzai and other sections who receive allowances from the British Government. There is said to be a good deal of fanatical preaching in Northern Mohmand at the present time, but the majority of the clans along the Peshawar border are unaffected by it.

A frontier correspondent states that feeling in Kabul is distinctly against any scheme of railways such as was recently set forth in an Afghan newspaper issued under the patronage of the Amir. Even a proposal for internal lines is objected to, as European engineers would have to enter the country.

Imperial Legislative Council.

Revised Regulations for the Imperial Council show that some important modifications have been made in respect of qualifications of landholder electors. In the reconstituted province of Bengal Landholders qualified to vote are—(A) Those who pay land revenue or road and public works cesses as follows:—(1) In the case of Presidency and Burdwan Divisions land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 10,000 or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than 2,500 per annum; (2) In the case of the Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 5,000 or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than Rs. 1,250 per annum. (B) or those who before the date of this notification held titles conferred or recognised by the Government not lower in rank than that of Raja or Nawab.

In Bihar landholders qualified to vote are:—(A) Those who pay land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 10,000 or road and public works cesses amounting to not less than Rs. 2,500 per annum, or (B) Those who before the date of this notification held titles conferred or recognised by the Government not lower in rank than that of Raja or Nawab.

In the case of newly created Moslem Electorate of Bihar the existing Bengal Regulations relating to qualification of electors apply.

The following are the revised regulations relating to the qualifications of the electors of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce:—The member specified in regulation 2, sub-head (21) shall be elected by the votes of persons qualified to vote who (A) are prominent members of the Bengal Chamber or (B) are entitled to exercise the right and privileges of permanent membership of the said Chamber on behalf and in the name of any firm or jointstock company or other corporation, and who have a place of residence in India (herein after referred to as electors).

The McCormick Case.

Mr. N. M. Cowasjee on the 16th instant concluded his remarks on the application before the Full Bench of the Chief Court for a revision of the order of the District Magistrate of Mergui discharging Captain McCormick. Counsel's arguments took up a good part of the day. He submitted the petitioner Fatima had not a proper hearing before Mr. Andrew, District Magistrate. Captain McCormick had to explain how the girl was taken away. The theory was put forward by the defence that she was taken to the accused's house to be cured of the disease she was suffering from. If that story was false the motive assigned by Captain McCormick for taking the girl away fell to the ground. Captain McCormick had to account for the taking away of the girl at seven at night on the 15th July 1911. He had failed to give any reasonable explanation. The case was pre-eminently one for a jury to decide whether the case for the prosecution or for the defence was a true one. People of the petitioner's class when they found that the District Magistrate was living in the house occupied by the accused, would naturally run to the conclusion that the Magistrate would side with the accused person. To show the Magistrate's friendship after the Magistrate had discharged the accused he invited him to dinner to commemorate the success of his trial. The Court was asked to hold that a "prima facie" case was made out for a committal to the Sessions of the Chief Court.

Mr. Rutledge asked the Court if it wished to hear him on behalf of the Crown.

Mr. Cowasjee submitted, Mr. Rutledge had no "locus standi" at this stage of the case which was down for admission.

The Court did not desire to hear Mr. Rutledge until it decided whether it was going to admit the petition.

Orders were reserved.

TETE A TETE



We are glad to note that a steady response continues to be made to our appeals for funds in connection with the proposed Medical Mission for Turkey. Subscriptions are daily reaching us from every part of the country which

Dr. Ansari's Medical Mission.

include numerous humble donations from the poor. They represent a genuine sacrifice and practical enthusiasm which strengthen our belief that the great undertaking will be successful. It is gratifying to see that, like the sahibzadahs of Ajmer, whose liberal contribution to the Relief Fund we noted in a recent issue, other sajjadanashins and mutawallis of Moslem sacred places are beginning to bestir themselves actively in this supreme hour of trial in the history of Islam. The contributions of Rs. 100 from Shah Mohamed Ashiq Ali Sahib, sajjadanashin of Fatehgarh, and Rs. 2,500 from Shah Mohib-ud-din Sahib, sajjadanashin of Sassaram, are welcome not only on their own account, but also for the example they set to others like them and to those who come directly under their influence. We must also note another subscription of Rs. 1,500 received from the Secretary of the Staff Club, M. A. O. College, Aligarh. The sum represents the entire funds at the disposal of the Club, and they have been cheerfully sent to us in aid of the Mission. But it must be remembered that, though we have no reason to be dissatisfied with the character of the response to our appeals for funds, the extent of the response should be much greater and it should be much more sustained if the enormous expenses of the Medical Mission are to be adequately met with. We trust funds will continue to be collected with still greater energy and reach us in daily increasing volume. The necessary preparations for the despatch of the Mission are going on under the direct supervision of Dr. Ansari, and as no time is to be lost we again request those who want to accompany the Mission as doctors, dressers, compounders, male-nurses or ambulance-bearers, to send their final applications without the least delay.

EVER SINCE the fall of Kirk Kilisseh Lieutenant Wegener, Special

The Role of Adrianople.

Correspondent of the *Reichspost*, has been sending emphatic despatches predicting the imminent fall of Adrianople. But the fortress still holds out and the Turkish garrison, even according to this mysterious chronicler of unfought battles and imaginary "events," has been heroically repulsing Bulgarian onslaughts. As long as Adrianople stands, there is reason to hope that the Turks, with fresh energy developed at the base, may yet retrieve their fortunes. The defences of Adrianople are as formidable as military science and forethought can make them and, if the Turkish garrison is inspired by the spirit of the heroes of Plevna, the Bulgarians would not take long in wearing themselves out. A serious check at Tchataldja, the approach of winter and the impregnable position of Adrianople may yet change the course of the war in Thrace. The detailed description of the position of Adrianople and its extensive and well-planned chain of fortifications, which we reproduced from the *Times* in our last, plainly indicates the important rôle the position was designed to play in Turkish defensive strategy in Thrace. To borrow an apt simile from the *Spectator*, Adrianople, in the event of its being invested, should admirably serve as an anvil on which the invading army could be crushed by the hammer of a mobile Turkish force. Colonel E. N. Maude amplifies this interesting strategic doctrine in a recent article in the *Saturday Review*. He traces it back to Napoleon and states it thus:—"Since you can not manoeuvre except

on a pivot, the first step must obviously be to find this pivot. Now, as between moving field armies this problem has always appeared insoluble, for there was the 'independent will power' of the enemy to be considered which Clausewitz points out as the greatest of all the indeterminable factors that war presents." This difficulty was surmounted by Napoleon by resorting to the device of the "engaging guard" which became the fixed pivot for him to deliver his crushing blow at the point of his own choice. "Provided, then, that his (a commander's) 'advance guard' sold their lives at a sufficiently high price, there was no escape from this sledge-hammer, knock-out blow." The rôle of Adrianople in Turkish defensive strategy was mainly designed to be that of the "pivot," or the "anvil." Had the Turks succeeded in stemming the Bulgarian advance at Kirk Kilisseh "the swing of the gate" would have commenced, the Turkish forces would have rolled up the Bulgarian position from Kirk Kilisseh to Mustapha Pasha and compassed the defeat of the enemy. But the retreat from Kirk Kilisseh—the result of several mixed causes—changed the entire strategy and consequently the fortunes of the campaign in Thrace. One fatal incident shattered Turkish defence in the first stage of the war, and it must indeed be a formidable task to wipe out the disastrous effects of that crucial failure now. If, however, the defence of Tchataldja is successful as it promises to be and the Turkish commander, by some supreme effort, rolls back the Bulgarians, Adrianople will effectually seal their doom. The Adrianople garrison is defending the place with sustained courage and heroism and, if it is not paralysed through starvation and pestilence, it may be destined to write another glorious page in the Ottoman military history.

Now that other correspondents besides the irrepressible Wegener have been permitted to see what is happening at close quarters, the war news have ceased to be thrilling records of Bulgarian victories. We were assured that Turkey

had lost her empire in Europe long before the battle of Lüle Burgaz was fought. What is much more possible is that the defence of Tchataldja, if conducted with the vigour and energy that Nazim Pasha appears to have infused in his troops, may yet retrieve the situation. At any rate, the supreme military issue has yet to be decided, and there is no reason to suppose that it will be decided against the Turks. We had expressed in our last considerable apprehension lest the demoralization of retreat should affect Turkish defence at the gates of the capital. Recent news from the theatre of war have, however, dispelled our fears and, if no untoward incident, diplomatic or otherwise, ends the conflict at this stage, Turkish defence will continue to grow in strength and resolution. However brilliant may have been the strategy of the Bulgarian generals and irresistible their onward march, the Bulgarian army is after all limited in its resources and cannot endure the strain of war indefinitely. But the most important factor of the situation is the character of the Tchataldja lines. As these famous lines have come to play the decisive part in the struggle, a detailed description of their military value and strength would be of considerable interest to our readers. The Tchataldja Peninsula, which stretches from Boyuk Chekmeji on the Sea of Marmora to Kara Borun on the Black Sea, takes its name from a little village which is of little importance and the capture of which by the Bulgarians announced some time ago can be of no military value. The total length of the position is 27 miles, but the actual front which the Turks have to defend is only 15 miles, as the sections at either ends have the natural protection of Derkos lake and the Boyuk Chekmeji lagoon. From the northern end of the lagoon the Tchataldja position is protected by a succession of about 30 forts and redoubts in two and sometimes three lines. From west to east the position is crossed only by two roads both of which are in the southern half of the lines. The more southerly route is the metalled high-road which runs along the sea coast from Tchorlu to Constantinople. The road crosses the narrow causeway between Boyuk Chekmeji lagoon and the sea, and it may be assumed that Turkish warships in Boyuk Chekmeji Bay would render this road quite impassable. The other road which passes from Cherkess Keny through the village of Tchataldja crosses the Kara Su immediately north of the lagoon. The Constantinople railway also passes through the village and, crossing the valley about a mile to the north of the abovementioned road, winds its way over the ridge and fort Hademkuy towards the capital. Northwards of Hademkuy, the present headquarters of Nazim Pasha, and up to shores of Derkos lake no roads of any description approach the position from the west, and consequently a Bulgarian advance on the western side of the valley and across the swollen stream of Kara Su, in face of strong opposition, would be a task of immense difficulty. Yet this is apparently the place where the main attack must be delivered. It has been estimated that a garrison of 70 thousand men can hold the Tchataldja position against the world. From the magnificent

resistance now being offered by the Turks it appears that Nazim Pasha has succeeded in reorganising his forces, and we are confident of his being able to hold the Bulgarians in check. Fresh troops are arriving daily and every day is calculated to strengthen the Turkish position, while the Bulgarian position will naturally grow weaker in the event of the campaign being prolonged.

WE HOPED the visit of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to South Africa has been conducive to some amelioration in the lot of his fellow-countrymen resident in that part of the British Empire.

No public man in this country has devoted to the problem of Indians in South Africa as much patient study, thought and discussion as Mr. Gokhale, and his efforts to get at the root of the problem and conditions on the spot must have, no doubt, furnished him with a truer idea of practical ways and means and might possibly result in assuaging the serious heart-ache to which the humiliation of Indians in the Colony has given rise. It is gratifying to hear of the cordial reception that he met with at the hands of the Colonial Government and the public. The problem is, no doubt, great, but it is not insoluble if the South African statesmen try to deal with it in a spirit of candour and accommodation. It is no use repeating the danger that the harsh and inequitable treatment of Indians in the British colonies involves to the honour and solidarity of the British Empire. No British statesman can afford to ignore the danger if he only knows the strength and bitterness of Indian feeling on the subject. The self-governing colonies might not tolerate interference of the Imperial Government in domestic legislation, but they should, at any rate, be made to feel their responsibility as free partners in the privileges of the Empire. The Indian question in South Africa owes its virulence and intensity as much to economic self-interest as to race and colour prejudice. The character of the problem, however, is not so desperate that only iniquitous laws applied with drastic cruelty can make life worth living for the white colonists in South Africa. A tentative effort was recently made by the South African Government to cope with the situation that has become almost hopeless. A measure, toning down some of the most aggravating features of the existing laws and regulations, was introduced in the Union Legislature after consultation with the British Colonial Office, but it has been hung up indefinitely and things are exactly where they were ever before. Mr. Gokhale is reported to have said that the Colonial statesmen are on the right track. We hope they are; and we trust they have taken full advantage of Mr. Gokhale's presence to acquaint themselves with the Indian standpoint. It is very necessary to bring home to the Afrikaner the terrible cost that the Empire might, in certain contingencies, be made to pay through his selfish and overbearing attitude. We are sincerely glad that the Colonials too are learning to discern the merits of one of the foremost Indians, but we must the appreciation has not been confined to post-prandial compliments over sherry and champagne. The *Cape Times* thinks that Mr. Gokhale's visit has sown the seeds of much practical good. The most important aspect of the problem from the Imperial point of view, the paper says, concerns immigration, on which question there is now a substantial agreement that the British Indian will be excluded from South Africa. "The Immigration Act should not discriminate against the British Indian, but exclusion will be effected by administrative means which will be rigorously applied. It is most probable that the three pounds tax in Natal on indentured labourers desiring to settle will be repealed at an early date." We do not know if this represents the true lines for the ultimate solution about which Mr. Gokhale is reported to have expressed his approval. At best, it would be a sad confession of failure, for no empire can evoke a sense of living unity and common patriotism by trying to shut off its diverse communities from one another in racial or economic strongholds by means of protective legislation.

Our readers must be aware that the Government Advocate, Burma, had declined to certify the defamation case, Andrew vs Arnold, as a proper matter for further inquiry. The application to re-open the matter will shortly be made to the Privy Council, and steps are being taken to engage a suitable counsel in England for the purpose. The Arnold Release Committee, which was formed in Rangoon immediately after the savage sentence against Mr. Arnold was made public, stands now in great need of money which must be speedily forthcoming to enable it to strive effectively for the attainment of its laudable object. The fate of the chivalrous and generous-hearted Englishman, who had espoused the cause of a poor and helpless Moslem girl without the least thought of personal inconvenience, danger or expense, has evoked widespread sympathy

throughout India, and we trust the Indian Mussalmans fully realise the debt of gratitude that they especially owe to Mr. Arnold. To him it must be enough satisfaction to feel that he did all what he could to bring to light with a view to remedy what he honestly believed to be a gross miscarriage of justice. His admirers, however, can not rest satisfied as long as the harsh conviction against him is allowed to stand and he, like a common felon, rots in jail. We earnestly hope our readers will cheerfully respond to an appeal for money required by the Arnold Release Committee and, though the purses of the Mussalmans have to meet very heavy and urgent calls just at present, we are sure they will be able to spare what little they can for this purpose. We shall gladly receive all such contributions as are sent to us for the Arnold Release Fund and transmit them to proper quarters. They may also be sent direct to Mr. C. T. Wood, Secretary, Arnold Release Committee, Rangoon.

We HAVE been receiving numerous letters from Moslem correspondents complaining of the attitude of a section of the Hindu Press towards the Indian Mussalmans in their present anxieties and grief. We have purposely refrained from publishing such correspondence as it can hardly be expected to serve any useful purpose. The question, apart from neighbourly goodwill, is primarily one of journalistic taste and decency, and if a few organs of Hindu opinion, especially in the Punjab, have derived satisfaction by gloating over the troubled feelings of the Moslems surely a Mussalman need not lose his temper or equanimity or worry himself about the psychology of such newspapers. But we are happy to see that the responsible organs of Hindu opinion have not only expressed sympathy with the feelings of the Moslems, but have also condemned in no uncertain language the aggression of the Balkan States against Turkey. The recent liberal donation of H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior to the Turkish Relief Fund and the co-operation of the prominent Hindus with the Moslems in Calcutta and in Bombay and other places for collection of funds furnish a truer estimate of the attitude of the Hindu community than the irresponsible and paltry effusions of a few virulent Hindu newspapers in the Punjab. A Bombay telegram says:—"In view of the sympathy shown by the Hindus to Mussalmans during the Turkish war and the liberal subscriptions of the Hindus towards the Red Crescent Society Fund, which amount to over fifty-one thousand rupees, local Mohamedans decided not to slaughter cows during the Bakr-Id." If the troubles of a section of the Indian people evoke the sympathy of the other sections and bring them all together in fellowship we should think that the Balkan war was a blessing in disguise for this country. To regard newspapers of the type of the *Panjabee* as true exponents of Hindu thought and feelings would be an insult to the good sense and intelligence of a great community.

The Sanitary Conference.

THE deliberations of the second session of the Sanitary Conference, held in Madras, have been both thorough and instructive and will, we hope, lead to practical results. We are glad to see that the Government of India have recognised the urgent need of organising a comprehensive scheme of sanitary reform in this country. The scheme for the reorganisation of the sanitary services continues a progressive policy of decentralization by giving to Local Governments power to select their own Sanitary Commissioners under certain conditions. As the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler observes in his presidential address this year, the scheme also provides for the creation of eight additional appointments of Deputy Sanitary Commissioner. These appointments will, we are told, no longer be reserved for officers of the Indian Medical Service, and Indians, possessing the necessary qualifications, will be eligible for them. Provision has also been made for the appointment of Health Officers for Municipalities. Officers of the first class will be required to possess a British diploma in public health, but this condition will be removed as soon as arrangements can be made in India for the necessary training. It is hoped that a post-graduate class for the D. P. H. of the Calcutta University will be inaugurated in connection with the School of Tropical Medicine that will be established at Calcutta. The Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler declares that the Government of India have offered to grant an annual subsidy to those Governments which cannot find the necessary money to establish this trained service. The Local Governments will thus be able to help municipal bodies in the organisation of a service of trained Inspectors, on a system similar to that in force in Madras, and in the improvement of the

subordinate staff of the Conservancy establishments. We hope sustained efforts on these lines will continue to be made and, in the words of the Education Member, the foundations of a modern and up-to-date organisation will be laid which will expand in response to the demands that will be made upon it. The questions dealt with at the Conference included town-planning and the opening up of congested areas. High death-rates and the alarming growth of tuberculosis in all the great cities of India are, no doubt, due to the evils of over-crowding and defective ventilation. There were also discussions on rural and urban water-supplies and travelling dispensaries. The programme of the Conference was full and interesting and occupied six days of discussions in Committees and sections. There can be no question about the importance of the work for which the Conference has been called into being. Its success depends upon a comprehensive study of the problem as it exists in India, on a well-directed and unified effort to cope with it on the part of the Government and on its co-operation of the people. The Conference has to educate public opinion and make it alive to the sanitary needs of the country. The President truly observed that it is no accident or chance that education and sanitation are united under the same department of the Government of India. "Our first and signal objective," said Sir Harcourt Butler, "is to educate the people as to the value and necessity of measures for protecting them in their homes and their lives and those dearest to them from the ravages of plague, malaria, cholera and other communicable diseases, and all the miseries which follow in their train."

WE ARE thankful to Sir James DuBouley, the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, for a report of the progress of the fund opened here by His Excellency in aid of the Lady Lowther Turkish Relief Fund. Up to the 17th November the following subscriptions had been received:—

H. E. The Viceroy	...	Rs.	1,000
H. E. Lord Carmichael	...	"	500
H. E. Lord Pentland	...	"	500
H. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad	...	"	15,000
Mir Yusuf Ali Khan Abdul Kasim Nawab	...	"	
Salar Jung Bahadur of Hyderabad	...	"	6,000
The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam	...	"	500
The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Lyon	...	"	250
The Hon'ble Sir G. Roos-Kepel	...	"	500
Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ali Nawab	...	"	
Chowdhry of Tippera	...	"	340
Mr. Azizud-din	...	"	200
Mrs. Azizud-din	...	"	35
M. Sayid Ejaz Ahmad of Kheta Serai	...	"	100
The Hon'ble Mr. Stevenson-Moore	...	"	50
Mr. Darcy Lindsay	...	"	50
Mr. W. R. Gourlay	...	"	25
Mr. H. L. Braidwood	...	"	50

Rs. 1,000 was also received from Mr. Abdullah Khan in aid of the wounded Turks.

Further subscriptions should be sent direct to Captain Tod, A.-D.-C., Circuit House, Delhi.

Verse.

Turkey.

EVEN as a lion, while full many a dart,
Aimed at his breast, about him hurtling flies,
Grim-couchant, near some rocky cavern lies,
Undaunted still, though chafing at the smart—
Till, like a mountain-torrent's rush, h'll start
And, with a roar that rends the trembling skies,
With bristling main and with wild-flaming eyes
Brush by the hounds and reach the hunter's heart;
So she, within whose mighty bosom glows,
What Time with bigot zeal could never tame—
The quenchless fire of Faith, the pride of power—
Still scorns the malice of her banded foes
And, heedful, lest she set the world aflame,
Still curbs her rising wrath—and bides her hour!

Nizamet Jang.

The Comrade.

The Ways of Diplomacy.

THE cynic that defined a diplomat as a gentleman who is sent to lie abroad for his country would have phrased his impressions of a very important branch of statecraft somewhat differently to-day. The occupation of the strong ambassador with independent will and initiative is gone. Telegraph has reduced his corps to a bureaucracy controlled and directed by a single chief. A Foreign Office is no longer a place to piece together the results of the activities of its various agents abroad, but an organisation of active will and purpose driving a huge and complex machine to definite ends. A modern cynic would, therefore, define diplomacy—for a diplomat in the old sense has ceased to be—as the tribute that self-interest pays to the broad human sense of equity and justice. The main virtue of a diplomatic formula lies in the easy and smooth way it affords from fact to falsehood. The European diplomacy of the last few years has been peculiarly ill-starred, and its vague reticences, brave conventions and fine pose of respectability have been completely and savagely bared to the vulgar gaze of a rude and mocking world. Since the veiled partition of Persia, the Austrian *coup*, the deal about Morocco and the Italian aggression, diplomacy has been leading a dance on eggs. To discover a formula that could bridge the gulf between the acts of Europe and its conscience, as embodied in the Treaty of Berlin, has been a task well beyond even the power of diplomatic phraseology. It must, however, in justice be admitted that diplomacy has always striven to look respectable, and this is a no mean concession to the demands of international decency in politics. The real trouble has in fact been that the Treaty of Berlin was not a sound diplomatic birth, but an abortion. Every great Power wanted to get a slice out of the Ottoman Empire and, fearing lest its rivals should try to get more, it readily pledged itself to maintain the integrity of that empire in the three continents. The pledge was in reality a mild restraint imposed on international greed by fear. The events had moved with staggering rapidity and the rival claimants agreed to patch things hastily up and pause till they had taken the hearings of the new situation. That creation of haste, of mutual distrust and rivalry,—a temporary diplomatic device to avert catastrophes which none of the Powers had the stomach to face—came later on to assume all the sanctity of an international pact. It began to be referred to with great moral gusto as opportunity offered and self-interest demanded such reference. The credulous world soon found itself believing in its strength and invincibility and conceived it as a formidable dyke reared by the united genius and goodwill of Europe to keep back the devastating tides of greed and ambition. Diplomacy however, proved, pathetically impotent and the world only believed and blundered as is its wont.

When the Treaty of Berlin was being torn to shreds the general faith in the ideals of modern diplomacy undoubtedly received a rude shock. The greatest error of the layman has, however, been that he has credited diplomacy with the possession of ideals. As a matter of fact, this peculiar art is concerned only with ways and means. Those who have set diplomacy the task of preserving the world's peace have no knowledge of its limitations nor of the instruments through which it works. One may doubt if diplomacy ever prevented a war, though it has prepared the way for many. The passions of hunger, creed and race have been the main driving forces in the world's history. Diplomacy only watches the wide, sweeping movements of these forces and often tries but in vain to permanently affect their velocity. The Treaty of Berlin existed as long as it suited each of the signatories to allow it to exist. When Austria and Italy found it inconvenient they brushed it aside as a worthless cobweb, and not a mouse stirred in Europe. The purists of International law felt scandalised, but they were soon silenced by Imperialists with their stern "logic of facts." Indeed, a diplomatic instrument dies as soon as a new "fact" comes to birth, i.e., when force or necessity creates a new situation. No Treaty of Berlin could save the Ottoman Empire if it could not save itself. Its fate was pronounced on the very day when the Powers of Europe had publicly agreed to preserve its integrity. In fact that pronouncement had denied the Turk his inalienable right to his independence and his earthly heritage. The question about him decided at the Berlin Congress was not that he was entitled to rule over his possessions in Europe, Asia and Africa, but that it was inconvenient to all Europe to deprive him of his possessions at that particular moment. The efforts of diplomacy have since been directed to anticipating the proper hour and preparing for the final act. It remembered nervously but thankfully the existence of the

Berlin Treaty when the apparition of a Balkan Confederacy in arms rose athwart the vision of Europe, for it was in serious doubt if the right time had actually arrived. There was a loud noise about the *status quo* and the unshakable resolve of the "Concert" to preserve it. As soon as the Confederacy marched to battle, to maintain the *status quo* was found to be an impossible resolution.

As the European diplomacy has always built on the extinction of the Ottoman Empire in Europe as both a probable and a desirable eventuality, it would be sheer folly to expect that the Turk can rehabilitate himself through diplomatic benevolence. Old formulae have been dissolved into thin air. Treaties and international pledges have automatically ceased to exist, and diplomatists are impotently foaming at the mouth. Every considerable or inconsiderable ambition of the interested European Powers has leapt into furious activity and has set up a tumultuous clamour for being heard. There is no question of justice, obligations or consistency. The Balkan whirlwind has swept the old shibboleths into the dustbin and the work of political, territorial and diplomatic reconstruction will be undertaken on the basis of stark self interest. Mutual rivalries and ambitions would be adjusted with the help either of diplomacy or the sword. The Ottoman standpoint neither mattered before nor will it matter now, unless it is pressed to the acceptance of Europe with a force that cannot be resisted. We have, however, been assured that even if the Turks emerge victorious out of the struggle things can never be what they were before. This veto on the existence of the Ottoman Empire in Europe has been placed by an almost unanimous voice of the Powers. The fact must be accepted as it is. In the breathless preparations for the coming scramble all considerations of diplomatic or moral sanctity have been hushed. The sight of a historic nation in travail moves neither pity nor justice. Self-Interest watches the victim in agony, and the vultures are wheeling overhead, intent to descend on the prey.

It is no doubt an interesting speculation to consider how things will finally shape themselves in the Balkans. There are, however, so many incalculable factors in the situation that all speculation may reasonably seem to be futile. The utmost that can be attempted is to indicate all possible lines along which the final settlement may be achieved. Dismissing the possibility of a complete Turkish victory, in which case an autonomous Macedonia will still be insisted upon, let us suppose the war ends with the allies in possession of Macedonia and Thrace. The fundamental fact of such a situation will be the victories of the Confederacy. But, as the *Times* says, much even then will depend upon the impression which such a result of the campaign makes in Russia and Austria-Hungary. The danger of the Balkan question to the peace of Europe and the real reason why diplomacy has clung with such pathetic fidelity to the principle of "maintaining the *status quo*" has been the difficulty these two Powers found in agreeing what should take the place of a *status quo*. "It was understood that Austria-Hungary was not disposed to tolerate the formation on her southern frontier of a great Serb State, which would not only bar her away to Salonica, a port she was supposed to covet, but might exercise a dangerous attraction for her own subjects belonging to the Serb race. On the other hand, Russia was not likely to tolerate any Austro-Hungarian expansion into southern Slav country, and she was believed, moreover, to have views of her own as to the future of other parts of European Turkey, when and if, it came into liquidation. So far there is nothing definite to show that the two Powers have succeeded in reconciling their differences, and indeed they are probably waiting to see what occurs in Thrace before attempting to formulate their respective standpoints. It will not be until their views are known that one can speak at all confidently of the prospects of European intervention." The angry feelings recently aroused in Austria by the Serbian treatment of her Consuls and the official warnings addressed to Serbia against the latter's designs on Albania indicate the Austrian standpoint in regard to the future settlement. Austria-Hungary and her allies are unanimous about keeping Albania autonomous and intact, while there is no clear indication that an open road to Salonica has ceased to be a part of Austrian ambitions. Her course of action at this stage would have been more clearly defined and her ambitions much more articulate if Russia had not succeeded in ranging the Triple Entente on the side of the Confederacy. The attitude of Russia, France and England has been set forth in significant terms by one of its authoritative exponents, the *Times*. It says that public opinion in Russia, and indeed throughout Europe, would be outraged by any attempt to deprive the Balkan States of the fruits of their victories. It considers that for the Powers that have no direct political interest in the Balkans the chief object must be to promote a solution which, if not a final settlement of the Balkan question, will at least be along the lines which the settlement must ultimately take. That is as much as to say that the principle by which they are guided must be "the Balkans

for the Balkan peoples." In the opinion of the *Times* the root evil has been, not the misgovernment of Macedonia, but the frustration of the longing of Bulgarian, Greek, and Serb for national unity. Hitherto the Powers, in such efforts as they have made to tackle the Macedonian question, have evaded any attempt to deal with this, the fundamental factor in the problem. In their "reform schemes" they have sedulously treated the symptoms, not the causes, of the fever that kept the Near East in unrest. "In struggling to maintain the *status quo* they have been struggling to keep a pyramid standing on its apex for fear it should smash valuable crockery when it fell. It has now fallen; and no greater mistake could be made than to attempt to bring it to rest in any but a stable position. A settlement that did not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Balkan peoples would merely make another war inevitable." Against this unmistakable attitude Austria has not yet opposed any definite standpoint, though it does not mean that no definite Austrian standpoint exists. The main question is whether or not the Triple Alliance considers itself united and strong enough to make the Austrian standpoint prevail. With Turkey beaten and exhausted, and the Confederacy basking in the smiles of the Triple Entente, Austrian diplomacy may lack decision and vigour. The Muscovite has played his cards with consummate ability, and no one would be surprised if he succeeds in wiping the humiliation he suffered at the time of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

But whether the old scores will be settled peacefully or through war, a European Congress seems to be an unavoidable preliminary. In the first place it would be required for setting European diplomacy on its legs again. Secondly the problems awaiting solution are so big that no single Power would be courageous enough to take the lead. But, as Mr. Lucien Wolf says, the continuance of little men and colossal problems is the political malady of the age, and this malady will make itself sorely felt in the coming convulse of the Powers. There is not a name in European statecraft that carries with it any conspicuous weight, not a figure of towering and massive dignity. What is even much worse is that these little men go to the Congress utterly discredited. Their first task must be to eat their own words. "Only four weeks ago they tried to prevent the war, and formally notified the Balkan States that if their wishes were disregarded they would not admit at the issue of the conflict any modifications of the *status quo* in European Turkey." To-day the *status quo* is dead, and the task of the coming Congress would be to certify its demise and to endeavour to distribute its estate." In these circumstances one may well contemplate the diplomatic sequel of the war with anxiety, and even alarm. "If only four weeks ago the Balkan States could laugh at and defy Europe, who is to guarantee that they would obey her now. They have the ball at their feet in more senses than one. The dilemma is that if anything like the *status quo* is insisted on, the Balkan States will refuse obedience, and Russia will be bound to leave the Congress and join them. If it is not insisted upon, Austria's defection from the Concert becomes almost certain. In either case the war would be resumed on a vastly enlarged scale."

Within the first week of the war the European Press was busy with forecasts about territorial readjustments. According to the report of the Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, the tone of the Austrian Press is indeed growing markedly pessimistic with regard to the possibility of saving Ottoman rule in Europe. Even more pessimistic is the attitude of the multifarious financiers who have been accustomed to prey upon the economic *status quo* in Turkey. As for the political *status quo*, it is frankly abandoned even by the financial press. "The *status quo* consisted in the military predominance of Turkey in the Balkans," writes the *Neue Freie Presse*. "If this disappears, and power passes into the hands of other States, the displacement must find political expression. Diplomacy can do nothing against this inexorable law of weakness and strength." It therefore urges Turkey to appeal for European intervention. Baron Louis Deczy who was Count Andrássy's secretary at the Congress of Berlin, and subsequently held for many years an influential position at the Ballplatz, declares in the *Neue Pester Journal* that "there is no longer an Ottoman Empire in Europe" and that the only question is whether Turkey will retain Constantinople or not. He believes that the situation which is now being created can be regulated by a Congress without a European conflagration. The official *Fremdenblatt* likewise believes that the rapid development of the military situation involves no danger for European peace because the Powers are united in the endeavour to avoid international complications. But it is noteworthy that the *Fremdenblatt*, for the first time, avoids all explicit reference to the *status quo* and refers only to the "fundamental principles" that form the basis of European agreement. On the assumption that Turkish *debate* is now complete speculation is rife everywhere and a theoretical redistribution of territories is being attempted in every possible way. The *Temps* recently published a telegram from a corres-

pondent, and called attention to it as a specimen of the numerous "combinations" which are at present being considered by the Chancelleries. The correspondent asserts that negotiations are at present proceeding between Austria and Serbia with a view to a partition of the territory won by the Allies from Turkey, and the following is the scheme under consideration:—Austria will share with Serbia the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, taking a band of territory, representing about two-thirds of the Sandjak, along the Montenegrin border down to Mitrovitsa. At Mitrovitsa will begin the Serbian frontier, which will continue to the Aegean, where Serbia will obtain the port of Kavala. The border will be on the east of the railway to Salonica. The railway will be controlled by Austria, but Salonica will remain neutral. Bulgaria will get Roumelia and part of Macedonia. Constantinople will be left to the Turks. Greece will annex Janina and her frontier will reach Salonica, embracing probably Chalcidice. Montenegro will alter her frontier so as to embrace the lake of Scutari. Austria wanted to extend her portion of the Sandjak towards the Adriatic, thus completely encircling Montenegro, but the allies objected. Lastly, Roumania will obtain compensation in the region of Silistria. There still remains Albania to be disposed of, and her partition was the subject of the conversations at Pisa between the Ministers of Austria-Hungary and Italy. A slightly different scheme (which in this case is called the Austrian scheme) was reported to the *Steele* from London, on what the correspondent says is unimpeachable authority. It only adds the following details. The dividing line in the Sandjak will run from north-west to south-east. The northern part from the Bosnian frontier to Mitrovitsa, will be Serbian. The southern, extending to the Montenegrin frontier and embracing the lake of Scutari, will be prolonged to the Adriatic. On its part the Serbian frontier from Mitrovitsa will follow the courses of the Sitnitsa and the Vardar, and on reaching Salonica will bend towards Kavala, opposite Thasos, and end at Karagatch Bay.

Reuter's Paris correspondent wired that the *Radical* declared that it is in a position to state that a plan for the division of Turkey in Europe, agreed upon between the Balkan States and Austria-Hungary, allots to the Dual Monarchy a strip of territory crossing the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar, and thus preventing the immediate contact of Serbia and Montenegro, between which countries there are dynastic differences. This strip of territory will end on the Aegean, and will include Salonica. Serbia, it is stated, will have Old Serbia and part of the Uskub district, with an outlet on the Aegean also, while Montenegro will receive a strip of territory including Scutari. Bulgaria is to have the plain of Adrianople, with the port of Dede-Agatch and other Turkish territory. Greece will be given Epirus and the islands of the Archipelago and Crete, and Roumania will receive an extension of territory to the south of the Dobrua and Silistria. Albania will be made autonomous under Austro-Hungarian sovereignty. Italy is to be given compensation in Tyrol. Russia is to have the right of military passage through the Dardanelles and certain territory in Asia Minor, and probably Alexandretta. Great Britain, France, and Germany will be given economic advantages in Turkey and Asia Minor. The *Radical* adds that it foresees serious objections on the part of Italy, Great Britain, and Germany.

Whether these speculations have any basis in fact or are unimpeachable anticipations of impatient journalists thirsting for sensationalism it is obviously difficult to decide. That with the disappearance of Turkey in Europe, the partition of Asiatic Turkey may also become a possible subject for diplomatic discussion in order to meet the exigencies of the modern doctrine of "compensation" can well gain our credence. The reports about negotiations for peace that were said to be proceeding direct between Bulgaria and Turkey cannot be much credited. Perhaps the rumours have been deliberately allowed to gain currency as "feelers" from the Bulgarian side. According to these rumours Turkey is allowed to retain Constantinople and a strip of territory from the Bosphorus to the Dardanelles. Turkey is said to have rejected the Bulgarian terms. Much will depend on the character and result of the Turkish defence at Tchataldja. But the peace terms, in any case, will be considerably affected by the attitudes of the two Powers most immediately concerned. And it is on this account that the problems of settlement assume dangerous proportions. There is, first of all, the question of the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar about which Austrian and Serbian views come into sharp antagonism. There will possibly be the question of Constantinople and the Straits if the Bulgarians push their way through the Tchataldja lines. If Constantinople changes its masters, Russia will claim a free passage through the Dardanelles and perhaps a naval station in the Aegean, and in submitting to the Muscovite claims the Congress will have British interests in the Mediterranean to reconcile. Then there is the question of Albania, with its large Moslem population, in which Serbia, Austria and Italy are alike interested. Roumania too, will re-

quire compensation in view of such a violent disturbance in the balance of power. The division of the spoils amongst the allies themselves constitutes an independent problem which need not be considered here. The immediate future is dark and even threatening, and no one can be certain of the turn the events may take. The only thing of which there can be reasonable certainty is that Turkey has nothing to hope from Europe and that it may lose through diplomacy much more than through her defeats in the field of battle.

The Crescent and the Cross.

II

We had dealt in a previous article with the root-purpose underlying the Balkan struggle and the impulses on which that purpose has been fed. We had seen how King Ferdinand of Bulgaria has stepped forth as "Peter the Hermit" and rallied Christian hordes in the Balkans to battle in the name of the Cross. We had also shown how the appeal, with all its subtle hypocrisy, has touched the heart and imagination of Christendom, and how a passionate cry has gone forth from many a Christian pulpit and platform that the Turkish rule in Europe must cease. In recounting these facts, and tendencies we expressed our grave concern about their possible effect on Moslem thought and feeling and hoped that "the cynicism, the intolerance and the hypocrisy of modern times will teach him (the Mussalman) self-reliance without embittering his feelings or obsessing his mind." This is our gravest concern still. Islam cannot indeed be imperilled through crusading Peters and Ferdinands. Like all petty, futile and noisy things they will have their day and cease to be. The gravest peril to Islam consists in a possible failure of Mussalmans to-day to recover their hope and moral purpose and rekindle their aspiration. That is the peril; and just because it seems to be so imminent, it is of supreme moment to watch and consider if Mussalmans will succeed in averting it. That is the crux of the matter, the very heart of the crisis, the real issue of one of the heaviest trials that Mussalmans have had to face in the course of their history.

As regards the fanatical war-cries raised in the Balkans, only two things must be borne in mind. In the first place they have been the main driving forces behind those actually engaged in the struggle. Secondly, they do not furnish the key to the real motives and ambitions of the Confederacy. King Ferdinand and his allies have no doubt masqueraded as champions of Christianity before their armies and in the eye of Christian Europe. The mask was, however, worn with a view to its utility and events have proved that the wearers had not erred in their calculations. The allied armies have fought with all the frenzy of maddened fanatics. The public opinion of Europe has been moved to sympathy with the Confederacy under the stress of a traditional religious emotion. European diplomacy has lost its balance and the passions of the Mediaeval priesthood have lavaged some of the European chancelleries. The confederates had phrased their manifestoes with masterly care and no one can withhold from them a well-deserved tribute of admiration for the success they have achieved. They wanted a certain atmosphere and the war-cries they have helped to create have fully supplied the need.

The cause of the Turk was bound to suffer under such a unique atmosphere. "The struggle between the Cross and the Crescent," as King Ferdinand would have it, has not been allowed to proceed in a spirit of diplomatic fairness. Before the outbreak of the war the powers had agreed to present a joint Note to the Confederacy declaring "the determination of the powers to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans." Austria had asked "for the addition of words making it clear that the powers were determined to secure respect for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire." All the Powers had agreed to this amendment including England and the Note was presented in the capitals of the Confederacy by Austria and Russia. Yet Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, even before the war is over, has hastened to tell the world that "things can never be again as they were," "that the map of Eastern Europe has to be recast," and that "the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear." This is perhaps what is meant by "*status quo*" in the language of the Muscovite-ridden diplomacy of England. Just after the declaration of war the *Frankfurter Zeitung* remarked, with profound truth, that the Russian Ambassador in Paris must be rubbing his hands with much greater pleasure than any body had ever done so before. The fine wheels of the clockwork which he had put together with so much labour have begun to work. "It was by his inspiration that in the beginning of September, the Balkan League was formed in the French Capital. Scarcely six weeks have elapsed since then

and the League is already undergoing its baptism of fire." One wonders whether Mr. Asquith would have said that the victors should not be robbed of the fruits that cost them so dear if the fortune of war had turned against the Confederacy. "If," as the *Times of India* says, "the allies in the north had been driven back and if the Turks were now dictating terms in Athens." Another contemporary says that Macaulay's school boy can answer this question in the negative. After the reports of the first reverses sustained by the Turks the *status quo* was declared to be dead. Perhaps the *status quo* meant the preservation of the Balkan States in the event of Turkish victories. European diplomacy has never dealt fairly with the Turk and has never failed to profit through his misfortunes. Circumstances have combined to inflict on him the most terrible blow that he has ever suffered throughout his long and chequered history. Perhaps the star of his empire has set in Europe. He might recover his strength and hope and rebuild his shattered courage and purpose in Asia; but he will never lose the sense of the terrible wrongs that he has had to suffer in Europe at the hands of the European diplomacy. His triumphs were won with his own trusted arm and he never proved himself anything but a generous victor. Europe has, however, seldom shown any sympathy with him in his hour of defeat. "The *status quo* is dead," says Diplomacy. We believe, however, the Turk is not dead and we trust he will never need for his future existence the sublime pity and patronage of the *Times*. The new gospel that has been so sedulously preached in the Balkans and elsewhere may have incalculable effects on the Mussalmans. It reveals Christian Europe in a new and unsuspected light. Everywhere its manifestation has led to disillusionment and alarm. The use that has been made of the symbol of Christianity in justifying aggression and slaughter has shattered the faith of the Mussalmans in the justice and goodwill of Europe. Even the prejudices of colour and race have been freely brought into requisition. Mr. Ameer Ali in his powerful letter to the *Times* quotes the following utterance:—"The white man cannot live with the Oriental except as a superior race. And the white man in South-Eastern Europe has tried too long to do it." The Oriental in this case, as Mr. Ameer Ali says, belongs to the same race as the Magyar and is probably as white as the writer.

A correspondent of the *Times* in the course of a very luminous and interesting article on "Slav and Ottoman" makes some observations that go to the heart of the struggle. He says that there are no ideals inspiring the combatants. The Ottoman army is grimly satisfied to meet an issue which at least it can comprehend. In the past the nimble wit of Western diplomacy has unceasingly outjockeyed the Mongol mind. This superior wit has not been over-scrupulous in the arraignment of its successful forces. It has rung the bells in many chimneys. It has threatened, cajoled, bullied, and played religious sentiment and Pharisaical tutorship in turn. The Turk has not quite understood. After each sonata he has been shorn of something. There is one thing, however, that the children of the men who once knocked at the gates of Vienna, and who ran the prows of their galleys to beach on the shores of Sicily and Malta, still believe. They believe that they understand the carriage of arms.

When has history seen such a war? asks the writer. Was there ever an issue precipitated with a smaller horizon "The opaque mists of international greed, ambition, subtlety, and pusillanimity hang so close around the combatants that one can see no definite horizon for any of the present belligerents." It is for them a war in which, says the correspondent, the vials of vengeance, pent up for years—it might be said for centuries—will be freely, savagely poured forth. Will it be enough that Turk, Slav, or Greek, when each has drunk his fill, shall return to his own border and sheath the sword? This is not the spirit of which those who know the confederates speak. None of them admit that they yearn to extend their frontiers. None apparently desire aught else but to taste the ecstacy of a deep national passion. This, the correspondent observes, brings us very near the great danger that underlies the ferocity with which the campaign must in all conscience be conducted. Europe must strive with its every nerve to keep religious fervour divorced from the struggle. "A new generation of Ottomans is rallying to-day to battle. A considerable proportion of the Ottoman army in the field is Christian. Ottoman solidity in Europe and not Islamism is the guerdon of the Sultan's armies. It must be Europe's duty to keep it as such. Foreign sentimentality in the past has done something to prepare the theatre for the coming shambles. Few are better qualified than the writer to make this statement, since he has been an intimate witness of the methods by which Christian sentimentality was exploited by those who have wooed bloodshed by bloodshed." Europe has, however, failed to keep religious fervour divorced from the struggle. It has also failed to keep the ring with absolute fairness. The consequences of these failures have yet to manifest themselves. We may be sure they will not be inconsiderable.

The War Supplement.

The War in the Balkans.

News of the Week.

London, Nov. 15.

Mr. BENNET BURLINCH, war correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, sends a description of the bombardment of Adrianople on Sunday night. He says that it was the most furious of the whole war and there was no grander sight at Port Arthur. Hundreds of shells from all kinds of guns were bursting simultaneously like lightning flashes. The Turks attempted to reply, but were soon overmastered by the strength and accuracy of the Bulgarians. He describes the ammunition and supplies of the Bulgarians as abundant, there being tens of thousands of sheep and cattle in fields round Adrianople, and convoys are arriving daily with fresh bread, plenty of groceries, vegetables, wine, tobacco and firewood. The private soldiers never had such a time in Soudan. A telegram from Constantinople, by an indirect route, dated the 12th instant, says that cholera has attained alarming proportions. There are hundreds of cases among the troops, and it is stated that there are even more among the refugees whom the authorities are dumping wholesale in towns, on the coast and in the interior without any provision for feeding them. Unnerving sights are to be seen at the stations near Tchataldja where the victims are crawling along or lying on the permanent way in every stage of infection. Hitherto there have been a few cases among the residents in city.

Lieutenant Wegener, telegraphing on the 14th instant, says that Bulgaria will not allow the Turkish overtures for peace to prevent her from carrying on the operations until after the Tchataldja lines have been forced and the city entered by the Bulgarian troops in a manner similar to that in which the Germans entered Paris in 1871. A telegram from the Bulgarian General Todoroff, saying that Salonica was under King Ferdinand's sceptre, has provoked a considerable feeling in Greece which the semi-official Bulgarian papers have only partially succeeded in allaying.

A Constantinople wire, dated the 15th November, says that cholera is rapidly spreading at Tchataldja. There are over 500 cases daily and the total is already over six thousand. It is rumoured that Adrianople has fallen. Wireless communication with that place has ceased since noon on the 13th instant. Hitherto there has been no reply to the Turkish application to Sofia for armistice. Consequently the rumours that an armistice has been arranged are unfounded. The Bulgarians attacked two outlying forts at Tchataldja on the 11th instant. But the result is unknown. There has been no fighting since, but the battleship *Turpua Reis* yesterday afternoon bombarded the Bulgarians at Djelebkewi, north of Derkos, inflicting losses. It is announced that the condition of the lines at Tchataldja is satisfactory. A second line of defence is being established.

A Reika wire, dated the 15th November, says that, after a fall due to a terrible weather the Montenegrins have resumed the bombardment of Scutari. The infantry assaulted the fortifications at Bardanjoli and drove out the Turks from the trenches. The Greeks have captured Metsovo, north-east of Janina. There was a desperate fight lasting for eight hours.

A Belgrade wire, dated the 15th November, says that the Crown Prince, proceeding to Monastir, arrested his march at Prilip, where the inhabitants were most enthusiastic, strewing flowers in his path. The fighting has begun outside Monastir. A decisive battle may be delayed owing to the floods impending the movements. The Greek army under the command of the Crown Prince has left Salonica and is proceeding to Monastir.

London, Nov. 16.

It is understood that peace conditions and the reply of the Allies to Turkey's direct overtures will be formulated without delay and presented to Turkey for acceptance or rejection as a whole. The Allies do not intend to permit Turkey to gain valuable time by wrangling over terms. Unless the latter are accepted within 24 hours hostilities will be resumed in the most vigorous manner. By prompt acceptance of terms Turkey will possibly avert the entry of the Bulgarians into Constantinople. It is be-

lieved that Bulgaria does not object to Turkey retaining Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The Greek Fleet has occupied the Peninsula of Mount Athos.

Many rumours are current in Sofia regarding the situation at Tchataldja. One newspaper reports severe fighting and the capture of six forts, two of which were most important, and states that there were heavy losses, but it is officially declared that hitherto there has been no serious engagement. Only outpost skirmishes have taken place, and three villages before the lines north and south of the centre have been captured.

King Ferdinand is now at Kirk Kilissch, but it is reported that he is preparing to start for Tchataldja. The railway is now in full operation from Kirk Kilissch to Cherkess Keuy, the second station from Tchataldja.

It is officially stated in Constantinople that seven battalions of Montenegrins, advancing on the heights of Kakerik and Soutari, have been repulsed and have fled beyond Boyana, abandoning 100 killed.

It is beginning to be understood that the history of the war will have to be considerably recast. The accounts of the correspondent of the *Vienna Reichspost*, Lieutenant Wegener, of tremendous battles after the capture of Lule Burgas and furious pursuits to the Tchataldja lines appear to have been largely imaginary. Special correspondents of newspapers now point out that the Bulgarians have been strangely dilatory after the victory at Lule Burgas and missed an exceptional opportunity of destroying the enemy. Nevertheless the fact alone that Turkey has applied for an armistice confirms the belief that her position is dangerously weakened and that she cannot sustain a prolonged defence.

A Mansion House Fund has been opened for the non-combatant victims of the war.

London, Nov. 17.

The Montenegrins have renewed their desperate attacks on Scutari. A two days' bombardment was followed by infantry assaults on the plain in front of the town. The attack caused the Turks to retire from their advanced positions. King Nicholas and his son-in-law, the Grand Duke Peter, watched the operations from a steamer on the lake, which the Turks shelled from Tarabosh.

A thousand reservists have arrived at Sofia from America. They were disappointed on learning that they would not be sent to the front. Many have gone to their homes in the interior. It is announced at Belgrade that the Servians have been investing Adrianople while the Bulgarians are concentrating on Tchataldja lines. Since then there have been two sorties from Adrianople, both of which were repulsed, the Turks suffering heavy loss. No official news has been received at Sofia from headquarters for five days. It is presumed that either little progress has been made in the attack on Tchataldja or that fighting has altogether ceased pending negotiations in connexion with an armistice. The Servians last Friday drove the Turks from positions 4,000 feet high commanding Monastir.

A Turkish powder magazine exploded outside Salonica destroying many houses. Eighty persons were killed in addition to fifteen Greek troopers killed and thirty others injured. The latter were quartered in adjacent barracks. Many arrests were made.

Combined action on the Albanian coast is expected if the Austro-Montenegrin negotiations, now in progress at Reika, fail. It is stated that the first condition of the armistice is the immediate surrender of Scutari. The Montenegrins in the meantime have again suspended operations before Scutari on receipt of a telegram from Sofia stating that Turkey is suing for peace.

Constantinople, Nov. 17.

The general belief here is that the war is practically over, and that further resistance is useless. The Banks and the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt are already considering the protection of their interests in the lost provinces under the final settlement.

Firing has been heard at various points in the direction of Tchataldja lines, but no information is available as to the nature of the engagement. It is believed that the Bulgarians are attacking Bojook Tchekmeke, which is between Tchataldja and Constantinople. Turkish warships bombarded the Bulgarian positions at different points on the coast of the Sea of Marmora all day yesterday. Cholera is increasing. Many patients have been placed in a mosque at Sofia. Arrests among young Turks continue to be made. There

have also been many arrests at the front of officers, *ulemas* and *hujas* charged with conducting a propaganda to restore Abdul Hamid.

Heavy firing has been audible throughout the city since very early this morning. It would seem that a general engagement is in progress. Considerable excitement reigns in the city, many house-tops being crowded with people listening anxiously. The cholera has now become a worse scourge than the war. The total number of cases daily now exceeds a thousand, fifty per cent. of them being fatal. The authorities are powerless; both method and organisation are lacking. Three thousand patients who arrived at San Stefano remained for over twenty-four hours in trains in a siding, without food and without water. There were only four doctors present.

The Montenegrins yesterday occupied San Giovanni di Medua with its environs. General Vokolich has arrived near Lake Scutari. He will march to-day to join in the siege of Scutari where the Servians are also expected on a junction being effected.

London, Nov. 18th

No official news has been received at Sofia from headquarters for five days. It is presumed that either lately progress has been made in the attack on Tchataldja or that fighting has altogether ceased pending negotiations in connection with an armistice. It is announced at Belgrade that the Servians have been investing Adrianople while the Bulgarians are concentrating on the Tchataldja lines. Since then there have been two sorties from Adrianople, both of which were repulsed, the Turks suffering heavy loss. A message from Constantinople, sent on the evening of the 17th November, says that the Bulgarians made a general attack on the Tchataldja lines at 3 o'clock this morning and heavy cannonading lasted throughout the day. Nazim Pasha telegraphs that fighting continued until an hour after sunset. The enemy, who advanced especially on the Turkish right and centre, were repulsed and three Bulgarian batteries destroyed.

The *Times* publishes a telegram from its correspondent at the southern end of the Tchataldja line. Describing yesterday's fighting up to eleven in the morning he says that the forts now connecting the works are all well provided with heavy guns, above which field batteries have been dug in at intervals. The Turks have also dug trenches low down in front as permanent defences in which the infantry are snugly disposed. The Bulgarian artillery positions are less advantageously placed than the Turkish. The correspondent describes the artillery duel as the heaviest since the Japanese massed corps pounded Grekoff's rearguard at Liyaoyang. He saw two forward movements of the Bulgarian infantry, but each time the Turkish gunners found their men ineffectual and the movement died out in failure. The Bulgarians, he adds, burst their shrapnel too high and there are but few casualties.

Renter's correspondent at Constantinople, on visiting the Tchataldja lines, did not find any cordon of picked troops which, it was stated, Government had posted there to prevent the mobs and retreating soldiery from entering the city. It seems that the protection of Pera will devolve entirely on the gendarmes and foreign marines. Small detachments of the latter were sent to each Embassy late last night. A message from Constantinople says that at dawn to-day the international squadron landed bluejackets and marines who proceeded to occupy the Embassies, Consulates, Post Offices and other institutions belonging to their respective countries. An interested crowd watched the operations.

The acrimony of the Servian papers and the extraordinary treatment of the Austrian Consuls at Uskub and Prisrend, who were kept practically prisoners and were unable to communicate with the outside world, has exasperated the Austrian Press which is becoming restive.

The Ambassadors and Commanders of foreign squadrons decided to land forces in Constantinople at five in the morning. They will remain concentrated in the buildings in the various quarters of the city till they are required. During the fighting, though several hundred fresh troops were seen going towards Tchataldja, Renter's correspondent also saw several thousands coming away from the lines. The refugees encamped behind the lines are also breaking their encampments and moving towards the city. Refugees are also flocking into the Upper Bosphorus villages from the firing zone.

An Athens message says that the Crown Prince's army has taken the Ostrova Pass after a victorious battle, and is advancing on Monastir. The Fifth Division has also beaten the Turks and is driving them towards Monastir. The Greeks have occupied the Island of Nikaria amidst the enthusiasm of the populace.

London, Nov. 19.

A Constantinople wire says it is reported that the Sultan has requested the Sovereigns of the Great Powers to intervene and end the war. The Turkish War Office states that the battle in the centre of Tchataldja lines continued yesterday. Mahmud Mukhtar attacked the Bulgarians and considerably disordered their formation. He also captured a number of guns, though he himself lost heavily.

A telegram of the *Times* correspondent from Tchataldja lines, dated the 17th instant, evening, says the cannonade was very heavy this afternoon when the Bulgarian batteries to the north-east of the village of Tchataldja opened a continuous fire on the twin works at Hamidiyeh. The infantry had debouched on to the plain and seized the village of Izzedin. They were driven from there by the Turkish artillery and the village was soon in flames, the Turks easily holding the enemy at bay without calling on the reserves. The Bulgarian batteries were cleverly entrenched on the edge of the plain, but being unmasked by flashes, had to bear broadsides from three warships, which were directed by signals from the hills. The action seemed effective, but the angry flashes of the field guns through the dust and smoke showed the Bulgarian gunners courageously serving their pieces. Just before nightfall the fire of the batteries against Hamidiyeh made a fierce response. The Turks were equally energetic and the battle suddenly ceased at sundown. This finished the first day of the Bulgarian preparation to discover the salient points of the famous lines. The Bulgarian General Staff must have learned much to-day. Certainly they learned not to place too much confidence in amateur correspondents' appreciations of the morale of the Turks. Here, and to the north of the lines, the troops of occupation are seeing the enemy for the first time.

A Constantinople wire says that Renter's correspondent approached Tchataldja lines on the Marmora side, as far as he was permitted, and reports that the cannonading was less vigorous than on Sunday. The Turks are holding firm. A military attaché of one of the Great Powers expressed the opinion that the Bulgarian fire was bad. He said they had expended three hundred shells in attacking a battery near him, but did not injure a single man or gun. He believed that the Turks would be successful in holding the lines. It is reported in Constantinople that the Bulgarian left wing has gained a slight advantage in the vicinity of Derkös. The Turkish fleet has suspended operations owing to the high seas in the Black Sea.

A Constantinople wire says that Nazim Pasha reports that there was an artillery duel yesterday, but it was less violent than on Sunday. The Turks repulsed the Bulgarian infantry at various points. Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha had a bullet extracted from his leg in the German Hospital.

A Berlin wire says that King Ferdinand has summoned Dr. Roth to the Bulgarian headquarters for the purpose of stamping out cholera among the troops. Three Pashas were among the prisoners taken at Monastir.

A Budapest wire says that Count von Berchtold, addressing the Austrian delegation, said that in his conversations with Dr. Danoff, President of the Bulgarian Chamber, the latter had convinced him that the Balkan States were heedful of the importance of establishing permanently sound relations with Austria Hungary and that Bulgarian statesmen would act wisely in the decisions to be taken after the brilliant successes of the Army. Count von Berchtold emphasised the fact that the Albanians retained unimpaired their national and racial traditions, therefore the idea of opening to them the blessings of Western European culture could not be regarded as futile. Count von Berchtold paid a tribute to the devotion of Austrian Consuls in the Balkans. Servia had recently complained of the attitude of the Consul at Prisrend and had demanded his recall. The Austrian Government had asked to be allowed to communicate with the Consul, but was informed that the Servian military commanders objected. (Sensation). Similar steps had been taken regarding the Consul at Nitrovitz, whom the Servian military officers had deprived of his liberty of action. It was probable that Servia would speedily comply with Austria's demands, but Austria would continue to press vigorously for the restoration of normal communications with her Consuls. (Cheers). Count von Berchtold said it was difficult to understand Servia's attitude, unless she desired to provoke a conflict. The only other interpretation of her action was that she wished to prevent reports of massacres of Albanians by Servian troops from reaching Austria.

A Belgrade wire says that the representatives of Germany and Italy yesterday informed the Premier that their Governments supported Austria's views regarding Servia's claims for extension.

of territory. M. Pasigs, Premier, replied that it was impossible to answer definitely till the war was over.

The peace terms formulated by the Balkan Allies were expected to-day, but they have been delayed owing to differences of opinion among the Allies. The Bulgarian Government has informed Turkey that, after consulting her Allies, she has appointed plenipotentiaries who have been commissioned to arrange terms for an armistice and subsequently to conclude peace.

Later.

A Sofia wire says that the conditions of the armistice were transmitted to Constantinople to-day accompanied by the main conditions of peace, the principal one of which permits Turkey to retain Constantinople and a strip of the European coast. The Servians and Montenegrins have occupied Alessio. A Belgrade wire says that the number of prisoners captured at Monastir is now given as forty thousand. The fighting around the town was most severe. News of the victory spread like wildfire and caused indescribable enthusiasm.

A Belgrade message states that the fighting round Monastir lasted three days. The Turkish losses were ten thousand, while the victors took many modern guns and rifles with ammunition and large stores of provisions. The work of the Servian armies in Macedonia is now practically completed. Monastir is being decorated in preparation for the grand ceremonial entry of King Peter into the town.

A Reika wire says that the Servians, arriving in the vicinity of Scutari, routed the remnants of the Turkish troops which had been driven from San Giovanni di Medina by the Montenegrins. After this, the Servians proceeded to Alessio and, meeting the Montenegrins before the town, combined with them in the assault. Towards evening the Turks surrendered. The Allies' losses were small.

A Constantinople wire says that Nazim Pasha reports that the Bulgarians, advancing on the left wing this morning, were repulsed with heavy loss. An artillery duel continues along the whole line.

London, Nov. 20.

A Constantinople wire says: Nazim Pasha telegraphs that the Bulgarian left wing had 400 casualties and lost two machine-guns in the fighting on the 18th, which was of a desperate character. The engagement, which began on the 19th, continues successfully. The Bulgarian infantry in the centre were repulsed by artillery fire and a detachment of Turks advanced, driving out the Bulgarians from their entrenchments and capturing rifles, machine-guns and helmets, some of which were Servian. While the description of the fighting at Tchataldja, contained in despatches from Sofia, is limited to the laconic statement that the Bulgarians engaged the Turks at various advanced points at Tchataldja with a view to preparing at Terrain for further operations, Nazim Pasha has sent a series of despatches claiming successes. The last despatch, timed 8-30 yesterday evening, states that the Turks made a sortie in the centre at sundown and dispersed the enemy holding a position opposite, killing most of them.

Correspondents with the Turks are unanimous in declaring that the latter are holding their positions with the greatest bravery, and are punishing the Bulgarians severely. Mr. Martin Doncho, correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, alone states that the Bulgarian infantry made a furious assault on Monday and captured several redoubts. A message to the *Times*, from Tchataldja, states that the Turkish battalion at midnight on Sunday occupied the village of Papahur-gas. The Bulgarians precipitately evacuated the position. Apparently the Turkish left has proved to be impracticable as a point of attack, the Turkish gunners being easily able to hold the Bulgarians at distance, as their heavy guns outranged all the opposing Bulgarian batteries, and fresh troops in good condition are arriving daily. The Crown Prince telegraphs to Athens that the advance northward is stubbornly resisted by the Turks, in spite of the fall of Monastir. A message from Salonica to the *Times* states that only the pacific intervention of Dr. Stancicoff, Bulgarian Minister to France, prevented serious trouble between the Bulgarian and Greek armies, between whom there have been numerous incidents, since the Greek at the outset refused to allow the Bulgarians to enter Salonica. The Greeks only yielded to the Bulgarians' threat to use force. A Constantinople wire states that the Porte to-morrow will appoint plenipotentiaries to meet the Bulgarian delegates. The *Koelnische Zeitung* says that Rumania demands cession of territory from the Danube just below Rustchuck to the coast southward of Varna while Bulgaria offers a portion of Dobrudja from below Silistria to the northward of Varna.

The difference is likely to lead to considerable friction. A Vienna wire says that Professor Kraus with five bacteriologists has gone to

Sofia to combat cholera, plague and typhus among the Bulgarian army by means of serotherapy. While the Vienna papers declare that Austria will demand satisfaction and damages in the case of the Consul at Prisrend, Marquis Bacquchem, Reporter on Foreign Estimates, speaking before the Austrian delegation at Budapest said that the strain of the crisis was lessened in view of the keen desire of the Balkan Allies for peace and he hoped that the Servians would soon return to diplomatic ways. He laid emphasis on Germany's recent vigorous support of Austria and the rapprochement between the Austrian and Italian peoples. In the course of the Naval debate Admiral Montecuccoli insisted on the need for increasing the Naval estimates. He said that strong navies would soon appear in the Aegean and therefore Austria must be prepared for eventualities.

A Rome wire states: The semi-official *Tribuna* says that the statement by German and Italian representatives at Belgrade to the effect that their Governments supported Austria's views regarding Serbia's claims for the extension of territory was confined to the intimation that the Servian occupation of Durazzo would not prejudice the settlement after the war of the position of Albania. A Constantinople wire states that the Russian Ambassador handed the Bulgarian's terms to Noradunghian yesterday evening. A New York wire says that the so-called "Gnunen" Gyp, the blood white Lewis, Lefty Lewis and Dago Frank have been convicted of the murder of the gambler Rosenthal. The Servian Government has now issued a statement denying the alleged cruelties and malevolent rumours of persecution of Albanians, but admitting that during the fighting measures which might have been severe were adopted, owing to the treacherous conduct of the Albanians.

Nazim Pasha, in his despatch yesterday, stated that "the enemy facing our left wing withdrew completely last night. Scouts counted over five hundred Bulgarians dead in the environs of Tchataldja station wearing the uniforms of the 1st Sofia Regiment. Prisoners say that the Bulgarians have been without food for three days." The morale of our troops is excellent. The battleship *Torgut Reis* by wireless to-day states that a detachment from Derkos, aided by the guns of warships, drove the Bulgarians ten miles in the direction of Ormanly and Karaburnu. A Belgrade wire states that the Servian occupation of Monastir and the entry of the Crown Prince are true. But it appears that there has been some blundering about details. The Turks did not surrender but fled, leaving much war material, but the story that 45,000 prisoners were taken is clearly baseless. It is stated at Vienna that Serbia having consented, an Austrian functionary has started for Uskub to investigate the Consular affair.

London, Nov. 21.

A Constantinople wire says that the Porte has requested the Embassies and Legations to withdraw the naval detachments which have been landed, on the ground that their presence is no longer necessary. At a meeting of Ambassadors, held yesterday, it is understood that it was decided to leave the matter in abeyance. Nazim Pasha telegraphs that no serious fighting took place on Wednesday. There was merely slight artillery and rifle fire on the wings. The Porte has appointed the following plenipotentiaries to negotiate an armistice: Nazim Pasha, Izzet Pasha, formerly Commander in Yemem, and Shadan Bey, Member of the Council of State.

Diplomatists consider that the Bulgarian terms are moderate. It is hoped that Turkey will not delay, but despatches from Constantinople indicate that the Turks, elated at Nazim Pasha's recent successes at Tchataldja, may sound out for better terms. Hence the speedy resumption of hostilities is possible, as it is plainly intimated in Sofia that the Bulgarians will not wait long, and that they have recognised that delay is in favour of the Turks, who continue to pour fresh troops into Tchataldja lines. Meanwhile the international outlook is easier.

An official *communiqué* has been published by the Servian Government announcing that the rights of the Consuls in the occupied territory will be fully respected, while it is hinted in Sofia that the Allies are prepared to acquiesce in the establishment of Albania as an autonomous state under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, telegraphing from Tchataldja on the 18th by an indirect route, says: "Disobeying the orders of genlarmes to return to Constantinople, I went back to the battlefield. I noticed that all the outlying works forming the advance defence to the receding centre line had been captured during the night by the Bulgarians, who are now shelling the main works at Hademkeni enfilading the left. I learned that the Bulgarian infantry at one in the morning took the works after forty-five minutes of bayonet fighting. Both Turkish wings are in danger of being cut off. The same correspondent, however, in a message from Constantinople, dated the 20th, which has presumably been censored, says that the Bulgarians, finding the temporary positions at Hademkeni disadvantageous, and their losses excessive owing to the accurate Turkish fire, withdrew to old positions.

A Constantinople wire states that Nazim Pasha telegraphed that the Bulgarians had abandoned their latest trenches and had fallen back seven kilometres. Wounded men, rifles and ammunition were found in the trenches.

A Constantinople wire says that Renter's correspondent, who visited the cholera camp at San Stefano, says he saw scenes of indescribable horror there. Hundreds of dead and thousands of sick were lying in heaps, with scarcely any attendance.

Two thousand cases have been installed in the mosque of Saint Sophia. It is believed that the mosque has been chosen in order to prevent the possibility of its profanation by Christian conquerors.

A Vienna wire states that, speaking at a dinner there, Emperor Francis Joseph said he was bound to admire the Bulgarians, but he could not understand why the fortune of war was so unfavourable to the Turks. He hoped that the Press report of Serbian treatment of the Austrian Consul were exaggerated and that the incident would be peacefully settled.

A Constantinople wire states that the Porte has rejected Bulgarian's terms and has ordered Nazim Pasha to resume operations.

A Sofia message says that the Bulgarian conditions do not in any way partake of the character of an ultimatum, and it is quite open to the Porte to make counter proposals.

A Belgrade wire states that fighting continues around Monastir with the scattered garrison, of which hitherto 5,000 had been captured with forty-six guns. It is estimated that twenty thousand Turks were killed and wounded. The Serbian losses were less, but still very heavy. An Athens wire says that about thirty thousand of the Turkish Monastir army routed by the Serbians fled, *via* Florina, which the Greek army occupied yesterday, capturing quantities of material and ammunition.

The *Empire* publishes the following special cablegram, dated London, November 21st: "The Bulgarian set-back at Tchataldja has greatly improved the Turks' chances of less onerous terms of peace. They will certainly retain Constantinople and a strip of the coast. The Powers are unlikely to agree to the Porte's request to withdraw foreign warship and marines."

The Fall of Kirk Kilisseh.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

THE number of officers and soldiers who have been shot for panic at Kirk Kilisseh is now three hundred.

After the occupation of Eski Baba by the Bulgarians, who cut the railway communications between Salonica and Adrianople, Nazim Pasha withdrew his headquarters to Cherkessa Keny.

According to the narratives of refugees and eye-witnesses from Kirk Kilisseh, the divisions under Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha and Prince Aziz were composed mainly of Redif, under-officered, ill-trained, and badly fed, and several regiments had no rations for 48 hours. The officers, moreover, did not know the country. A night attack was ordered, but the energetic defence of the Bulgarians disconcerted the Turks, and a panic set in, the troops dispersing in flight and abandoning guns, rifles, and munitions. Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha endeavoured to arrest the panic, shooting down several of the fugitives with a revolver. Prince Aziz Pasha joined in the flight. After a consultation with General Abdullah, Mukhtar Pasha ordered the retreat. General Hilmi refused, fearing that to obey would mean a disaster. With part of his division he took up a position in the fortification north-west of Kirk Kilisseh to cover the retreat. His troops, stricken with panic, refused to remain, and began to disperse. Hilmi Bey shot some of the fleeing soldiers. By his coolness and energy he succeeded in saving the greater part of his division. The main divisions continued to retreat in the utmost disorder towards Vizoh, where the division under Fakhri Pasha and Djemal Pasha stopped the rout, and restored some semblance of order. Meanwhile the Bulgarians, who were unaware of the retreat of the Turks, hesitated to advance. Thus between the evacuation of Kirk Kilisseh by the Turks and the entry of the Bulgarians into the town an interval of eight or nine hours elapsed. In that time the whole population fled in abject terror. The soldiers quitted their barracks without even taking their rifles or kit. The last to leave the town were a few devoted telegraphists, one of whom, an Armenian, remained at his post until he saw the Bulgarian troops entering the town. Fakhri Pasha's division held the advancing Bulgars temporarily in check, and recaptured four guns.

By Sunday morning order had been completely restored in the Turkish army, and the offensive was resumed cautiously while awaiting

the arrival of reinforcements. In the course of four days over four divisions were despatched to the front from Constantinople in the direction of Kirk Kilisseh, and others were ordered to proceed both by land and sea.

Constantinople Accounts.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

Constantinople (by Indirect Route), Oct. 26

TO-DAY affords the first opportunity of sending without fear of the Censor a summary of the somewhat confused and disjointed reports received here of the severe reverse sustained by Turkish arms in the neighbourhood of Kirk Kilisseh. After a careful sifting of the exaggerated and contradictory reports current the following facts seem pretty well established. The slow advance of the Bulgarians and the consequent delay in getting to grips with them proved irksome to some of the Turkish commanders who were impatient to assume the offensive. It would appear that a certain division of opinion manifested itself, but finally an advance was authorised and an important column of regular infantry and cavalry and volunteers set out for a position north of Kirk Kilisseh on the night of October 21 under the command of General Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha and Prince Aziz Pasha with the intention of making a surprise attack upon the Bulgarian forces which were gradually converging upon Kirk Kilisseh.

The night was extremely stormy, and violent squalls of wind and rain were followed by a downpour which drenched the troops to the skin almost before they had started. The column was soon divided into two or more divisions, which advanced along separate paths. At dawn the advance troops came into contact with the enemy, and a severe engagement ensued. The Bulgarians were discovered in overwhelming strength, and not merely a light vanguard of them, as had been expected. Owing to the darkness, or possibly an error in the route followed or some confusion in the instructions, one of the Turkish columns mistook another body of Turkish troops for the enemy and delivered a violent attack upon it, causing heavy losses before the mistake was discovered. The Turkish troops were soon compelled to give ground before the Bulgarian advance, and shortly afterwards the Turkish cavalry in attempting to charge was severely punished. The Bulgarian firing at the retreating cavalry and the galloping of the horses appears to have started a panic among the retiring infantry, and especially the volunteers, who fled. The fleeing troops caused confusion among the Turkish reserves, but finally the second division of the Constantinople Army Corps checked the flight. The Turkish losses in this affair were very heavy. Details of their casualties are not obtainable.

The causes of the rout.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Oct. 29.

I HAVE received the following interesting account of the Turkish reverse north and north-west of Kirk Kilisseh from an eye-witness who has just returned from the scene of action. Of this story I have obtained independent corroboration.

On the night of Monday, October 21, the Third Army Corps was encamped round Kirk Kilisseh. Of the three divisions, the Seventh Division, under the command of Hilmi Bey, was on the right near the village of Uskub; in the centre a mixed division composed of troops of the Ninth Division and several Redif Battalions, under the command of Hassan Izzat Pasha; and on the left the Eighth Division, commanded by Fuad Zia Bey. Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha was in command of the army corps, while the headquarters of the whole army of the east were reported to be at Kavakli, south of Kirk Kilisseh. The army corps commanded by Omar Yaver Pasha was believed to be on our left, while further east were the Second Army Corps, under Shevket Torgut, and the Fourth Army Corps, under Ahmed Abouk. Orders were received to advance and meet the Bulgarians, who had crossed the frontier at several points, and who were believed to be advancing after having driven in some of our frontier posts. But for difficulties of the commissariat, which were very marked, all would have gone well, and the army looked forward with confidence to the morrow's battle.

On Tuesday morning the whole army corps advanced. The right wing made ground and pushed forward nearly as far as Erikler, driving the Bulgarians before it. The losses on that wing were greater than in the centre, and I was informed that two companies engaged in an attack on a Bulgarian position near Erikler had been nearly annihilated by rifle and machine-gun fire at short range. In

the centre and also apparently on the left the fight resolved itself into an artillery duel, in which our artillery seemed to have the superiority. Both sides dug themselves in and saw little all day of the enemy's infantry. One or two formed bodies showed themselves and were dispersed by our shrapnel fire. At nightfall our centre extended about a mile in front of the village of Petra, facing the Bulgarian position on the hills around Paulos village. We had two or three battalions in the fighting line, and behind them the remainder of the division in reserve around Petra with the army corps and transport.

About one hour before dawn the men of one Redif Battalion from Afion Karahissar, who were in the fighting line, stood to their arms. It was just possible to see groups of men moving down to them and a few shots were fired, when the battalion commander ordered the cease fire to be sounded. What followed was extremely difficult to discover. According to one account the men moving towards us, who seemed to be speaking Turkish, were presumably Bulgarian deserters, or Turks from Eastern Bulgaria serving in the Bulgarian Army. According to other accounts they were our own men, who had been driven in by the enemy's advance. In any case there was a pause in our movements. The fighting line peered into the dark wondering what was in front of them, when suddenly extremely heavy rifle fire, augmented by one or two machine-guns which the Bulgarians under cover of night had brought up to within short range of our front, burst upon the Karahissar battalion. The hungry, under-officed men of this newly-embodyed unit gave way at once. Word went round that the officers who ordered the cease fire had sold them to the Bulgarians, and in a few minutes practically the whole fighting line was bolting back to its reserves around Petra.

The reserves, finding the front tumbling in on them with cries of "The Bulgarians are coming," either fired wildly to their front or began to retire in increasing confusion. A number of fugitives ran into the village, and the panic communicated itself to the transport, which began to move rearward in disorder. I tried to stop some of the drivers from bolting, and temporarily succeeded, but a fresh influx of runaways came in on us, and the drivers plied their whips and fled, throwing away ammunition and stores in order to lighten their load. The artillery became involved in the panic, and within one hour of the first shot the whole centre had gone to pieces.

The panic was intensified by the fact that on the previous day we all had the impression that the Bulgarians were retreating, which seemed to be confirmed by the discovery of at least one abandoned field gun in a gully near Petra and by the success of Hilmi Bey's Division. The great majority of the men ran faster and faster, many officers and a few groups of determined soldiers stood their ground only to be overwhelmed by the now advancing Bulgarians. As it grew lighter the Bulgarian shrapnel fell on the retiring troops and precipitated their retreat. I heard from the Artillery officers that at least ten guns were abandoned after the breach blocks had been removed in the ravines between Petra and Kirk Kilisseh. I saw Mahmud Mukhtar who constantly exposed himself in Tuesday's action, riding with drawn sword among the fugitives, at whom he slashed in a vain endeavour to rally them. One officer, after three attempts to rally his men, shot himself before my eyes.

Meanwhile as the light came the right and left wings were able to realize the situation. Seeing the Bulgarians advancing on them and entering the gap left by the flight of the centre, some of Fuad Zia's troops gave way, as did an Angora Redif Battalion attached to Hilmi Bey's division. The rest of this division, however, made a fine retreat, contesting every inch of the ground, and did not fall back through Kirk Kilisseh towards Visa till early in the afternoon. Mahmud Mukhtar and his staff took the same direction. Part of the Eighth Division also got away across country along the same road in good order.

At Kirk Kilisseh panic reigned in the forenoon. The inhabitants, who heard that a number of Moslem villages had been burnt by the Bulgarians, began to flee, and matters were made worse by a collision between a troop train coming from Baba Eski and a train laden with runaway soldiers and civilian fugitives. There was little loss of life, but line was effectively blocked. Unable to get away by train, I betook myself to Kavakli. The headquarters had gone. The telegraph clerks were bolting and the wire had been cut. From near Kavakli I saw the beginning of the bombardment of the Kirk Kilisseh forts, one of which, Beyaz Tabia, was wreathed in smoke and flame.

Between Kavakli and Baba Eski the roads were choked with fugitives of every description. Most of the soldiers kept their rifles, but greatcoats and waterbottles were thrown away. Officers looking for their men, men looking for their battalions, transport wagons overturned—the whole was an awful picture of disorganization.

Baba Eski was full of fugitives, among whom were men from Omar Yawer or Torgut Sherket's Corps, I am uncertain

which. I gathered that there had been another panic further east, in which Prince Aziz Hasan's division had been involved, and was informed that a Cavalry Regiment caught by the Bulgarians in ambush had ridden down its own Infantry, whereupon the Prince had ordered a retreat, which resulted in a partial panic. However this may be, it was impossible to obtain definite information from anybody, save that several trains full of fugitives had arrived from further east. I entered a train in which I fell asleep and awoke to find myself on the permanent way amid the ruins of the carriage. Some people spoke of a bomb, others of a flock of sheep into which the train had run. In any case the line was blocked, and we were obliged to tramp past Seidler, near which the accident occurred, to Tchorn. Here the fugitives were seized and appropriately cursed and kicked by the fresh troops who arrived, and they were in many cases put under arrest. All was in good order here. The men were well fed and confident, and we were informed that Nazim Pasha was expected.

With regard to the losses, I believe that under 1,500 were killed on the eastern flank, but it is impossible to form any estimate of the wounded and prisoners. I doubt whether there were many prisoners; the retreat was too precipitate; but most of the transport was lost or scattered all over the countryside. The most unfortunate result of the affair is the demoralization of part of our force and the corresponding encouragement to the enemy, who shot straight and came on with great élan in Wednesday's action.

One of the Special Correspondents of the *Temps*, writing from Vranja, gives the following information:—I have spoken with a large number of Turkish prisoners, and their testimony is unanimous. At the moment when the Serbian forces arrived at Uskub the Turkish soldiers had not had a crust of bread for 48 hours. They also state that the mobilisation of the Turkish forces in those regions was carried out under the most disastrous conditions. A very well-educated Turkish officer said: "Things were taking place as in the Middle Ages. Horses were sent to the infantry and vice versa. There was never any commissariat service, nor a regular service of supplies. The result could not have been otherwise."

Treachery of the Christian Troops.

THE Special Correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* at Tchorn had the opportunity of speaking with the fugitives from Kirk Kilisseh, and writes in a message, dated October 25, as follows:—"The substance of their story is that the defeat was mainly due to the Christian soldiers who have recently been introduced into the Turkish army. This story, indeed, gives one the impression not of an excuse, but of a real explanation of the occurrence. It is said that a considerable number of Christian soldiers, as if by agreement, made themselves known to the enemy, who thereupon directed their attack exclusively against the Mahomedan troops. In this way is the panic explained which first caused the recoil of the Turkish troops after they had fought for hours with success. Thereupon the reserves, who consisted mainly of volunteers, were in their turn seized with a panic, and the whole ended in victory for the Bulgarians."

Bulgarian Thanksgiving.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, Oct. 25.

SOBIA presented an interesting scene last night. Early in the evening the church bells began to peal, and before long the cathedral and the minor fane were filled with a crowd of worshippers carrying lighted tapers. The services—a *Te Deum* for the victory and a *Requiem* for the fallen—continued throughout the night, and processions of the bevout with twinkling lights issuing every now and then from the churches formed a picturesque and impressive spectacle which emphasised the religious character of the great struggle in which the nation is engaged. Only the Rumanian Church, which is not yet consecrated, remained dark, as though typifying the isolated attitude of the sister country in the conflict between Cross and Crescent.

Some students and Macedonians carrying torches and the flags of the Allied States traversed the streets singing and cheering, but the prevailing atmosphere was one of restraint and tranquillity, and perfect order prevailed. There was no frantic display of exultation, no delirium of joy, no horseplay, no "mafficking," although a period of intense anxiety had been brought to a close by a brilliant and perhaps decisive victory. The strength and virility of the Bulgarian character shows at its best in moment such as this.

In regard to the details of the memorable conflict little information is obtainable, and there seems a tendency in responsible quarters

to minimize rather than to exaggerate the greatness of the triumph. Only those who have read Bulgarian history and are familiar with the national characteristics can find the clue to this strange reticence. During the centuries of Turkish domination the Bulgarian whenever he came to possess anything of value buried it in the ground. When the nation was at last emancipated from its long bondage foreign intervention deprived a portion of the race of its newly-won liberty. When the young State won a signal victory in 1885 the foreigner forbade it to exact ransom from the aggressor. Instinctively the Bulgarian now desires to conceal the importance of his triumph from powerful and jealous neighbours. He will scarcely succeed in doing this, but in view of the attitude of the German and a section of the British Press, and with rumours of Austrian and Rumanian mobilization in the air, his motive is natural and intelligible.

The "Times."

THE terrible stories, related yesterday in the vivid account of the rout of Kirk Kilisseh, furnished by our Constantinople correspondent, and in the statements of survivors from Kumanovo sent by our Salonica correspondent, do not reveal the traditional Turkish soldier at all. Quarrels between commanders we can understand. They are the commonplaces of warfare. But these authentic pictures of Turkish troops in headlong panic-stricken flight are in painful contrast to the valour of the men who died in heaps upon the blood-stained slopes of the Shipka Pass. What has wrought so marked a change in the character of the Turkish soldier? It is not enough to say that he has not the moral inspiration which animates his foes. The Turkish rank and file have never thought much about the reasons of their wars. They have fought for ALLAH and their PADISHAH, and have not cared to seek for any further motive. We think the ultimate causes of their failure, up to the present moment, maintain their old reputation as men of arms, will be found in more practical matters. The Regular regiments have been filled up with untrained reservists, who were sent to the front without even elementary knowledge of their duties. The officers were less in touch with their men than was formerly the case in the Turkish Army. Some of the Anatolian reinforcements had marched weary distances afoot from the interior of Asia Minor, and were tired and dispirited when they came into the firing line. Over the whole Turkish Army has hung the constant spectre of hunger, not because no food was within reach, but because the method of distribution was bad. Again and again in recent messages stray allusions to the starving troops probably give us the clue too much which is otherwise inexplicable. The Turkish soldier wants little food, but he cannot live on air. The only bright pages in the Turkish records of the war are the gallant defence of Scutari and the plucky sorties of the garrison of Adrianople.

The Town of Kirk Kilisseh.

Kirk Kilisseh, the capture of which yesterday by the Bulgarians is fully reported on page 6, is not a town of great importance in itself, but it has come into prominence in recent years owing to the attention bestowed upon it by von der Goltz Pasha in the Turkish scheme of defence. Before the outbreak of the war it was the headquarters of the Third Army Corps. It is worth noting that last year the entire general staff of the Bulgarian Army spent 16 days studying the ground in the frontier district towards Kirk Kilisseh. It is a typical Turkish provincial town, with a good Khan, and is the seat of Austro-Hungarian, French, and Greek Vice-Consulates.

Kirk Kilisseh, in Greek *Saranta Ekklessai*—"Forty Churches"—is the chief town of a *sanjak* in the Turkish vilayet of Adrianople, and the largest of the towns which extend along the western foothills of the Istranja Range. This chain runs roughly parallel with the Black Sea coast, the highest peak being Maghiada, situated between Agatopolis and Bunarhissar, and rising to a height of about 3,400ft. The town of Kirk Kilisseh, lies in a south-westerly direction from Maghiada at an altitude of 750ft., on an affluent of the Maritza and at the head of one of a succession of small valleys which opens out on to the plain. The town rises in an amphitheatre up the two slopes of the valley to the level of the plateau. The surrounding country is clad with forests of oak, interspersed with beech, and there are large stretches of underwood. The region immediately to the south of Kirk Kilisseh is called Hassikia, a derivative of a Turkish word meaning "State property." The inhabitants of Hassikia in dialect and costume closely resemble the Pomaks of the Rupchuz in the Rhodope Mountains. Many of the villages in the frontier region have been established since 60 or 70 years.

Since the Russo-Turkish war the Bulgarian population in the neighbourhood of Kirk Kilisseh has been greatly reduced by migration into Bulgaria. The Turkish Government some years ago adopted the policy of setting in that district the so-called Mohadjirs, Turks coming from Bosnia and other parts of the Empire. The systematic practice on the part of the Turkish of discouraging road-making towards the frontiers has rendered it useless for the Bulgarians to carry roads to the confines of the region. The result is that one of the principal Bulgarian roads terminates at Kara-Agach, a long way to the north-west of Kirk Kilisseh. For the rest there are only what the French call *chemins vicinaux*, which in the case of the Turkish side of the frontier, are scarcely worthy of the name of roads. A good road, however, connects Kirk Kilisseh with Adrianople, from which it is 35 miles distant, a drive of about six hours over rolling ground and low-lying hills.

Kirk Kilisseh was from the earliest times a point of some military importance, being on the Roman highway from Delton to Adrianople, and in the Middle Ages the Turkish road from Aitos through Russocastro. To-day it still owes its chief importance to its position at the southern outlet of the Fakhi defile over the Istranja mountains, through which passes the shortest road from Shumla to Constantinople.

The "Forty Churches," from which Kirk Kilisseh derives its name, exist no longer, but it can still boast six mosques and several Greek churches. There is a large bazaar, and the population numbers some 16,000, two-thirds of whom are Bulgars and about one-fifth Turks. The remaining inhabitants are chiefly of Greek extraction. The staple industry is the manufacture of special confection, and dairy produce is sent in considerable quantities to Constantinople. As its Bulgarian name, Lozengrad, the "town of vineyards," implies, the countryside is vine-covered and enjoys a local reputation for red and white vintages of a commoner kind.

Kirk Kilisseh itself presents the usual features of a small Turkish town, with flat-roofed wooden houses, the decrepitude of which is merely enhanced by the unpretentious minarets of the mosques. The streets are cobbled and in bad repair, and the main road runs through the middle of the town. Its former importance is attested by the ruins of the ancient Byzantine fort of Skopelos, near the village of Eskipeloz, which in the 13th and 14th centuries was first-class stronghold. The Polish traveller Oswiercim in 1686 reported having seen the ruins of a magnificent castle with five towers, a church, beautiful fountains, and other amenities. Of this castle only one small tower remains. The so-called forts are not impressive structures, and the defences as a whole are old-fashioned. During the insurrections and massacres of which Kirk Kilisseh was the centre about ten years ago a Turkish force of 25,000 men was based on the town. At that time, with the rural population up in arms, not a single Turkish official had dared to remain between Kirk Kilisseh and the sea, and an awkward situation might have been created for Turkey if Bulgaria had attempted for a *coup de main* before the Turks had brought up their reserves from Asia Minor.—*The Times*.

Nazim Pasha's Choice.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THE military situation has been so hopelessly confused during the last few days that it has been useless to offer an appreciation of it. We have all seen clearly enough that the position of the Turks in Macedonia was compromised, and that the best that could be hoped for them was a concentration on the lower Vardar of such elements of Ali Riza Pasha's troops as had escaped the panic after Kumanovo. But in the Thracian theatre, partly owing to the dearth of authentic reports, and partly to the diffusion of wholly improbable rumours, the real situation was most difficult to divine, and even now can only be touched upon with the greatest diffidence and without any assurance that a true course has been steered amidst the troubled waters. It is, however, normal that one should have, in war, to decide upon evidence which is, in the nature of things, untrustworthy even when not actually intended to deceive, and if one arrives at a conclusion quite at variance with the truth the exercise is still so fascinating that most soldiers like to dabble in it.

First of all, then, what is the present position of the two Bulgarian armies in Thrace? The First Army under General Ivanoff was, as we know, destined for the attack on Adrianople in the first instance. It consists of five Bulgarian divisions, and conceivably of one Servian. This army deployed in two groups north and west of Adrianople on October 22, and during the days immediately following drew its lines round the town on all sides except possibly on

the south-east. The Bulgarian siege artillery, which must have been handy to the front, came up, fire was opened, Turkish sorties were, according to Bulgarian reports, repulsed, and a confident hope was entertained at Sofia that the place would promptly fall to an assault. There was—and there is—every reason for Bulgaria to desire the speedy fall of Adrianople. The necessity to secure the use of the railway for purposes of transport and supply was evident. The moral and political effect of the capture of the fortress would have been very great. The need to set free the First Army for operations to the southward was obvious to everybody. The general situation of the fortress before the outbreak of war must have been well known to the Bulgarian intelligence service, and advices from Sofia demonstrated that an early success was confidently anticipated. The days go by and there is no direct news from Adrianople and still more interesting is it that, so far as we know, no large detachments from the First Army have come south. The writer's expectation was that an open assault made upon the place should fail in view of the three weeks allowed to the Turks to complete their preparations, and the inference is that an assault has been made and has failed. The sudden mobilization of Bulgaria's last reserves and the calling up of a fresh levy of young men are indications that all is not going quite well, and all the time there is Rumania, obviously uneasy, and the steady flow of Turkish reinforcements from Asia Minor to be borne in mind. The need was to finish quickly with Adrianople, and, though we may hear soon that the investment has been handed over to the reserves and young levies, there probably must be left before the place several active divisions, and on the whole the general conclusion is reached that the Bulgarian First Army is mainly occupied with the attack on the town and has probably failed at present in its efforts to assault it.

The movements of the Bulgarian Second Army after the capture of Kirk Kilisseh can only be surmised. This army probably consists of four divisions, as already suggested, under General Dimitrieff. It suffered losses on October 22 and 23 which probably partly crippled it. Its communications by road are long, and the roads, in view of the heavy rain, must be exceedingly bad. The correspondent of the *Reichspost* has kindly given us, and the Turks, its lines of advance; but we must be discriminating in studying his interesting telegrams, which are not necessarily the truth, but rather what the Bulgarian staff desires us to believe. We have no reason at all to suppose that this Second Army, possibly not 70,000 strong, is covering half Thrace in its advance. It is much more likely moving south-eastward with its divisions within supporting distance of each other, and it is no doubt its cavalry, supported by mixed detachments, which destroyed the bridge at Cherkess Keny and is heading the advance of which the towns of Visa, Sarai, and Istrandja represent the axis.

The *Reichspost* correspondent is most confident. He tells the Turks that unless they hold and stand on the Ergene river they will be surrounded; but it is not normal for the staff of one belligerent to tell the other fellow how he can best proceed, and the inference is that the mission of the Bulgarian Second Army—whether it is called the second or the third makes no matter—is to threaten Constantinople, to tie down Nazim to a defensive rôle, and to cover the prosecution of the attack on Adrianople. It is a very bold game, if the Bulgarian First Army is not able to co-operate with it, and it will not necessarily succeed.

There are very wide gaps in our information regarding the Turkish position, and we must fill them in by suppositions, some of which are likely to be wrong. The writer's opinion was, before the attack on Kirk Kilisseh began, that there were 70,000 Turks or thereabouts forming an advanced defensive line on the front Adrianople-Kirk Kilisseh, and that the main Turkish Army in Thrace was not there, but on the railway three days' march to the south. The latter supposition, at all events, has proved to be correct. What happened at Kirk Kilisseh and afterwards? Apparently there were from 50,000 to 60,000 Turks at or near Kirk Kilisseh when General Dimitrieff attacked it and for two days they gave the Bulgarians a very warm time. Then something happened, but the something is still obscure. About a division and a half of Turks was left to hold the town on the Thursday when it was taken, and the rest went off, possibly to Adrianople. The garrison left behind at Kirk Kilisseh got into trouble, and though it was not captured it was driven off to the south-east along the road which the Bulgarian Second Army is now apparently following. The remainder of the force may have reached Adrianople, bringing up the garrison to something over 50,000 men. This supposition may prove to be incorrect, but on the evidence available it may be as good as another.

The Battle of Kumanovo.

The mail newspapers now to hand contain little news of the war in the Near East that has not already been given in Reuter telegrams. In the *Daily Telegraph* of the 1st November, however,

there is a long message from Mr. R. J. MacHugh, that newspaper's special correspondent with the Serbian army, giving the first full account of the battle of Kumanovo on the 23rd and 24th October which had so far reached London. Mr. MacHugh telegraphing from Vranje (Serbia) on the 26th October wrote:—

Details are now obtainable of the desperate battle of Kumanovo on Wednesday night and Thursday. They make it clear that the Turkish defeat developed into a fearful rout, in which the whole Ottoman army fled in wild confusion, leaving behind guns, wagons, baggage, everything that could impede the flight of the panic-stricken troops. The Serbians captured fifty-four field-guns, six mountain-guns, six machine-guns, eighty tents, a vast quantity of baggage, arms, ammunition, and war stores of all kinds, which were abandoned in the mountain passes north of Uskub. Practically the whole artillery of the Uskub army is in Serbian hands, and it is believed that the Turks succeeded in saving only twelve guns of all that were engaged during the battle. At Sienitz, the same day, the Turks lost thirteen field-guns and nine howitzers, so that since Wednesday the Serbians have taken eighty-eight pieces of artillery from the Turks. These losses completely cripple the Turkish forces in Macedonia and render much easier the task before the Serbian armies.

The battle of Kumanovo began on Wednesday night at eight o'clock, when a Turkish Regular division attacked the Serbian outposts in front of Tova. There was only one Serbian battalion at the point of attack, but it held its ground determinedly, in spite of heavy losses, until reinforcements came up.

There was some mist at the time, but the moonlight enabled the combatants to see each other. Desperate fighting went on till midnight, when the Turkish attack was repulsed all along the line. At one in the morning the Serbians launched a counter-attack with a large proportion of the First Army, and the Turks were driven back into the hills south of Kumanovo with terrible losses. The encounter was of a fearful character, as there were many Albanian Bashi-Bazouks with the Turks. These people are the deadly enemies of the Serbians, and fought with fanatical courage. Bayonets, clubbed rifles, and even spades for entrenching were used in the battle. Among the Turkish dead, many were found whose heads were smashed by spades wielded by the Serbian troops, who fought with undaunted bravery all through the night. The Serbians pressed the Turks so closely that the latter were unable to hold the strong entrenchments they had prepared in the hills, and the earthworks were rushed at the point of the bayonet.

When morning broke the scene was appalling. The roads and fields were strewn with dead and wounded men, and the Turks everywhere were flying for their lives in panic before the infuriated Serbians. At daylight the Serbian artillery came into action, and the debacle of the Turks and Albanians was complete. Dense swarms of fugitives in a narrow mountain valley offered a target which gunners often dream of but seldom realise. The guns poured shrapnel over the flying Turks, and the hail of lead and iron mowed them down in heaps until the roads were choked with dying men and horses. One shell burst in the centre of a column, killing the gun team and, overturning a gun, completely blocked the road. A wild panic ensued. The Turkish gunners cut the traces, leaving the guns and wagons behind, and galloped up the valley over their own infantry, riding down men to the muddy road, where they were trampled to death by the feet of their comrades behind. Others were pushed over the edge of a precipice into the mountain torrent below. The rains of the last few days had made the roads terrible, and next morning many hundreds of dead and wounded Turks were found here.

The rout continued through the mountains, and the retreat became a frightful *saute qui peut*, with the Serbian guns, and infantry all the time taking a dreadful toll. Near the top of a mountain some Turkish Regulars attempted to stem the Serbian advance by the occupation of hastily-dug trenches. The 1st Serbian Battalion, on arriving within 300 yards of the trenches, had exhausted their ammunition, but the troops, elated by victory and filled with exultation, refused to wait till fresh ammunition had been brought up. They charged the position with the bayonet, and drove out the Turks, killing or capturing almost every man. The spirit displayed by the Serbian troops is alleged to have been unsurpassable, and the officers led their men with a courage and skill beyond praise. Colonel Glishitch, commanding the Seventh Regiment, was slain in the firing line leading a bayonet charge. The major commanding another battalion picked up the rifle of a man killed at his side, and continued firing till a bullet struck him in the forehead, killing him instantly.

The Seventh, Thirteenth and Sixteenth Regiments specially distinguished themselves by their heroic courage throughout the battle. The Serbians suffered heavy losses, but these were trivial compared with those of the Turks.

A large proportion of the Turkish losses was due to the splendid work of the Serbian artillery which had a decisive effect on the result.

of the battle by its deadly and accurate fire. Servian gunners already had a high reputation but the manner in which they were handled in this battle places them amongst the best artillery in Europe.

It is now known that the Turks had three regular divisions, with many thousand Albanians in the battle, and their complete defeat will produce an enormous effect among the Macedonian tribesmen.

Everywhere in Macedonia the Servian population hails the victorious army as brothers and deliverers from Turkish oppression. When the troops enter the towns and villages the people turn out singing the Servian National Anthem.

At Kumanovo the devotion of an old peasant woman saved the troops from a dangerous ambush. When the Servians approached the town it was apparently deserted, but the houses were filled with Bashi-Bazouks, who are the bitterest enemies of the Servians. These irregulars intended to wait till the Servians entered the street, and then fired on them from the houses. The old peasant woman escaped, and made her way to the Servian advanced guard, and told the commandant that the town was full of Bashi-Bazouks. The troops halted, and guns were brought up, and shelled the place. Taken completely by surprise, the enemy fled across the plain pursued by the artillery fire, which cut them down by scores. The enmity of the Albanians against the Servians is inconceivable, and the Turks brought thousands of them to Kumanovo for this reason.

In Thursday's fight there were many instances of hand-to-hand encounters between Servian soldiers and Bashi-Bazouks. The latter neither give nor take quarter, but always fight to the death. As an instance of this deadly feeling I may mention a case where a Servian and a Bashi-Bazouk were found dead together with their knives in each other's hearts and their hands gripping their throats.

Occupation of Pristend.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Belgrade, Oct. 31, 8.40 p. m.

It is officially stated that Pristend has been occupied by Servian troops. The majority of the population are Albanians.

According to Press reports the next Session of the Skupstina will be held at Uskub.

The *Samoprava* states that 60 Cossacks, fully equipped at their own expense, with a Lieutenant of the Reserve left Moscow yesterday to join the Servian forces. Before their departure a *Te Deum* was celebrated in the Servian church for the victory of the allied arms.

Pristend, which is situated on the Bistritza, in the vilayet of Kossovo, forms part of Old Servia, and in the 12th century it was the residence of the Kings of Serbia. From the 13th century to the 16th Pristend had a flourishing export trade with Ragusa, and it has always been one of the principal centres of commerce and industry in Albania. In its bazaars an active trade in agricultural produce, glass, pottery, saddlery, and copper and iron ware is conducted; the manufacture of fire-arms, for which Pristend was long famous throughout European Turkey, has suffered greatly from foreign competition. The inhabitants, who are chiefly Moslem Albanians, number about 30,000. The city is the seat of a Greek Metropolitan, and contains a Servian theological seminary. Its chief buildings are the citadel, and many mosques, one of which is an ancient Byzantine basilica, originally a Servian cathedral.

King Nicholas, in the days when he was still Prince of Montenegro, enshrined the great Servian idea in his well-known *Volkssied*.

"Onamo, onamo,

Da ridju Pristend!"

("Onward, onward, let me see Pristend!") Serb and Montenegrin alike have aspired to reincorporate in their dominions the old capital of Tsar Dushan. The fact that it is an essentially Moslem Albanian town does not appear to have cooled the ardour of either claimant.

The Bloodless Capture of Uskub.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Belgrade, Oct. 27.

Uskub has fallen. Anticipations of a serious Turkish resistance there have been completely falsified. It seems that the Turks, disheartened at their failure to hold Kumanovo against the irresistible *dan* of the Servian infantry, preferred to retire to the *Oviche* Polye rather than to make a determined defence of Uskub. Prince Alexander entered the town at the head of the army at 2 o'clock on Saturday afternoon and requested the foreign consuls to protect the Ottoman subjects in the town and to restore order. This the consuls readily agreed to do.

The capture of Uskub has appealed more to the public imagination owing to its historical associations than all the more

hardly-won engagements that have been fought hitherto. The town was hung with flags and otherwise decorated, and the signs of mourning on a few houses were removed during the day.

The junction of Prince Alexander's army and the Eastern column has been effected. King Peter has sent into Old Servia thousands of Proclamations, printed in Servian, Turkish, Greek, and Bulgarian, stating that the Servians have come to give freedom and good government, while all prisoners, Turks and Albanians, will be liberated and sent to their homes. Numbers of Christian refugees, many of them over 80 years old, in a tattered and miserable condition are pouring over the Servian frontier.

At Kumanovo the Servians captured 61 cannon and 80 large tents. At Sienitza 17 guns were taken, while at Prishtina the Albanian houses resembled arsenals. The Western columns which were expected to encounter serious resistance have now taken Katchanik and Rojnov. On Friday the army occupied Gilane and Perisovich with insignificant loss, about 2,000 Servian volunteers surrounding Gilane, whereupon the troops agreed to surrender.

The complete change in the tone of the *Neue Freie Presse*, in which it is admitted that Macedonia is lost to Turkey and that it is useless any longer to discuss the possibility of the maintenance of the *status quo*, has created the most favourable impression here.

A large demonstration, headed by veterans carrying the flags of the Allied States, paraded the town this evening. At intervals were chanted famous Servian songs dealing with the Battle of Kossovo. The fall of Uskub is felt to have wiped out the memory of that fatal field.

Uskub in History.

Uskub during its history has borne a variety of names (Scupi, Skopia, Skoplje), and even to this day its nomenclature is as diversified as are the races in Macedonia. As Scupi it appears to have fallen into the hands of the Romans in 71 B.C., and afterwards became the seat of the Roman Administration of Dardania. It is claimed that the Emperor Justinian was born there in 483, although the honour is disputed by Kustendil. It is possible that the Emperor himself inclined to favour the larger town, as when Scupi or Skopia was destroyed by earthquake in 518 he rebuilt it as Justiniana Prima. Before the end of the seventh century Skopia, in common with the greater part of the European territories of the East Roman Empire, fell under the domination of the Slavs, who for many years had constituted a large proportion of its invaders.

At first Skopia was in the area occupied by warring Serb Zupanias for about a century before it was recovered by the Byzantines under the vigorous Isaurian dynasty. The Bulgarians next came into possession of the town towards the end of the ninth century, under Princes who styled themselves Tsars of the Bulgarians and the Greeks, only to lose it again in 1018 to the Greeks, whose terrible Emperor, Basil, earned his appellation of *Bulgaroktonos* from his victorious campaign. In 1180 the Serbs regained Skopia under Stephen Nemanya, Grand Zupan of Raska (approximately the modern Sanjak of Novi Bazar), holding it only for a short time; but in 1204, when the Fourth Crusade overthrew alike the Byzantine Empire and the Balkan balance of power, the spoils of the Greeks fell into many hands, and Skopia became once more Bulgarian. The Emperor John Votatzes of Nicaea, the Orthodox representative of the Byzantine Empire, recovered Skopia for the Greeks in 1246, but the imprint of its former occupation survived in the title of the Bishop, who was "of Justiniana Prima and of all Bulgaria." Some 30 years later, in 1279, King Stephen Milutin regained it for the Serbs, and it was the capital of Tsar Stephen Dushan, of the House of Nemanya, when he was crowned Emperor of the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs on Easter Day, 1346. In 1349 this Monarch held a Parliament at Skopin, when his celebrated code, the "*Zakonika*," was enacted. The study of Serb institutions at this period leads the observer to the opinion that but for the destruction of the Balkan civilization, which were stamped flat "under the horse-hoof of the Turk," the Servian Constitution might well by now have shared the historical position of that of England.

The battle of Kossovo, when Bayazid the Thunderbolt led the Turks to victory on June 15, 1389, cost the Serbs their independence and the Sultan Murad his life. What was left of the Serb State became a vassal principality and Skopia passed to the Ottoman, whose dominion of nearly five centuries and a quarter has now been broken, and the Serbs for the fourth time have become possessed of the city.

Skopia, under the Turks, became Uskub and is the capital of the vilayet of Kossovo. In and around the town is a considerable colony of Turks, but the number of its population varies so considerably according to different authorities that any definite figure seems likely to prove misleading. Probably 25,000 is a reasonable approximation, of which apparently rather less than half are Serbs. However, the value of Uskub is not to be measured by the number of its population. It is the seat of three Metropolitan, Orthodox (Patriarchist), Bulgarian (Exarchist), and Latin. In 1896 the Servian Government secured a promise from the Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople that a Serb should be appointed to the then vacant Orthodox see, but the nomination of a Greek, Mgr. Ambrosius, was the signal for a rising of local Serbs against the new prelate, whose life had to be protected by the Turks. The Russians supported the Servian Government in the diplomatic representations which ensued, and a compromise was effected, as the Holy Synod declined to allow the Oecumenical Patriarch to keep his original promise by rescinding the nomination, but not before the Porte had forcibly carried off Mgr. Ambrosius to Küprülü. Under the terms of the compromise the Greek was to keep the title and receive the Sultan's *berat*, but the see was to be administered by a Serb, Mgr. Firmilian, who became a Turkish subject and was consecrated Bishop for the purpose. In his turn the Servian prelate had to be protected by Turks against Bulgarians, for in those days the Porte was still able to profit by the rivalries of the Balkan peoples. The Bulgarian see dates from 1872, but was not recognized by the Porte until later. The Latin Archbishop has oversight of the Catholic Albanians.—*The Times*.

The Position in Scutari.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Paris, Oct. 29.

THE Special Correspondent of the *Journal* has sent his paper a graphic account of affairs at Scutari. Telegraphing from that place on Sunday he says:—

The great and terrible problem of the hour is to take Scutari. It seems almost that it would be easier to enter the palace of the Grand Lama of Tibet in his mountain fastness. On the banks, rugged and wooded, of the Boyana Montenegrians and Malissri, united on their common cause against the Turks, have set up a line of outposts in almost impregnable positions. There are few trees, but the dark towering rocks seem like sentinels. Behind these are small groups of men, from ten to twenty in a group, who remained one of guerilla fighters of Spain.

And I saw Scutari! Imagine at the edge of a lake, which is a valley filled with water, a little town of 30,000 inhabitants, white, blue, and golden, of which the smallest house has all the charms of a mansion. Thick walls crenelated in places guard the houses, each of which has its garden, its well, and its harem (women's apartment). Here and there mosques—five to be exact—lift into the sky the graceful heights of their minarets.

We are now at the tenth day of the investment. By Antivari and on the right also the Montenegrians, elated by victory, are actually holding the Turkish territory. Scutari sleeps without expectancy between her two great fortresses, Tarabosh and Tepeli. These, with their enormous ramparts, their rigid counterescarp, and their deep entrenchments, from which project no fewer than 60 cannon, are like modern fortifications. Nearly 15,000 soldiers form the garrison. Every province of Turkey, every country of Islam is represented among them.

The problem that has to be faced is that of the commissariat, for all the routes into the town both by land and water have been cut. For eight days no supplies have arrived in Scutari. The Telegraph wires and the bridges have gone down under the axe. Cannon shots and dynamite have isolated the city in a terrible ring of misery. Provisions have failed. Our bread is a mixture of barley and maize. Meat is scarce and very dear. Fowls have reached a prohibitive price. The hotelkeeper who supplies us, a Russian, half Italian and half Turk, makes us pay very dear and feeds us on minute dishes for which he exacts the highest possible price. We have to warm ourselves in the kitchen. Anything is used for fuel, even the wooden decorations that ornament the houses.

How are the troops being fed? That is a mystery. All the herds of sheep and cattle as far as the frontier and even beyond were seized on the first day and have been eaten to the bone. The soldiers had only one meal every twelve hours after that, and this meal consisted of nothing but rice and water. Then there came a happy intervention. Four Turkish gunboats had surprised a herd of goats, and so we had meat and the garrison was revitalized. Then it was discovered that some of the inhabitants were holding up supplies, which they were promptly compelled to surrender.

No news reaches us from the rest of the world. Sometimes an old woman from Dulcigno or San Giovanni di Medua evades the Montenegrin sentries and tells us that the Bulgarians have taken Constantinople or that the armies of Allies have all been cut to pieces. All these contradictory stories increase the anguish of our isolation. We should not be astonished at anything when we do get news.

In private houses gambling goes on. Lean fortune-tellers with crooked fingers crouch on the carpets and seek to foretell future events from cards which are almost black with age.

All round is a chain of fortified hills which extend in a radius of about seven miles. The evening is mild and rainy. All at once, as the twilight falls, a loud cannonade echoes through the mountains. For an hour or two rifle fire crack. Slowly, five or six hours after the cannonade, by the narrow path which descends from the forts, the wounded are brought into the town on improvised stretchers. A bed of grass, a carpet with living colours such is their couch, it may be their bier. Some are fortunate enough to get a mattress, others have to be content with straw. There is no surgeon to help the silent and resigned patients. They watch their festering wounds, gangrene comes, and soon after that death.

The Kirk Kilissh Disaster.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Paris, Oct. 30.

ON the subject of the fall of Kirk Kilissh and the fate of the commander of the garrison the *Temps* says:—

There has been a dramatic and tragic sequel to the fall of Kirk Kilissh. In the opinion of the Turkish Government Prince Aziz was mainly responsible for the flight and rout of the defending troops, and he was peremptorily ordered to return to Constantinople. On his arrival there he was summoned before a court-martial. This Court brought in a verdict of guilty, and was of opinion that he had neglected to carry out the proper military preparations. Prince Aziz was then condemned to death, and he was shot this morning.

The leader who has thus paid the extreme penalty of his errors acquired his knowledge of military affairs in Berlin. At the age of eighteen he entered the Cadets' College, and then became an officer in a cavalry regiment of the Guards. He had to leave the German service owing to extravagance which led him into debt.

Resignation of the Grand Vizier.

(FROM THE “TIMES” OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Oct. 29.

GHAZI MUKHTAR PASHA has resigned from the Grand Vizierate. Kiamil Pasha has been summoned to the Palace.

LATER.

Kiamil Pasha, who accepted the office of Grand Vizier with considerable reluctance out of deference to the wishes of the Imperial Family, was installed in the afternoon, and is now forming a Cabinet. Nazim Pasha will, of course, remain Minister for War, and Abderrahman Bey is expected to retain the portfolio of Finance. Several prominent members of the Party of Union and Liberty are expected to enter the new Ministry.

The immediate cause of Mukhtar Pasha's resignation is believed to have been a difference of opinion with the Sheikh-ul-Islam at a recent Cabinet Council on the subject of the steps to be taken to meet the situation created by the Sheikh-es-Semssi's action in declaring himself Khalif. Age and ill-health and, perhaps, his son's connexion with recent military events were also factors in his decision.

(FROM THE “TIMES” OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Oct. 30.

Kiamil Pasha's Cabinet is now complete. The Sheikh-ul-Islam and the Ministers for War, Foreign Affairs, Mines and Forests, and Finance retain their portfolios. The new Ministers are—

Halil Pasha	... Minister of Marine.
Reshid Bey, of Smyrna	... Minister of the Interior.
Zia Bey	... Minister of Public Works.
Arif Hikmet Pasha	... Minister of Justice.
Damad Sherif Pasha	... Minister of Education.
Musurus Bey	... Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

Zia Pasha, ex-Minister of Finance	... Minister of Evkaf.
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Kiamil Pasha's fifth accession to the Grand Vizierate is greeted with approval by the entire Press, with the exception of the

sole remaining Committee organ, the *Halk*, which was suppressed to-night. The Grand Vizierial circular to the provincial authorities, ordering them to see that the Constitution is applied in fact as well as in theory, and ordering measures to be taken for the protection of non-Moslems and foreigners, has produced an excellent impression here, and will, it is hoped, have a good effect. The attempts of the Committee extremists to sow dissension in the ranks of their political opponents and to excite the populace by representing that the policy of the elder statesmen now in power has been the cause of Turkey's present difficulties continue.

The Sultan's Decision.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Constantinople, Oct. 28.

THE Sultan summoned an extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet yesterday, which was held at the Palace. It was attended not only by the Ministers, but also by Members of the Senate and ex-Deputies, Marshals and Viziers, and others who occupy influential positions. It may be regarded as an assembly of the administrative capacity of the nation. A prolonged discussion took place on the grave situation in which Turkey finds herself. It was marked, I am told, by the most earnest and solemn deliberation. At the end of a conference, which lasted for many hours, the Sultan, in a voice which betokened strong emotion and with tears in his eyes, announced his determination to proceed to the front and to share the fortunes of his soldiers.

A Post For Mahmud Shevket.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, Oct. 28.

THE Austrian Government has given its assent to the appointment of Husein Hilmi Pasha as Ambassador in Vienna. The selection of the former Grand Vizier to this important post is of great significance at the present juncture when it is considered that the rôle of settling all questions affecting the Balkan Peninsula necessarily devolves on Austria. Husein Hilmi Pasha will be accompanied to Vienna by Fakhr-ed-Din Bey, the late Minister at Cetinje and one of the peace delegates at Ouchy. The appointment, therefore, seems to be vested with the character of a special mission.

Another appointment calling for comment is that of Mahmud Shevket Pasha as chief of the commissariat department in the War Office. He is a distinguished officer and has shown a spirit of remarkable self-abnegation in accepting a post which, although extremely important, scarcely corresponds to his high rank and his services.

Hilmi Bey, who commanded a division at Kirk Kilisseh on the night of the 22nd abd, according to Turkish accounts, inflicted heavy losses on the Bulgarians, has been promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General.

Equipment of the Turkish Soldier.

(FROM THE “TIMES” OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Oct. 24.

LARGER number of reservists continue to arrive from Asia Minor, and yesterday the presence of Arabic-speaking Redifs in the streets showed that Aleppo Redifs are beginning to reach the scene of action. Men are arriving in such numbers that some battalions of Redifs are 30 per cent. over strength, but the supply of provisions and tents is insufficient in several instances, many of the troops at San Stefano, for example, having been obliged to sleep in the open during two nights of heavy rain, often without greatcoats or uniforms. A certain number of cases of pleurisy and pneumonia have naturally followed this official neglect. The behaviour of the troops under these trying conditions has been excellent. The fruit and vegetables in the market gardens of San Stefano have not been touched, and, though many men are obliged to beg food and shelter from house to house, not a single case of robbery is reported.

The Red Crescent.

(FROM A “MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Oct. 10.

THE Bosphorus, bathed in sunshine, incomparable in beauty, rich in interest, and glorious as a harbour, is alive. To its shores, transported by curious bullock wagons, drawn by gentle and tractable animals which seem to differ entirely in character from their English relations, come every kind of provision for the army in the field, and every kind of Ottoman subject in every variation of uniform. Bronzed sturdy peasantry, new to boots one imagines, but at home with a gun, troop silently and stolidly from shore to

boat, boat to bridge, from bridge to railway station, and thence to the field of action. To return? “Kim belir? Allah belir”—“Who knows? God knows”—is the reply. So exhilarating is the sight, so orderly the crowds, that tragedy lurks only in the downcast eye of the elderly man who has left his home on an adventure the end of which he sees not and of which the present moment brings only a sense of novelty and distraction as the sights of the Galata Bridge and the beauty and wonder of Stamboul break upon his unaccustomed view. And it is only after deep thinking that the desolation of thousands of homes, the heartbreak of thousands of wives, the curious wonder of deserted children dawn upon the unwilling mind, belying the brightness of the day, and take one inquiringly and sympathetically to the offices of the Red Crescent.

Through tortuous streets the carriage threads its way. Curious eyes greet its occupants with a look of half comprehending wonder; hordes of men, who yesterday came in by boat, to-day wend their way with laden horses and queer, high wooden saddles to the railway station for transference to the front. Past the offices of the Ministry which even now is sitting, we go. Past the new book-sellers—symbols of a new Turkey,—past huge houses hidden behind high walls and with sweet shady gardens, past the thousand and one sights of the old city, to-day intensified tenfold, until, high up in Stamboul, we reach an adequate but unpretentious building from which hangs the flag of a still greater victory than war—the victory of compassion. A red crescent on a white ground—the flag of the Osmanli reversed in colour—Le Croissant Rouge.

Men at the entrance. Our cards are taken. Handed from one to another we are passed on from storey to storey guided by a young soldier who beckons as he goes, and we follow to the top. The building hums like a hive of more than ordinarily busy bees. Here is a room dedicated to the men where subscriptions are received, there a room whirring with sewing machines; to the right women busily stitching tapes on to half-completed garments. Ottoman Greeks these, who proudly talk to us in English. “Of course” they say with an uplifting intonation that is indescribable as we express pleasure and slight surprise.

We have brought a modest gift and much goodwill. At the head of the topmost flight of stairs we are received by the President of the Red Crescent Society, Her Royal Highness Princess Ninet Mouktar, wife of the Minister of the Marine, who greets us gracefully in good English. Then we hear a story of wonderful organisation. Eight months ago the Red Crescent Society was founded. “Who could tell then,” said our informant, “that we should so soon be at war?” (The war in Tripoli was too far off to count.) “Yes, we are working without cessation,” she says. “Since ten days we have made thirteen thousand garments.” As she speaks Turkish women are working with the skill and precision of the expert at sorting, folding, packing, and handing over to be tied up the bundles of clothing—each garment embroidered with a small red crescent—that are to be sent for the comfort of the sick and wounded, and via the everlasting thanks of army doctors working on a stricken field. So many have offered their services that, although a thousand beds will be fully equipped and each bed needs twenty-four articles to complete its outfit, no more volunteers are needed except for the actual sewing, and these become more numerous daily.

Garments are proudly and courteously exhibited for our inspection, but even as we talk we feel that no pause is being made by hand or brain in this busy “workshop.” Two charming girls of eight or nine years play among the bundles, but their play is the tying up of more. More than courteously we are thanked by Selma Riza Hanoum, the sister of Ahmed Riza Bey, the first speaker of the Chamber, who gives us a written receipt for “six chemises,” and stamps it in a businesslike office with the stamp of the society. “Who will nurse the wounded?” we ask. “Ladies—ladies of the Ottoman Empire. Even now lectures in first aid are being given at the medical schools, and are largely attended.” In reply to further inquiries we learn that six doctors and surgeons, with eight assistants, will be in charge of each field hospital, and that hospitals of one hundred beds each are to be established at Salonica, Adrianople, Monastir, Uskub, with two at Constantinople, and others where the fortunes of war may decide. Also, that the Constantinople Chapter of the American Red Cross Society has made itself responsible for the outfitting of a hundred beds.

“Thank you,” says Selma Riza Hanoum as we say good-bye. “It is for humanity we are working.” For humanity! This is woman's part, and the woman of Turkey is coming to her own.

The War Correspondent's Difficulties.

Stara Zagora, Oct. 23.

THE war correspondent is becoming impossible. He is being killed by his own numbers—“hanged by his own weight,” as

the Germans say. Consider the change within the last few years. Here at my side is my old friend Mr. Villiers, the veteran war artist of so many campaigns. He came through this country with the Russian army when at last it forced its way across the Balkans by the Shipka Pass in 1878. He remembers, as they advanced over the ruins of this very town, being called aside by two of the few surviving Bulgarians to see the usual relics of Turkish brutality in the wells choked with dead and the heads of murdered girls lying in the roads. But only one other correspondent witnessed that sight with him, for only one other was with the Russian army then, and I believe there was none with the Turks.

Or take my own case. Nearly sixteen years ago I was with the Greek army during their war against the same enemy of mankind. Certainly there were other correspondents—ten or fifteen perhaps on each side. But their number made no difference to me. I rode alone with a guide from one end of the frontier to the other in Thessaly, and was present at the actual beginning of the fighting far among the mountains above Kalabaka. Then I was ordered to Epirus. I crossed the first range of Pindus, came to Arta, advanced with the Greeks towards Janina, was present at all the fighting, shared in the retreat, went where I liked, took my own risks, wrote or telegraphed what I chose under a lax censorship, sitting far away in Patras or Athens, and seldom saw another correspondent of any nation.

But the day before yesterday I came from Sofia in a train loaded with over seventy correspondents, speaking every European tongue. I am told the exact number was eighty-three, but let us say seventy correspondents, besides about a dozen attaches representing the Powers great and small. A long train, with vast luggage vans and a restaurant car attached, crept along the line, covering the distance in twelve hours. On reaching this little town some remained in the train for the night, others went searching about for any empty room in private houses or inns, and usually found one. The authorities did all that was possible to help next day. The attaches, of course, were provided with official quarters, and every one of that great company of correspondents—almost as large as a full British company in the field—has shelter against to-day's heavy rain. But from first to last one has felt that the situation has become impossible and ludicrous. No army can allow eighty or a hundred correspondents to go running about as they like. And no correspondent can do valuable or distinctive work when he is herded up with fourscore others, and not permitted to move. Indeed, it would be almost impossible to move even if permitted, for in war time where are the horses or carts to transport that host of eager writers with their baggage? Only a train could do it, and even when an advance is allowed, the majority will be chained to the railway.

So it is that the war correspondent is being killed by his number—"hanged by his own weight." The telegraph combines with numbers to kill him, for it has made censorship essential, and with every war the censorship grows more strict. No correspondent would complain of this if he realised the enormous issues at stake in every war. Every telegram that might possibly influence the smallest engagement, or even cause the loss of a single man, must be destroyed, and a correspondent who even attempts to get such a message through should be shot. It is only with marvel at human recklessness or stupidity that one remembers the immense telegrams, full of military details, that the great correspondents like Archibald Forbes were able to get through uncensored in the crazy days of old. The censorship has not only come to stay; it has come to crush the personal interest and excitement out of the war correspondent's work. Finally, I cannot doubt, it will crush the work altogether. A German officer here assures me that by the rules of German war death will be the immediate reward of any correspondent discovered, no matter how conscientious.

One knows the familiar picture of the war correspondent in popular fancy. I believe he survives in the faded illusions of cinematographs still—a savage figure, with revolver in each hand, pen in mouth, despatches on his heart, field-glasses, cartridge belt, and bowie knife swinging round him, like presents on a Christmas-tree exposed to storm, as he gallops "hell for leather" through bursting shells and charging lances to the nearest telegraph station, bearing fiery words upon which the fate of nations will depend. It is a lovely picture. On my soul, I wish it were true! But it is equally false with all the other pictures of war I have ever seen. Here I and 70 others sit. We sit in quiet houses, watching the rain fall upon filthy but peaceful streets. We sit in a town where one man thinks he heard the sound of a distant gun at four o'clock yesterday. That is our only consolation—our one connection with war,—and I am far from saying the man's pride in his hearing is unfounded. Far away over the great plain—beyond the frontier gate of Mustafa Pasha—some sixty or seventy miles away,

near Adrianople, it is very likely the big guns were booming yesterday. Very likely they are booming to-day. But here we sit, watching the rain upon the peaceful streets, wondering whether it is dinner time, preparing to crowd to the Censor's office for the daily official bulletin, which is all we are allowed to learn or to telegraph about the war (and one man could send it as well as 70). The chief warlike horrors to which we are exposed are the atrocious price of meals in the hotel, and the difficulty of getting our washing done.

The Old Turk.

We have quoted on several occasions of late from Lord Houghton's Eastern poems. There is one which is so specially appropriate to the present occasion, though written over fifty years ago, that we feel sure it will interest those of our readers who do not know it to see it set out at length. It is entitled "The Turk at Constantinople to the Frank." In it a Turk of the old school speaks of the fate which he thinks is imminent—the banishment of the Turk from Europe—and he muses with fatalistic calm upon what such action will mean. He begins by speaking of how great were the hopes and aspirations of the Turks when they first entered Europe.

"When first the Prophet's standard rested on
The land that once was Greece and still was Rome,
We deemed that his and our dominion
Was there as sure as in our Eastern home:
We never thought a single hour to pause
Till the wide West had owned Mohammed's laws.
How could we doubt it? To one desert tribe
The truth revealed by one plain-seeming man
Cut off the cavil, thundered down the gibe,
And formed a nation to its lofty plan:
What barrier could its wave of victory stem?
Not thy religious walls, Jerusalem!"

But the course of their impetuous onset was stopped.

"Thus did we justify the Faith by works:
And the bright Crescent haunted Europe's eye,
Till many a Pope beliered the demon Turks
Would scour the Vatican ere he could die:
Why was our arm of conquest shortened? Why?
Ask Him whose will is o'er us, like the sky."

Admirable is the passage which follows in its acknowledgment that the Turks themselves realize that they are but travellers and sojourners, merely a great encampment of tent dwellers which was pitched yesterday and which will be struck to-morrow:—

"The dome to heavenly wisdom consecrate
Still echoes with the Muslim's fervent prayers;
The just successor of the Khaleefate
Still on his brow the sign of empire wears;
We hold our wealth without reserve or fear;
And yet we know we are but tented here.
Millions of Christians bend beneath our rule,
And yet these realms are neither theirs nor ours,
Sultan and subject are alike the tool
Of Europe's ready guile or binded powers;
Against the lords of continent and sea
What can one nation do, one people be?"

For them there is only one safe course, the return to Asia.

"Therefore, regardless of the moment's shame,
Of wives' disdain, and children's thoughtless woe,
Of Christian triumph o'er the Prophet's name,
Of Russia's smile beneath her mask of snow:
Let us return to Asia's fair domain,
Let us in truth possess the East again!"

And, after all, that will be no humiliation, for the Turk is happier and better when he is not in contact with men of the West.

"Men of the West! Ye understand us not,
We you no more: ye take our good for ill:
Ye scorn what we esteem man's happiest lot—
Perfect submission to creative will;
Ye would rejoice to watch from us depart
Our ancient temperance—our peace of heart.
Let us return! if long we linger here

Ye will destroy us, not with open swords,
Not with such arms as brave men must not fear,
But with the poisoned shafts of subtle words:
Your blank indifference for our living creed
Would make us paltry Infidels indeed.

What can ye give us for a Faith so lost?
For love of Duty, and delight in prayer?

How are we wiser that our minds are torn
By winds of knowledge on a sea of care?
How are we better that we hardly fear
To break the laws our fathers held most dear?

Aping your customs we have changed even now
The noble garb in Nature's wisdom given,
And turban that, on every Muslim's brow,
Was as a crown at once for earth and heaven:
The sword with which the sire Byzantium won
Sleeds in yon deep unwielded by the son."

The poem ends with a stanza which may well prove prophetic:—

"Let us return! across the fatal strait
Our Fathers' shadows welcome us once more:
Back to the glories of the Khaleefate,
Back to the faith we loved, the dress we wore,
When in one age the world could well contain
Haroon Er-Rasheed and your Charlemagne!"

After all, he need be no real enemy of the Turk who wishes him well out of Europe. The Turk is essentially an Asiatic, and never has been and never will be Europeanized. If the Turkish Empire once more becomes an Asiatic Power it may have a future. It can have none in Europe, even if in the course of the next month it gains a momentary triumph or a temporary respite. For the Turks a triumph must indeed be as fatal as a disaster. All way for Turkey in Europe lead to the inevitable end.—*The Spectator*.

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Abdul Ghafur Khan, Esq., Ophanpur	26	4	6	Through Syed Ghulam Husain, Indore—	10	0	0
Through S. M. Husain, Esq., Kasiana—				Khan Sahib S. Ahmad Khan	10	0	0
Self	10	7	0	Self and Sahibzada Mashuo Ali Khan Sahib,	10	0	0
Miss Hasan	15	0	0	rupee five each	5	0	0
Mrs. Zia-ul-la, Musammats Zeban, Munab and				S. S. Ahmad, Esq., Nowgong			
Waziran, rupee one each	1	0	0	Through Qazi Mohamed Fakhrud-din Sahib, Newasa,	65	2	0
Messrs. Shah Khan and Sheikh Abdul Ghani,	2	0	0	Karachi	5	0	0
rupee one each	2	0	0	Syed Shujat Ali, Esq., Chatra	200	0	0
Mrs. S. M. Wahid, and Mrs. Siraj Ali Khan,	4	0	0	Captain Shah Mirza Beg Sahib, Hyderabad, Deccan	100	0	0
rupees two each	4	0	0	Through Shaika Mohamed, Esq., Pleader, Shakargadh,			
Mrs. Egbal Khan	5	0	0	Through A. R. Khan, Esq., Dhamtari—	15	0	0
Master Aziz Ahmad Khan Sahib	3	0	0	Abdur Razzak Khan, Esq.			
Shakir Ali, Esq.	3	0	0	Messrs. Mohamed Husain and Abduljabbar Khan,	20	0	0
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rupee one each	2	0	0	Ahmad Husain Khan, Esq., Calcutta	120	0	0
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Wife of Shah Abdur Karim Sahib	1	8	0	Bunyad Hosain, Esq., Gonda	7	0	0
Rajab Ali, Esq.	1	0	0	Bashir Ali, Esq., Barabanki			
M. Basharat Khan, Esq.	0	8	0						
Wazir Mohamed Khan, Esq., Khuzja	10	0	0						
Wazir Ahmad, Esq., Gulzarbagh	15	0	0						
Through Abdul Aziz Khan, Esq., Maldn—									
Messrs. Kadir Baksh, Abdur Jabbar Khan	15	0	0						
and Mohamed Lal Jan, rupees five each	15	0	0						
Through S. F. Balkhi, Esq., Calcutta	28	11	0						
Through Latafat Husain, Esq., Treasurer, Red Cres-									
cent Society, Barh	275	0	0						
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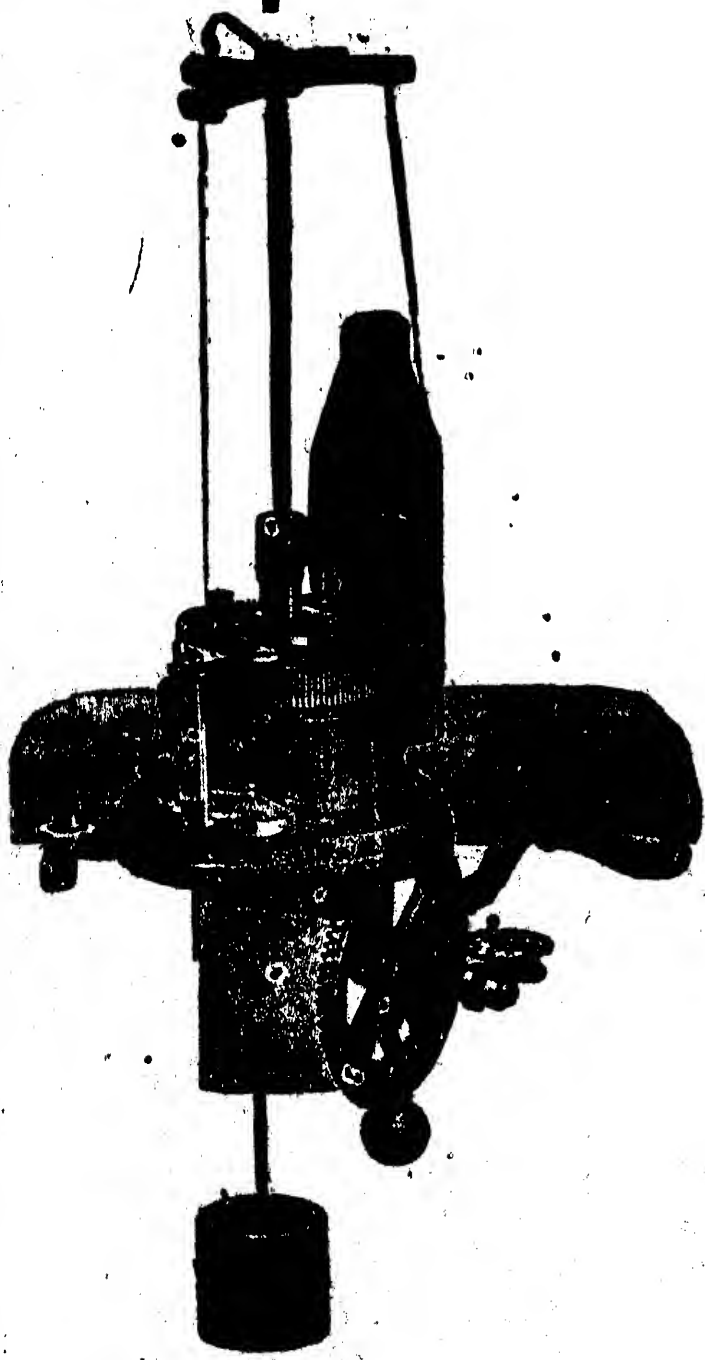
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Vol. 4.

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No. 16

Annas 4.

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The Week.

Home Rule.

In his speech at Nottingham, Mr. Asquith said that the Government was carefully considering the question of the reconstruction of the House of Lords.

Mr. Redmond, at the same meeting, said that Home Rule was on the eve of victory.

Speaking at London, Sir Edward Carson said that the action of the Unionists in the Commons in connexion with the defeat of the Government was deliberate, and they would do it again. They did not care if the House of Commons was ruined in view of the Government's misuse of power.

At a concert in Dublin a number of men mobbed the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen and gave cheers for an Irish Republic. They were removed by the police.

Mongolia.

The Foreign Minister visited the Russian Legation and asked for a definition of the boundaries as affected by the Russo-Mongolian Convention, and advanced a number of suggestions and contentions practically amounting to the opening of negotiations regarding the Convention, the outcome of which, it is hoped, will dispel the anti-Russian agitation which is still seething in the provinces.

Owing to resentment against the Russian agreement regarding Mongolia, the Chinese merchants at Hongkong are boycotting the Russo-Asiatic Bank and withdrawing their deposits.

Persia.

Lord Lamington presided at the dinner of the Persia Society held last night. Mr. Lynch emphasized the necessity, whatever happens to Turkey in Europe, of upholding the Ottoman Empire in Asia. It was to the vital interest of Great Britain to maintain the integrity of Persia.

Lord Newton, referring to his recent visit to Persia, said the position of Great Britain was almost deplorable. She had succeeded in defeating her traditional policy in Persia, with the result that Persian independence was the greatest fallacy. He was convinced

that the Russian occupation of Persia was as permanent as that of France in Tunis, and England in Egypt. Persia had never been given a chance to effect her regeneration.

Lord Lamington dwelt on the general distress he witnessed while visiting Persia.

A Constantinople wire says that the Turkish troops have been withdrawn from the contested points on the Turko-Persian frontier.

Sir Edward Grey, replying to Mr. Needham, said that the Persian Premier's invitation to Saad-ed-Dowleh to return to Persia was sent with the encouragement of Sir Walter Townley, the British Minister.

Sir Edward Grey had reason to believe that Saad-ed-Dowleh's return might be useful in the present crisis, and he had instructed Sir Walter Townley accordingly.

A Teheran message states that Britain has advanced Persia £15,000 for administrative purposes in the Province of Fars.

The popular dislike of Saad-ed-Dowleh is unabated, and some believe that his presence in Teheran will lead to disorder.

India and the Navy.

Mr. Asquith, replying to Mr. Fell in the House of Commons to-day, said that it would be within the competence of the Government of India or the India Office to raise the question of an offer of Dreadnaughts by India, though a definite offer could not be made without the approval of the Secretary of State.

The question had not been raised.

He understood that the view of the Indian authorities was that India's share in the scheme of defence expenses of the Empire was on sufficiently high a scale and, if possible, should not be increased.

Indian Finance.

The Times publishes an article by "A Correspondent" on Indian financial management. He argues that while the recent transactions may have been prudent, and even statesmanlike, the system under which they were carried out is obsolete. The recent constitutional changes in India, he says, are making it most dangerous to adhere to all the methods of a secret bureaucratic administration. Educated opinion in India has been invited to assist the administration with criticism and advice in every branch of the administration, and Indian statesmen have been given all possible information to enable them to form sound opinions. The exception is the Bluebeard's cupboard in distant Whitehall. No Englishman seriously supposes that there has been any corrupt transaction in connexion with the silver purchases, but to the Indian mind—an heir to centuries of intrigue—dishonesty and corruption in such transactions would be in no way surprising, and where a transaction is secret, the inference to the Indian mind is irresistible. If the present system of government of India is to continue, it is essential not merely that the India Office should not escape criticism, but that it shall itself volunteer all information that its critics require. The Indian public will in future require as full knowledge of the actions of the Secretary of State, and the motives thereof, as it receives from all other branches of the administration. The

article concludes by urging that all important matters, especially railways, currency, banking and finance, shall be decided by Indian authorities who understand them in their Indian aspect, and especially that of the Indian producer.

The Nicholson Commission.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* publishes a forecast of the report of the Indian Army Commission. The most striking feature of the report, the journal says, is a recommendation to abolish the post of Commander-in-Chief with the termination of Sir O'Moore Creagh's tenure. The report suggests replacing the Commander-in-Chief by a small Army Council headed by a Chief of the Staff, whose duties will be approximately similar to those of the French Chief of the Staff. The *Pall Mall* also says that the report proposes the creation of a post of Inspector-General for the whole of the troops in India, both British and native. It is probable that with the consent of semi-independent Princes their forces will be included. According to the *Pall Mall*, the report says it has been found quite impossible to reduce the cost of the Army to fifteen millions as was suggested. Only by most rigorous pruning can even two millions be saved and the Commission is in no wise agreed on the wisdom of even this reduction. The report will probably suggest a reduction of the strength of British units in India to a peace footing. Decentralisation of control will be recommended with a view to economy. No officer of the Headquarters Staff will retain the same power as he now possesses.

Indian Students in England.

Mr. Harold Baker, replying to Sir Edward Carile, in the House of Commons to-day, said that the representations by Lord Amthill, chairman of the Advisory Committee for Indian students, against ignoring of the Committee with regard to the appointment of Mr. Mallet, were under consideration, as also was the subject of the Committee's functions. Mr. Mallet will act as guardian to about a hundred students and will advise others daily. The number of Indian students in the United Kingdom was from 1,700 to 1,800.

The New Delhi.

Replying to Mr. King, in the House of Commons, Mr. Harold Baker said he was not aware of any proposal to erect buildings in New Delhi in the style of the Italian Renaissance. He could not give an assurance that no decision would be taken in the matter till the House had had an opportunity of considering the Government of India's full proposals.

The McCormick Case.

Lord Greve, in a written reply to Mr. Kellaway, said he was not aware that Mr. Arnold, of Rangoon, had appealed for a new trial. The Governor-General had no power to order a new trial, nor had the Calcutta High Court jurisdiction to deal with such an appeal.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Kellaway raised the question on adjournment. He urged that a thorough enquiry be made into the circumstances of Captain McCormick's trial. In the meantime, Lord Greve should release Mr. Arnold. Mr. Baker said that the case was still *sub judice* as Mr. Arnold was appealing the Privy Council for leave to appeal. The libel went far beyond mere criticism. Mr. Arnold had charged the Magistrate with deliberate conspiracy. Lord Greve's view was that at present it was not his duty to intervene, as he would be anticipating the decision of the Privy Council and intruding the executive into the sphere of the judiciary. If the Privy Council granted leave of appeal, Mr. Baker had no doubt that Mr. Arnold would be liberated on bail. He understood that the hearing of the appeal by the Privy Council was being expedited as much as possible.

Mr. Kellaway asked if the Government contemplated holding an enquiry into the circumstances. Mr. Baker replied in the affirmative.

Bakr-I'd Riot at Ajodhya.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

THE morning of Wednesday last witnessed at Ajodhya one of the most serious riots ever heard of in these provinces. The circumstances, culminating in the unfortunate affair, were that during last year Government had under consideration the question whether the Mohammadans of Ajodhya had a right to sacrifice cows in their own houses on the occasion of Bakr-I'd. The Hindus maintained that cows had never been slaughtered in Ajodhya, and their sacrifice would be an outrage on the Hindu feelings. The Mohammadans, on the other hand, emphatically affirmed not only the existence of the practice in past years, but also the slaughter of cows for every-day consumption by the Mohammadan population. It may not be generally known that there are many *mohallas* in Ajodhya, chiefly inhabited by the Mohammadans whose forefathers settled down there long before the annexation. A cursory glance at the sacred town of the Hindus makes it evident that during the Mohammadan rule it was subjected to innumerable attempts to introduce Moslem institutions. The existence of a mosque in the heart of every sacred quarter and close to almost every magnificent temple perpetuate the memory of what the Hindus regard as dark ages in the history

of India. *Prima facie* it seems that the practice of cow-killing in Ajodhya must be as old as the settlement of the Mohammadans themselves in that part of the country. It is incredible that it did not exist before annexation, as the Hindus allege, and any interference after it, specially in the sacrifice of cows as a religious rite, would certainly call forth tumultuous protests from the whole Mohammadan community. A few years ago the Municipal Board, Fyzabad, resolved to establish slaughter-houses, and animals could not be killed at any other place. License for keeping a beef-shop was also made compulsory. No slaughter-house was established at Ajodhya, which is within the Fyzabad municipal limits. The application by the butchers of Ajodhya for license was refused. It may be mentioned in passing that no less than four or five families of butchers have been residing in Ajodhya for generations with no other ostensible means of livelihood except their own profession. The refusal of the Municipal Board to grant licenses led to a memorial by the butchers and some other Mohammadans of Ajodhya to the Local Government which, as was quite natural, called for a report from the District Officer who, in his turn, made enquiries of the non-official chairman as to whether cow-killing had ever been practised in Ajodhya. Of course the latter, without any inquiry, replied in the negative, and the memorial was consequently shelved. Notwithstanding the orders of the Municipal Board to the contrary, apparently the butchers of Ajodhya persisted in the exercise of their profession inside the houses as would appear from more than one of them having been convicted of selling beef without a license. Encouraged by this prohibition of cow-killing and sale of beef the Hindus began to question the right of Mohammadans in Ajodhya to sacrifice cow even in all secrecy within the four walls of their houses. On the Bakr-I'd day in 1910 cows were sacrificed under police supervision, but matters came to a head in 1911 when Mr. D. Dewar, the then officiating Deputy Commissioner, issued an order (obviously *ultra vires*) absolutely prohibiting cow-sacrifice with any secrecy whatever. As would be expected a telegraphic representation was made to the Government and some Mohammadans did sacrifice cows in contravention of the Deputy Commissioner's order. An attempt to prosecute the offender failed for want of any penal provision on the statute-book making the disobedience of such order punishable. The Local Government directed the Deputy Commissioner to inquire whether the custom of cow-sacrifice in Ajodhya had existed in the past. Misconstruing the Government's order Mr. Dewar instituted a regular inquiry with pleaders appearing on both sides and witnesses were examined and cross-examined as if it were a judicial proceeding. Needless to say it created great ill-feeling between the two communities who were brought face to face in a manner offensive alike to the Hindus who offered witnesses to swear that they and their forefathers never heard of cow-killing in Ajodhya and if one had ever been slaughtered they must have known it and it would have led to a serious breach of the peace, the cow sacrifice in 1910 and 1911 being the only exceptions. The Mohammadans, on the other hand, declared that they had always done so and the Hindus had no reason to know it, the same having been done inside the houses in strict privacy and no one would make it his business to mention the fact to a Hindu. In fact the Mohammadans went a step further and tendered evidence, oral and documentary, that cows were slaughtered for sale of beef almost every day. The entries in the Khassra Abadi prepared in the settlement of 1862-1863 mentioned the existence of beef-shops and enclosures for cattle owned by butchers. Over a hundred Octroi receipts, bearing ancient dates, showed that cattle had been imported from time to time by the butchers of Ajodhya. Old account books of respectable hide merchants proved that the same butchers had sold large number of hides after frequent intervals. This evidence was too overwhelming even for Mr. Dewar who openly expressed his conviction that for every-day consumption cows used to be slaughtered in Ajodhya, but in justification of his prohibition of cow-sacrifice he maintained that it did not conclusively prove that cow sacrifice used to be made. It was also contended by the Mohammadans that even if there was no custom of cow-sacrifice in the past it was an absolute right of a person to kill his own cow in his own house. The act in itself was no more unlawful than saying prayers within his four walls. Mr. Dewar has since been transferred and his report or the terms of the order of Government thereon have not been made public. On the 16th November, 1912, a few days before the recent Bakr-I'd, Mr. Way, the present Deputy Commissioner, called a meeting of the leading Hindus and Mohammadans of Fyzabad and tried to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question; but the Hindu gentlemen present would not tolerate cow-sacrifice even in houses with high walls in strict secrecy. The Mohammadans, on the other hand, agreed to abide by any reasonable conditions short of absolute prohibition of cow-sacrifice which they cherished as a religious right. The Deputy Commissioner intimated that Government could not deny the right of Mohammadans to sacrifice cows in their own houses, but it reserved the power to regulate it in a manner not likely to provoke a breach of the peace. He, therefore, ordered the Mohammadans to furnish him a list of houses where cows would be sacrificed

to enable him to satisfy himself that they are proper places having regard to public tranquillity. Accordingly a list was given, to him and he approved of all the houses except one, the occupant of which agreed to forego the ceremony. It must be mentioned that the list was furnished to the Deputy Commissioner privately and he made his inspection without any previous notice to minimise the chances of Hindus knowing anything about it. On the morning of Bakr-I'd day (20th November 1912) three reports of bonfire were heard after short intervals and the last was a signal for the riot to begin. Crowds of Hindus, mostly Bairagis, armed with *lathis* and, in some case, with axes issued forth from various quarters and at first began to patrol the roads. The Mohammadans not suspecting anything evil proceeded to their usual business and to the mosques for their Bakr-I'd prayers. The rioters belaboured every Mohammadan passerby they came across indiscriminately and then in large crowds proceeded to the quarters inhabited by Mohammadans, breaking open their doors and forcibly entering the female quarters. Mosques were defiled and in more than one instance portions of them demolished. Mats were burned and Korans torn to pieces and at one place burnt. All cows they found in the houses were taken away and the occupants, males and females, most brutally assaulted. In one instance a Mohammadan was thrown into a well by a party of rioters before leaving the place and another party arriving subsequently heard shouts from the well. Thinking that one of the rioters accidentally fell into the well it managed to take him out, but discovering that he was no better than a Mohammadan the unfortunate creature was hurled back into it. Eventually he was rescued alive with severe injuries. Another victim was beaten to death, and no less than sixty persons, males and females, were injured including at least one woman who received a cut with an axe. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Way, and the Superintendent, M. Deane, arrived on the spot shortly after the riot began (they were in camp close by) with some European troops that happened to be manœuvring in the vicinity. A small force of armed police had been posted from before, besides a few Sub-Inspectors on horseback. The rioters began to assemble in the presence of Ram Lal, officer in charge of the Ajodhya police station, and the Inspector M. Ram Prasad and they, with all subordinate police, witnessed the crowd exhibiting signs of danger, but no serious attempt was made to disperse them early enough to avert the disaster. The Sub-Divisional Officer, Pandit Bisheshwar Dyal who was in camp at Ajodhya itself for a few days previously, had left some time before the riot began. When the Deputy Commissioner arrived with troops the riot had assumed unmanageable proportion and so furious was the mob that it did not mind the firing with blank cartridges and assaulted the troops. After all other attempts to check the wholesale assault on Mohammadans and breaking open their houses failed the troops were ordered to fire which resulted in two Bairagis being shot dead and the crowd rapidly dispersed, taking some wounded with them. Order was restored on the arrival of a squadron of the fourth cavalry which patrolled the streets till sunset when it was relieved by the British Infantry that remained on duty the whole night. News of riot had soon reached Fyzabad city, at a distance of 4 miles, and a mob of Mohammadans proceeded to the scene of the riot, but were persuaded to return which they did after some difficulty but without any disturbance. Next morning cows were sacrificed in some houses in Ajodhya well guarded by cavalry troops. It did not lead to recurrence of disturbances in Ajodhya; but the disquietude had so far extended itself to Fyzabad that an infuriated mob of Hindus proceeded to rescue a cow which they believed was being taken for sacrifice; but not succeeding in their attempt to do so they wreaked their vengeance on a Maulvi passing by a mosque and who succumbed to the *lathi* blows received by him. About eight of the culprits responsible for the riot and murder at Fyzabad were arrested immediately and the rest escaped. The number of rioters in Ajodhya so far arrested is between 25 and 30 out of a total of over one thousand. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is considered to be due to the conduct of the subordinate police and the Sub-Divisional Officer. The Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police were all the time busy in restoring the peace of the town and the work of arresting the rioters fell to the lot of the subordinates. Only three were arrested on the day of riot by the troops while the offenders were in a house which they had entered in course of the riot but had not quitted it before the troops arrived. The remaining arrests were made in course of the second and third day mostly by the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police on their own identification. It is believed that a large number of rioters made good their escape during the night following the riot. The task of identification would have been greatly facilitated if, when the crowd began to assemble and afterwards, the police officers had noted down the names of as many as possible under the circumstances. Some police officers from out side have arrived and taken up the investigation and in the meantime peaceful conditions of the town are being restored, but the Mohammadan population is in a state of panic and entertains fear for its safety.

TETE TETE



Dr. M. A. ANSARI sets forth in the following letter the progress that has so far been achieved in the organisation and equipment of the Mission which will be read with interest:—"As our arrangements are nearly complete, and we are about

The All-India Medical Mission.

to start on our mission of mercy, I feel I must trespass on the courtesy of your columns and give you some idea of the work so far accomplished. Our list is now complete. We have got eight fully qualified medical men—five with European qualifications and three holding Indian Degrees and Diplomas. Five of these are proceeding with the Mission from India, and three are proceeding straight from London to join us in Constantinople. There are eight dressers and nine male nurses, one of the latter being also the manager and accountant of the Mission. We could take many more male nurses if we wanted, but we find nine are ample for all our requirements. It is worth noting that ours is a truly All-India Medical Mission, as we have got representatives from every province of India. It is very gratifying to notice that the men who have joined the Mission are from the cultured middle and higher classes, representing the flower of Mohammadan youth, who are fully alive to the responsibilities and nature of the work with which they are entrusted. I have the fullest confidence that all the men will do their duty to the best of their abilities and prove worthy of the trust which their co-religionists have placed in them by sending them as their representatives in the Mission. I may also say a few words here about the uniform and general equipment of the Mission. Every member of the Mission has been supplied at the cost of the Mission with a khaki semi-military Norfolk-coat made of the warmest woollen material available and two Jodhpur-breeches—one plain and one corded. There will be a badge on the left arm with the Red Crescent and two silver crescents, one on either side, on the collar of the coat with a Nashk inscription in Arabic—

الْوَفْدُ الطِّبِّيُّ مِنْ بِلَادِ الْهِنْدِ

The Jodhpur-breeches have been selected not only from the point of view of comfort and utility, but also to impart to the Mission uniform a distinctively Indian character. There is also supplied an overcoat, which is also khaki in colour, is made of a very warm material, although very light in weight, allowing perfect freedom in movement. Two Turkish caps and two pairs of brown ammunition boots complete the uniform. No distinction has been made in the uniforms of the doctors and dressers except that every doctor will be provided with a brown leather belt with pouches to wear with the Norfolk-coat. Besides the uniform every member of the Mission has been advised to furnish himself with the following articles:—(1) Six flannel shirts, (2) six woollen under-vests, (3) six woollen under-drawers, (4) six pairs of woollen socks, (5) one dozen handkerchiefs, (6) three blankets and two pillows, (7) six towels, (8) brush, comb and a small mirror, (9) one woollen undress suit, Indian or English, (10) one steel trunk size 20 inches, (11) one waterproof hold-all, and (12) one Balachava cap. As regards the equipment and stores for the field-hospital, I have written two long and detailed letters to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali giving him full particulars of the quantity and quality of instruments, appliances, dressings, disinfectants, tinned provisions and other invalid foods to be sent straight to Constantinople so as to reach there before us. This list has been based on the one prepared by the great English experts for field-hospitals in the South African war, only minor differences being made owing to difference in climate and season of the year. But the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali has been given full freedom to consult expert opinion in London in selecting the best and the cheapest material in the market. The Mission is thus not encumbered with any equipment except the personal luggage of the members. It is worth noting that a philan-

thropic Mohamedan firm of Calcutta, Messrs. H. S. Abdul Ghani & Co., Wholesale Chemists and Druggists, have very generously offered bandages, dressings, disinfectants and minor surgical instruments, the least value of which would amount to Rs. 1,000. It is hoped that other Moslem firms would not lag behind in showing their practical sympathy towards the Mission, and would emulate the noble example set by the Calcutta firm. In the end, I feel it my duty to express the gratitude of the Mission and of the entire community which it represents for the courtesy and readiness which all the Government officials have shown in helping the work of the Mission. Our thanks are also due to all the firms, especially Messrs. Phelps & Co., Military Tailors, Kashmiri Gate, Delhi, the Railway and Shipping Companies and Messrs. Thomas Cook and Sons, who have given us special concessions and facilities, or helped us considerably in hastening our Mission in its departure." After reading this letter our readers will realise that no effort has been spared to complete in detail all the arrangements for the despatch of the Mission. Those who have been sending funds to us with great liberality and zeal would be glad to learn that the Mission is now almost ready for departure and as soon as the passports are secured, it will leave Delhi for Constantinople. Our deepest thanks are due to H. E. the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi for the facilities they have so kindly afforded us in the matter of passports. The passports will, we hope, be ready in a day or two and the Mission will sail from Bombay without further delay. We had heard rumours that Government will not permit the Mission to proceed to Turkey; but we are in a position to state that all such rumours are absolutely baseless. As a matter of fact, H. E. the Viceroy has graciously promised to wire to the Secretary of State to request His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople and the British Agent-General in Cairo to assist the Mission when it arrives in Turkey and en route in Egypt.

We are happy to note that money for the Turkish Relief Fund is now steadily reaching us from every quarter in India, and nothing can give us greater pleasure than to see this flow of Moslem sympathy for their suffering brethren in the

The Turkish Relief Fund.

shape of silver and gold. With the growth of the Fund the labours of the Manager's staff have also enormously increased, and it requires much time and care to prepare the list for weekly announcements. As the space at our disposal is limited, only a certain number of pages can be set apart for the purpose; and inasmuch as the weekly list should be prepared some days before we go to press, it happens that the announcement of several contributions has to be deferred till the week following. We, therefore, request those contributors to the Relief Fund, who do not find their contributions announced in the *Comrade* just a week after they were sent, to wait till the following issue of the paper when, in due course, the announcement would be made. If, however, a contribution has not been announced within a fortnight, we request the donor to make an immediate inquiry from the Manager's Office. The Turkish Relief Fund collection, as announced in the *Comrade* this week, shows a total of Rs. 74,558-4-0, but we are happy to say that the entire money received by us up-to-date comes up to Rs. 1,18,762-15-2. For reasons stated above, we have not been able to announce a large number of the contributions received in the course of this week. As we have explained they will be published in the next weekly list.

The "liberators" of the Balkan Christians professed to draw the moral inspiration for their holy cause from the alleged massacres of innocent Christians under Turkish rule. They do

Servian Atrocities.

not evidently disdain to adopt "Turkish Methods" now that the mask has fallen from their ambitions and they have severally made a bid for empire. Persistent reports of the wholesale extermination of the Moslem Serbs and Albanians by the Servian army have been appearing in the European press. It will be remembered that the Servians had arrested and kept in confinement an Austrian Consul in order to prevent the reports of the massacres from getting abroad. A correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* sends a detailed account of these atrocities and no one can read it without a shudder. The correspondent says that the Servians have been massacring the Arnauts—Ottomanised Serbs or Albanians. Soldiers by the hundred, officers of all ranks by the score, private people in a position to know, told the correspondent the same story. Between Kumanovo and Uskub 2,000 Arnauts were massacred; round Pristina, 5,000. After the fall of Uskub strong patrols were sent out into the surrounding country. Arnaut villages were set on fire, and when the inhabitants came rushing out they were shot down without

mercy. Scores of Servian officers told the correspondent that the rivers in that district were simply choked full of corpses. In the search for arms the people living in the houses were shot in cold blood in hundreds of cases, whether they had arms or not. "The last night I was in Uskub 38 men were taken by one party of soldiers, shot and their bodies thrown into the river. I mention that case because I was told of it by a soldier of the shooting party. The Servians are not attempting to subdue the Arnauts in the ordinary way. They are going to exterminate them. 'We are going to wipe them out; that will be the most effective way,' is that was told to me on scores of occasion by soldiers of all ranks. One soldier at Uskub actually invited me to come with his troops on such an expedition, and the invitation was pressed on me by a lieutenant, a captain and a major. I was to have a rifle and 250 cartridges, and 'I would see something.' Of course, they were not aware that the idea was absurd, but that invitation alone goes far to confirm all the frightful stories I have been told." One wonders how many thousand more Moslems will be sacrificed to appease the blood-lust of the brigands who have learnt to masquerade as the champions of oppressed Christians and of liberty.

The latest telegraphic message from the office of the All-India Moslem League informs us that the Council of the League has resolved "that the next annual session of the All-India Moslem

Mourning and Melancholia.

League, fixed for 30th and 31st December 1912, be postponed *sine die*." One does not know which to admire more—this audacious, abrupt and imperious resolution or the bland self-assurance of the wisacres who framed it. What boots it to a number of self-complacent gentlemen in Lucknow if Moslem India is torn with grief and loudly cries for light and guidance. They have in their wisdom decided that it would be the best thing for the Mussalmans to exercise their wits individually and find the way just when they needed most to think and plan and act in concert. The *setwa* of the League Priestcraft in Lucknow enjoys silence and inactivity on Moslem India. We do not know whether it is a freak of folly or the result of indifference or despair. But we know well enough that it will live more than anything else to remind the Mussalmans of the pathetic imbecility of the "leaders" who at the most perplexing moment in the history of the Indian Mussalmans failed to give the lead. What do these Leagues and Conferences exist for? Perhaps to proclaim the obvious and confound the obscure. This latest message of the League from Lucknow contains another windy resolution breathing fearful wrath at Mr. Asquith for having dared to say what he said at the Guildhall Banquet. The British Government is assured that Mr. Asquith's speech "has given a great shock to the feelings of His Majesty's loyal Moslem subjects." There have been greater shocks to Moslem feelings ere this, but no relief, we may be sure, has ever been afforded to the nerves of the community merely by such wordy heroics. How ridiculous this wind-and-sound actually is can best be imagined by those who have their fingers on the pulse of the community. If the heart of Moslem India is to be saved from the paralysis of despair, a supreme united effort is needed at this juncture to stimulate and inspire it with fresh hope and courage and the spirit of endeavour. It is, indeed, a sorry spectacle, this temporising of men who have struggled all their lives to bulk large in communal affairs. At the first signal of danger they appear to be skulking away, and the organisation they have so far controlled with masterly inactivity seems to be toppling about their heads like a house of cards. "The All-India Moslem League should not hold its annual session this year" runs the *fatwa*. One may be permitted to ask, why? Is it because the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali is too busy to come out this year to preside over the session? The presence of Mr. Ameer Ali would have been invaluable, but if it is impossible for him to come out, that is surely no reason why the Indian Mussalmans should not meet to discuss important questions relating to the welfare of the community. It had also been suggested that the community should cease all public activities this year as a mark of mourning. We dealt with the suggestion in a recent issue and would only repeat that for a people who lose their wits in trouble and do not know how to act the only deliverance lies in complete *nirvana*. The Indian Mussalmans have to organise their efforts and co-ordinate their energies with a view to be of the utmost help to their suffering brethren abroad. They have also to define their attitude in regard to various important public questions that are shortly to come up for solution in this country. They have to take stock of the situation of the community as a whole and shape their activities accordingly. The Council of the All-India Moslem League, however, has had a mental crisis and has elected to take refuge in silence. Should the community start another organisation for its needs now that the pretentious chiefs of an old and most pretentious organisation have declared themselves bankrupt? If so, would it come to a better end than the late lamented League? To our mind it is

better to galvanise the League, and we suggest that those who are unwilling to accept the League's assurance that it is dead, should meet at Lucknow on the dates originally fixed and hold a session without the laggard "leaders" and even in spite of them.

Cow-Killing Riots.

FRANKLY enough, it is with the greatest reluctance that we bring ourself to write about matters which tend to emphasise the points of friction between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. There are so many things that divide the two, and so many persons to talk about them, that one cannot but seize the slightest opportunity to forget the differences and get a glimpse of the essential unity of Indian life and purpose as a grateful relief from the dull monotony of strife. And yet, differences—very big and very vital—exist, and we have got to take note of them for the simple reason that they cannot otherwise be removed. Some of the questions that embitter Hindu-Moslem feelings are, owing to a variety of causes, unfortunately assuming grave proportions. One of these questions relates, of course, to the killing of cows. We have no reason to belittle the standpoint of an orthodox Hindu on the subject, and we recognise the strength of his religious feeling to the full. But, even after recognising all this, we still fail to see that the sacrifice of cows by the Mussalmans on the occasion of Bakr-I'd should lead to riots. The essential fact which the Hindus are apt to forget is that a cow is to a Mussalman; as indeed to every non-Hindu, a mere cow and nothing more. He cannot reasonably be asked to revise his estimate of the utility of the animal, simply because a section of the Indian people invest it with sacred character. Unfortunately, however, the influence of the educated Hindus has greatly complicated the problem, and some of them have begun to exploit it as a political war-cry. The account of the Ajodhya riots, which we publish elsewhere, has been furnished to us by a trustworthy correspondent and reveals a certain intolerant and aggressive mood amongst the Hindus which is of recent growth and has manifested itself in various parts of the country. In Rangoon as well as Ajodhya militant Hindu mobs were seized by sudden frenzy of fanaticism, assaulted the Mussalmans without the least provocation, even broke into their houses and tried to prevent them from the performance of their religious ceremonies by organised violence and terrorism. This is an entirely new and dangerous development. While we are confident the Mussalmans would enjoy the fullest protection of the law in the exercise of their religion, we are not quite sure if the responsible leaders of the Hindu community have grasped the significance of the mischievous fatalities indulged in by the Ajodhya and Rangoon mobs. These tactics, more than anything else, would lead to the increase in the slaughter of cows, for it would be idle to expect that the Mussalmans would give up the exercise of what they regard as their natural right at the bidding of fanatical and aggressive mobs. We hope it is not intended as a foretaste of what *swaraj* might actually mean for the Mussalmans.

THE Hon. Mr. A. K. Ghaznavi writes to us:—"It is with

Jum'a Prayers.

profound gratitude to the Government of India and the Government of Bengal that I am able to announce to-day that the Government of Bengal have communicated orders No. 5746P. to all their Commissioners of Divisions directing that permission should be given on Fridays to Mussulman employees of Government to say their Jum'a prayers. It will be remembered that at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held at Simla on the 18th of September last, I had the honour of putting an Interpellation with regard to the granting of leave to Mussulman employees of Government to say their Jum'a prayers. The Government of India had been from the outset very sympathetic and had intimated their desire that I should move the Local Government as well. The Government of His Excellency Lord Carmichael has now been the first to grant the desired-for leave for which act of justice the Mussalman community will, I am sure, remain grateful. I may add that the Hon'ble Mr. Beatson-Bell, Commissioner of Dacca, whilst transmitting the orders of the Bengal Government, has also added in his Circular to his subordinate officials that facilities should also be afforded to Mussulman pleaders, raktears and litigants to say their Jum'a prayers, and I have no doubt that other Commissioners will likewise show the same consideration for the religious feelings of the Mussalmans. We are glad the Bengal Government has dealt with the matter in a prompt and sympathetic manner and we hope, with the Hon. Mr. Ghaznavi, "that Local Governments in other Presidencies and Provinces would be kind enough to follow the happy lead of the Bengal Government."

The Comrade.

The Defeat of the Turk.

I.

EXPLAIN them how we may, the startling events in the Balkans have brought a sudden and almost immediate disaster to the Ottoman Empire in Europe. In Epirus, in Macedonia, in Thrace the Turkish arms have suffered swift and complete reverses, and the Turkish rule has practically ceased to exist. We do not propose here to deal with the causes of the conflict or measure the motives of the hostile forces that have wrought this unexpected and overwhelming catastrophe. The fact remains that the Confederacy has worsted the Turk in battle and is in no mood to forego the fruits of its victories. It is equally unprofitable to pause and consider how diplomacy will deal with the situation. Diplomacy is at best an instrument to adjust varying interests to accomplished facts, and few Powers in Europe can at present find in the disappearance of the Turk the possibility of any vital danger to their interests. Whether the struggle would end soon or drag on through a long course of yet greater surprises till some wholly novel settlement is reached, has almost ceased to be a matter of speculation and debate. The *pourparlers* for an armistice between the Bulgarians and the Turks seem to have been earnestly entered on from both sides and whether they issue in peace or in the resumption of hostilities the struggle, to all outward seeming, cannot be long-lived. The vital, decisive strokes have already been delivered. It would be little short of a miracle if Turkey succeeds in undoing what the sword of the Confederacy has wrought. The achievement would not simply consist in rolling back successful invasions, but in the literal reconquest of a hostile country. Assuming a complete and thorough resurrection of Turkey in Europe to be a very remote possibility, it would be worth while studying the causes that have led to the military débâcle of the Turk.

It would be long before the world sees things in the right perspective or adjusts its ideas to the march of events. The events have been too staggering in their rapidity for their significance to be completely grasped. They are rich in historical suggestiveness and in all the elements that make a powerful appeal to the primal instincts of race and creed. A proud and mighty conqueror had entered Europe more than four centuries ago, and ancient kingdoms and politics had crumbled into dust. He had led a virile race, young in hope, confident of its powers and resolute in aim, into new fields of endeavour and achievement. He did not realise at the time the peculiar nature of the heritage into which he had entered. He had broken through a web of hoary traditions that go to the roots of Roman history. Above all he had humiliated the pride of Christendom. As long as his arm was strong, he kept his new estate well in hand, and his enemies dared not dispute his rights and his authority. Christian Europe, however, never forgave his intrusion on Christian soil. His Christian subjects kept seething with passions for revenge. Every rebel or adventurer that rose from their ranks was blessed by the priest and hailed as patriot. The Balkans have, ever since the Turkish conquest, remained a vast theatre where a perpetual war has been going on between alien cultures and rival creeds. The present struggle seems to have ushered the last and most ruthless phase of that war. Perhaps it is destined to end with the departure of the Turk from Europe. One cannot help falling into a multitude of sad reflections when one sees a most eventful and thrilling drama in human history hastening to a tragic end.

Many a powerful nation in history has ere now completed its cycle of destiny and ceased to be. The causes in each case have been various and peculiar to place and time. Is the career of the Turk as a ruler at an end? The question does not obviously admit of an easy answer. The causes of his failure in Europe may afford some clue to his possible future in Asia. The problem is vast and complex and any attempt at a thorough solution must take into account the whole history, the environment and the character and genius of the Turkish race. The political aspect of the environment and the thousand and one influences that play upon it from the outside would in themselves be extremely difficult to analyse. The utmost that can be attempted here is to try to get at the root-cause to which the present military failure of the Turk has been due and to see if the cause is irremediable.

The issue of a modern war hangs very often on accidents, trivial in themselves but decisive in their cumulative effect. The Turkish reverses in Macedonia and Thrace had not apparently been decreed by fate, i.e., they have been due to causes well within human control. Few of the accounts of the decisive battles of the campaign that have hitherto appeared have come from eye-witnesses, and few of those who claim to have been eye-witnesses have cared

to disguise their hatred of the Turk. Yet even these accounts ascribe Turkish failure to general military inefficiency and to incompetence of the commanders rather than to any defects in the essential fighting value of the rank and file. It must be remembered that the peasant of Anatolia is the prime factor that should count the true bed-rock of any argument about the future of Turkey. He is the essential, the representative Turk and consequently it is he who can furnish the true measure of Turkish capacity and genius. The incompetence of leaders is not the essential thing. It may be due mainly to defective training or individual incapacity and, in any case, it can be easily remedied if the mass of the people retain their virility and vigour. A modern war is a test of the moral and intellectual resources of a nation even more than of its physical efficiency and grit. The entire civil organisation of a State feels the strain when a modern army is launched into the field of battle. If the organisation is defective, cumbersome and inefficient the military machine fails to work. The quality of the human material no doubt plays a vital part in deciding the fortunes of war. It is, however, through scientific training, organisation and discipline that the characteristics of the rank-and-file can be brought to bear decisively on the issue.

The Balkan struggle has given us a rough-and-ready measure to form an estimate of the character and capacity of the Turk. Before attempting any generalisation we would rather give a faithful and detailed account of how he has appeared to not very friendly critics in this supreme crisis of his destiny. We reproduce elsewhere two long descriptions by competent observers of the Battle of Lüle Burgas—one of the greatest battles in modern history. The descriptions, though long, are not complete and give but a partial picture of the terrible conflict that raged for a week over a front of about 25 miles. Similar accounts have appeared in almost every newspaper in Europe and very definite theories have been based on them in regard to the failure of the Turkish army. With a view to as full a discussion as possible of a very difficult and important problem, we would recapitulate the impressions of the war-correspondents of note and of other experts competent to give an opinion. We will deal in the next issue with what appears to us to be the root cause of the Turkish failure and to see whether it is superficial or the result of the general decadence of the race.

One of the most vivid narratives of the battle of Lüle Burgas was recorded by Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*. The narrative does not attempt to give a connected history of the whole series of contemporaneous engagements. On the Turkish side there was not one army, but four. The sole means of information which the Commander-in-Chief possessed were apparently his field-glasses. There were no field-telegraphs; there was not even a service of despatch riders, and each of the four Turkish corps seems to have fought as an independent unit. The Turkish line stretched on the first day (Tuesday, October 29th) from Lüle Burgas through Bunar Hisar back to Vias, ordered in four corps which were (moving from left to right) IV, I, II and III. Some little success was gained against No. I in the centre, but No. II, under Torgut Sherket, actually gained ground. The Bulgarian success lay in smashing the left wing (IV) and driving it back, partly by frontal attacks and later by a turning movement from Lüle Burgas, which was continued on the second day until it became a rout. The one hope for the Turks lay on this second day in the movements of Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha—a furiously brave and dashing leader—with a strong cavalry force (III) on the right. He started late and advanced too slowly, but there was a moment, when the stubborn corps II was being driven backwards in the right centre, when he seemed on the point of getting behind the advancing Bulgarians. That effort failed. The third day was occupied in the simultaneous retreat of the whole Turkish left and centre, back to Tchorlu and the railway. The Bulgarians were not able to pursue effectively, and when once the Turks were out of artillery range they seem to have been allowed to retire unmolested. On Friday, only the third corps kept up the fight, for it seems to have struggled obstinately as it fell back. The Bulgarians attempted but failed to surround it.

"H. N. B." writing in the *Nation*, says that the swift victory of the Bulgarians over a great army in positions of its own choosing has made so powerful an impression on the imagination, that our inclination is probably to exaggerate the real military decline of the Turks. The men everywhere showed the usual obstinate passive courage of their race. The Turks never were scientific soldiers, save, perhaps, in the golden days of Soliman the Magnificent. They never have displayed an aggressive and adventurous courage since they ceased to recruit other stocks in their Janissary corps. Albanians, Caucasians, and Slavs, have all of them the essentially Aryan imagination and vanity which delights in a gallant exploit. The Turks are too impersonal, too little self-conscious to possess this aggressive, adventurous knightly courage. They do their duty, and do it best behind trenches. The Third Corps, if we knew its story fully, has probably

shown something of this spirit. The Second Corps advanced with great steadiness. The cavalry on the left made a gallant charge. Even in the rout, we read that the infantry, wearied, footsore, and starving, at all events did not throw away its rifles. When we read the fierce exposure in Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett's narrative, we must recognise that, unless these simple military virtues had remained substantially intact in the rank and file, the rout must have been incomparably more disastrous than it was. The Staff had no control or knowledge of the whole scope of these vast operations. The commanders of corps were hardly in touch with their own commanders of brigades and divisions. The artillery ammunition failed, and no reserves were provided. The regimental officers were fully 2,000 short. The reservists, who, under Abdul Hamid, were not even allowed to fire a cartridge from their Martini rifles, attempted to learn the use of a Mauser magazine under the enemy's fire. Not a single field hospital was with the army, not any corps of bearers to succour the wounded. Worst of all, the commissariat had totally failed. From the outset of the war, the men had been starving, and during the long battle of four or five days, they were totally without food. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett says that if they had had as much as one ship's biscuit a day, the result might have been different.

The plain truth, says "H. N. B.," has been told by Hilmi Pasha to an interviewer in Vienna. Like the Greeks in 1897, the Turks were convinced that the Powers would not allow a war. They were totally unprepared, and all the talk of their almost German efficiency was nothing but journalistic bluff. The world was deceived, and probably their simple-minded military caste was deceived, by their facile successes over the Greeks in Thessaly. "To one who made that campaign, as I did, it was obvious that the Turkish superiority over the Greeks was only relative. They were facing a still worse organised enemy whom they outnumbered by two to one. Their movements were of an elephantine slowness. They showed little enterprise or dash in attack. Their shells did not explode. Their infantry fire was the wild effort of untrained men, who could not even read the figures on their rifle-sights. There was, indeed, no failure of the commissariat in that campaign, but then the army waited for its transport, and chose its own route and its own time for movement. At the time of the revolution, more than one of the prominent Young Turk leaders confessed to me, that they were well aware that their army was quite unfit to meet the Bulgarians. That knowledge is their condemnation. Knowing that, they none the less set themselves, as if by a deliberate policy, to provoke the Bulgarians, and neglected to prepare, not merely the attack, but even the defence. It is a merciful destiny which has arrested their blunders and exposed their pretensions."

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Times* says that there are excuses for every military failure and Turkey is to-day the place of all others *où l'on s'excuse*. Bad weather, the temporary breakdown of the commissariat, the treachery, according to some, of Christian recruits, according to others of agents of the Committee of Union and Progress, and the failure of the Turkish artillery to silence the French guns of the Bulgarians are given as good reasons for the rout at Kirk Kilisseh, while the activity of the Macedonian bands and the military failure of the Albanians are brought under contributions to explain reverses in Macedonia. All these may be good reasons for a bad conclusion, but in the opinion of foreign and Turkish observers who go beneath the surface the true cause of the initial disasters lies elsewhere. During the last four years political considerations have influenced the reorganization of the Turkish Army to an extraordinary extent. After the military *pronunciamento* of 1908 the majority of the more ambitious subalterns of the Turkish Army became, for a while, politicians rather than soldiers and occupied themselves with anything rather than their military duties. This neglect was one of the contributing causes of the military mutiny of 1909. After the occupation of Constantinople by the triumphant forces of the Committee political propaganda still continued to occupy large numbers of officers, and the creation of what were known as military "Masonic lodges," but were in reality Committee clubs resembling the Carbonarist organizations of Republican Portugal, proved subversive to discipline among the commissioned ranks. Another and perhaps even greater cause of failure, according to the *Times* correspondent, has been the scarcity of officers, especially among the reserve formations. Its cause is, again, to a large extent, political. The Turkish Army of Plevna and of Abdul Hamid's days contained a large proportion of *Aiali* (ranker) officers, who may not have been scientific soldiers, but were usually able to get their men to follow them, had a considerable experience of rough fighting, and, above all, understood the mentality of the rank and file. It is true that measures were taken to increase the number of commissioned officers and to improve the instruction of the non-commissioned ranks. But though in 1910 there were over 2,000 cadets at the military school and though the *metedil* officers, not all of whom were politicians, took their regimental duties more seriously than in the past, the elimination of some

3,000 *Alaïlle* between 1909 and 1911 and of many of the senior non-commissioned officers, who were regarded in Committee circles as "reactionary," deprived the army of many useful men, who, if the reverse of scientific, could yet get men forward under fire and were in closer touch with the conscriptions than many of the school-trained subalterns. "It must not be forgotten that between that Anatolian soldier, who forms the bulk of the Turkish armies, and the Moslem Levantine there is a great moral and mental gulf. The majority of the officers of the Turkish Army are town Moslems of very mixed blood, as are most of the Civil servants of the Empire, whose race has been Levantinized—or Byzantinized, if the first verb sounds too harsh—by a great variety of influences. Those who only know Constantinople do not know Turkey till mobilization comes and the real Turkey marches in tens of thousands through the streets of the capital."

The Dangers of the Situation.

ACCORDING to the latest reports from Constantinople the *pourparlers* for an armistice are proceeding satisfactorily between the Bulgarian and the Turkish delegates, and hope is gaining ground that a mutual agreement may soon be reached. In case an armistice is signed between the belligerents it would be reasonable to infer that much contentious ground has been cleared for a final conclusion of peace. If the Turks and the Allies are left to arrive at a mutual settlement without an interference or advice from the Powers, the result might be satisfactory to both. But no such settlement would be worth the paper on which it is written unless it is acceptable both to Austria and Russia and their respective allies. The decisive word lies with these two Powers acting through a concert of Europe. If they disagree on any vital question no diplomatic tact would avail in averting a European war.

The main question for the present to consider is how the diplomatic situation will effect Turkish interests. Had the military issue been decided in favour of the Turks Europe would have insisted on the preservation of the *status quo*, while it could have no doubt demanded guarantees for the execution of far-reaching reforms in Macedonia. The success of the allies has, however, fundamentally altered the situation. The dismemberment of the European Turkey has been recognised to be inevitable; and even if Austria may not like she is powerless to prevent vast territorial changes foreshadowed in the demands of the Confederacy. Dismissing the possibility of a radical change in the military situation, there can be no escape from the assumption that the partition of Turkey in Europe would form the basis of any final settlement. As things are, Turkey has got to face this eventuality and the only useful consideration for her statesman is to see how they can reduce the enormous proportions of the loss. We are sure the Turkish Government has carefully considered the situation in the light of recent events, and though Kiamil Pasha is notoriously a "peace-at-any-price" politician, we do not suppose he would have desired a humiliating peace for his nation at a crisis such as this. We may take it then that the appeal for European intervention, which emanated from the Porte after the battle of Lüle Burgas, was a carefully considered decision of the Government. The appeal was of course rejected. The Ottoman ambassadors had communicated to the Powers with a view to ask (1) that the Powers should offer and, in case of necessity, should impose an armistice upon belligerents; (2) that they should take advantage of this armistice to invite the belligerents to make known their views and, if necessary, bring these into agreement. The French Premier replied that the proceeding suggested was absolutely inadmissible and that the French Government could in no wise take the responsibility of imposing an armistice without at the same time being able to furnish guarantees regarding the conditions of peace. The French Government was assured that Russia and England shared its views. Immediately after the Turkish Government learnt that the Powers were unwilling to intervene it addressed a Note to the them requesting them to undertake collective mediation for the immediate cessation of hostilities and for the determination of conditions of peace. The French Premier replied that this request for mediation must exclude all idea of pressure on the Balkan allies and added that the power would only take action if all the belligerents accepted the principle of mediation. Thus the Porte realized early enough that neither the intervention nor the mediation of the Powers could be secured with any hope of advantage. The only course left open to the Porte was to imitate direct negotiations with the allies and seek for a basis of honourable peace. After all that had happened this course was undisputably the best that Turkey could adopt. The Confederacy challenged her to combat and she cheerfully accepted the challenge. The fortunes of war have so far gone against her. Nothing can be of greater advance to her than to sow the seeds of a lasting understanding and relationship with her adversaries of to-day. A Balkan league, with Turkey as a partner

would command respect in the councils of Europe, and Russian designs and Austrian intrigues for ever, and ensure permanent peace in the affairs of the Near East.

But the supreme question is: Will the Powers let Turkey and the Confederacy come to terms between themselves? The answer to this question can best be supplied by an analysis of the Russian attitude and the Austrian standpoint. As a writer in the November issue of the *Fortnightly Review* remarks, the partition of European Turkey would create numerous zones of dangerous friction between States and would cut across many existing international arrangements and friendships. It might destroy the Triple Alliance or the Triple Entente. Constantinople is an object of the very greatest value to several States. The question of its possession cannot be settled peacefully by the European Powers but only by war, and more than one war may be required for the final settlement. It is this danger more than anything else which has induced some of the Powers to recognise the wisdom and necessity of leaving Constantinople to the Turks. Russia will, however, require to be compensated for her willingness to agree to this great act of renunciation. Austrian aspirations are well known and we have discussed them a good deal in these pages. Servian advance to the Adriatic has called forth angry demonstrations in Vienna, and hasty measures are being taken to prepare for the mobilization of the Austrian army. The proposal of M. Poincaré for a general declaration of *désintéressement* was greeted with fierce invective and ridicule in the Vienna Press. The Austro-Hungarian and German replies to the proposal were identical, i.e., both the Allies ignored it altogether. The proposal had in fact emanated from Russia and was, as usual, made public through her trusted mouthpiece, the French Premier, with a view to watch its effect in Austria. It is evident that Austria will have to say a good deal before a final settlement is reached and what it will have to say will not be very much to the liking either of Russia or of Servia. "We are prepared" said the Austrian Minister in his recent statement before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Austrian Delegation, "to make large allowances for the new situation created by the victory of the Balkan States and thus lay the foundations of a lasting and friendly understanding with them. On the other hand, we have also the right to demand that the legitimate interests of the monarchy shall suffer no harm from the new settlement of things." Count Berchtold went on to refer to the moderate attitude adopted by Roumania and expressed the hope that her considerable interests, depending on her geographical position, would meet with corresponding consideration. It is significant that an Austrian officer of high rank has arrived in Bukharest to confer with the Roumanian Chief of Staff. Austria has been deeply annoyed by the turn of events and the address of the Vienna Municipality to the Emperor shows the growing determination of the people to enforce respect for Austrian demands. Servian statesmen on the other hand declare in sweeping terms that even in the economic field Servia will never consent to negotiate separately with Austria-Hungary, but will insist upon being treated as a sovereign and independent power with a right to make its own terms with all the world. Russian sentiment is equally bellicose. The President of the newly-elected Duma recently declared that all Russians were willing to offer their lives for the glory of their fatherlands, should the clouds now darkening the political sky break in a thunderstorm. It is manifest that Austria would not allow the Confederacy to divide the spoils without any reference to her wishes. Russia is equally determined to see that her *protégés* are not shorn of the fruits of their victories. The task of diplomacy is to reconcile these hopelessly irreconcilable standpoints. Sir Edward Grey is endeavouring to organise an informal exchange of opinion. He has cleverly thrown out hints outlining the possible range of diplomatic discussion. A European Conference will no doubt sit to measure the extent of the differences that divide Austria from Russia and the Confederacy and, if possible, to remove them; but there is little hope that the Conference would succeed unless Austria is too weak to press her standpoint effectively.

The question of Albania will form a vital point of discussion. Servia has occupied the Albanian port of Durræzo and Bulgaria and Servia have both declared that the Albanians are unfit for self-government. Previous to the war every subject race in Turkey had been declared by the leaders of the Confederacy to be ripe for autonomy. Success in war has created new dreams of empire and the liberators of struggling nationalities have stepped forth as full-blown Imperialists. The establishment of the Provisional Government in Albania may not be an unwelcome development to Austria and Italy. It remains to be seen how the Confederacy and its sympathisers receive the declaration of Albanian independence. The final settlement may not be long in coming. But the path by which it may arrive is lined with pitfalls. And the shadow of a European war hangs over it all.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Nov. 22.

Bulgarian torpedo boats attacked the Turkish warship *Hamidieh* forty miles from Varna. It is admitted in Sofia that the torpedo boats returned with funnels damaged, though it is believed that the *Hamidieh* was sunk; but the Captain of the latter vessel reports to Constantinople that he sunk two of the torpedo boats, the *Hamidieh* being slightly damaged by another. A Constantinople wire says that the warship *Hamidieh* was towed in town at stern. She had apparently been torpedoed. She was immediately docked. The Commander eulogised the conduct of the officers.

A Constantinople wire states that the Bulgarians' conditions for an armistice were the surrender of Adrianople and Scutari, the withdrawal of the Turkish fleet from the Black Sea, the cessation of the despatch of troops to Tchataldja and the cessation of the work of building fortifications.

General Chukri, commanding the Adrianople garrison, has received the title of Ghazi in recognition of his splendid defence.

A Constantinople wire states that the cannonade was resumed last night more violently than ever. Correspondents at Tchataldja declare that excessive optimism has followed excessive gloom, and the Turks bands are playing for the first time since Lüle Burgas. The correspondents are astounded at the withdrawal of the Bulgarians from the positions which they had captured, as the Turks had brought up all their reserves, and had made preparations for eventual retirement. The morale of the Turkish army is now the highest. The Bulgarians are now entrenched on high ground facing the Turkish right. The German General Kochwafer, who is with the Turks, describes the position at Tchataldja as one of stalemate, neither side being able to advance.

A Sofia wire says that the Cabinet is considering the position. It is believed it is improbable that hostilities will be immediately resumed. There are indications that Bulgaria is displaying a conciliatory tone and will modify her conditions. A strong belief prevails that the Turkish main objection to the Bulgarian terms is to the evacuation of Tchataldja, which they have vigorously held. Therefore the resumption of negotiations, especially in view of the conciliatory statement emanating from Sofia, is regarded as not improbable. Bulgaria has appointed Dr. Danoff and General Savoff and Fitsoff as plenipotentiaries. They will proceed immediately to Tchataldja. The march of the Serbians to the sea at Alessio, under General Yankovitch, was a notable military feat. The country is mountainous and bare, and they had to force their guns through snow a yard deep. The cold was fearful, and they suffered the severest privations. When they eventually reached Alessio, almost simultaneously with the Montenegrins under General Martinovitch, the troops were so ravenous that the doctors refused to allow them to eat meat, lest it should prove harmful. Wonderful stamina was shown by the Serbians, and in spite of trials and extreme exhaustion, there were only four deaths. Eleven Greek warships, with four transports, have effected a landing of troops on Mitylene. The Greek Crown Prince has occupied Florina after routing thirty thousand Turks.

London, Nov. 25.

A Sofia wire states that the Bulgarians have occupied Dedagatch and Malgara. The latter is midway between Dedagatch and Badozto. This opens the whole country to the westward of Constantinople to the advance of the Allies. A Belgrade wire says that the Serbians have occupied Resna to the westward, Dibra to the north-westward, and Florina to the southward of Monastir. The Serbian force at Alessio has captured a thousand prisoners and two guns. Another force has joined the Montenegrins at San Giovanni di Medua. A Sofia wire says that the Turks made a sortie from Adrianople on Wednesday and attempted to recapture the Fort of Kartaltepe. They were repulsed, leaving 350 dead. A Constantinople wire says that no fighting is reported to-day. It is believed that *pourparlers* for an armistice are proceeding.

While Sofia expects negotiations for an armistice to begin within twenty-four hours, and considers the immediate resumption of hostilities improbable, and also declares that the Bulgarians have been ordered meanwhile to remain on the defensive, despatches from Nazim Pasha do not mention *pourparlers* for an armistice.

They say that the Bulgarians bombarded Buyuk Cheekmedje, and that the fleet replied, silencing the Bulgarian guns. Reconnaissances made on Thursday night drove out the Bulgarians from the village of Ezzetin with heavy loss, silencing their batteries which, however, reopened fire on Friday morning, but in an ineffectual manner. There was an infantry battle along the centre on Friday, and subsequent reconnaissances found the ground littered with several thousand Bulgarian corpses over a radius of three miles.

A Sofia wire states that the Bulgarians are confident the Turks will be forced to yield ultimately. The official organ, *Mir*, says: "The advance to Constantinople has been stayed because we do not wish to interfere with complicated European interests. If the Turks refuse to understand this, and wish to retain Constantinople and the Khalifate, they must make all the concessions demanded. If their position be the contrary, our aim will be the expulsion of the Turks from Europe."

A Constantinople wire says that extraordinary precautions have been taken to prevent correspondents from visiting the lines. Gendarmes are hunting them down and most correspondents wore a fez, hoping to be taken for Turkish officers. Arrests of prominent Turkish Unionists in connexion with the alleged plot continue. They include four ex-Ministers.

A Berlin wire says the Archduke Francis Ferdinand arrived there last night and was welcomed by the Kaiser. General von Schemua, Chief of the Austrian General Staff, conferred with Count von Moltke, Chief of the German General Staff. General Schemua's flying visit to Berlin, and his conference with Count von Moltke, are exciting much comment and speculation.

Later.

It is explained at Berlin that the visit of General von Schemua is one of the customary visits annually exchanged between Berlin and Vienna, as is also customary between the French and Russian General Staffs. General von Schemua's visit synchronised with that of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, but this was a mere coincidence and General Schemua, while in Berlin, saw neither the Kaiser nor the Archduke.

Speaking at Nottingham, Mr. Asquith said that Britain and the Powers were still co-operating to limit the field of possible conflict.

An Athens wire says the Crown Prince telegraphs from Florina that, after the battle on Wednesday, the cavalry pursued the enemy and took the defiles at Pisoderi with twenty guns. The weather is bad, rain and snow alternating. The pursuit continues. A Rieka wire says that the operations against Scutari have been resumed owing to the news that Turkey has rejected the terms of peace. A Sofia message says that the Greek Minister and military attaché in Sofia represented Greece in the negotiations for the armistice. Serbia and Montenegro were represented by Bulgaria. The elation produced in Serbia by the occupation of Alessio and San Giovanni di Medua augurs ill for an ultimate settlement with Austria.

A Cairo wire says that a second Egyptian Red Crescent party, with two hundred beds and a full equipment, left for Constantinople to-day. The Khedive is also sending a special section. The British Red Cross Society is sending to Constantinople a special cholera section, under Captain Horton, of the Indian Medical Service, who has had special experience in cholera.

London, Nov. 24.

A Constantinople wire says that no fighting is going on at Tchataldja. The Bulgarians are suffering severely from cholera and have retired some kilometres to the rear. A Sofia wire says that two Turkish battalions at five o'clock yesterday morning attacked certain Bulgarian positions at Tchataldja, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Otherwise there was no fighting yesterday. A Constantinople wire says that the Turkish morale has greatly improved owing to the arrival of reinforcements from Asia and as a result of the restoration of order out of chaos which prevailed after the defeat at Lüle Burgas. It is thought probable that the Bulgarians, having occupied all the territory they intend holding, will now leave the Turks to take the initiative. The Turks are reinforcing their troops at Gallipoli, anticipating an attack on the Dardanelles.

The Vienna Press has been forbidden to publish reports of military measures which are being taken in the monarchy. Telegrams

are subject to censorship. The Austrian and German newspapers have been full of details of the mobilization of Russia and Austria, but opinion in Berlin is that both countries are bluffing, as the prospect of a peaceful settlement of the Austro-Servian dispute is regarded as much improved. A Prague newspaper asserts that Germany has called up 180,000 reservists. The correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, of Vienna, says that the Kaiser has been asked to mediate between Austria and Russia.

Later.

It is semi-officially stated at Vienna that the reports of extensive Austrian military preparations are greatly exaggerated. All that is being done is to bring certain units up to peace strength as a precaution. The reports of mobilization are groundless.

A Sofia wire says that the Turks at Adrianople heavily cannonaded the Bulgarian entrenchments on Friday night and Saturday. Deserters report that the garrison is restricted to one crust in three days.

A telegram from Salonica, by an indirect route, dated the 16th instant, says that Bulgarians, while on the way to Salonica, ravaged the Turkish villages mercilessly and that immediately they entered Salonica they began to pillage systematically. There was a continuous fusillade on the 10th and 11th instant between the Allied troops and Christian inhabitants, several casualties resulting, including a stoker on the cruiser "Modca" who was in a pinnace alongside his ship. The protests of the Consuls to the Greek authorities against house-breaking were without result. There was also an anti-Jewish outbreak by Greek soldiery. The relations between the Greek and Bulgarian troops are very strained.

An Athens wire states that a Greek torpedo boat torpedoed and sank a Turkish gunboat in the Harbour at Aivali, 66 miles north of Smyrna. The Turkish crew abandoned the gunboat on the approach of the torpedo boat.

In a lecture in Berlin, General von Der Goltz said that the Turkish army was nothing but an army of recruits. No attempt had been made to maintain an army in the modern sense before 1908, and the building up of a homogeneous corps of officers would take a number of years.

A Belgrade message says that the Servians have captured Oelrida. They met with no resistance. The Greeks engaged some Turkish troops escaping from Monastir. After a short fight the Greeks took 1,200 prisoners and 19 guns. At the request of the Servians, Greece has ordered steamers with food supplies to the Adriatic coast for Servian troops.

London, Nov. 25.

A Constantinople wire says that the Turkish delegates reached the Bulgarian headquarters on Saturday night. The Bulgarian and Turkish plenipotentiaries will probably meet to-day. A Gibraltar wire says that the American cruiser "Montana" has sailed for Beirut, via Port Said, and the "Tennessee" for Smyrna, via Malta.

A Sofia telegram states that a soldier there has been found to be suffering from cholera. After three weeks' training, the recruits of 1912 are leaving to-day to do garrison duty in Macedonia.

It is semi-officially announced that large bodies of Greeks and Servians in Macedonia are being held in readiness to proceed to Tchataldja in the event of the failure of negotiations: in that case the Allied armies will enter Constantinople together. On the occasion of a thanksgiving service in the Serb Church at Vienna, the police prevented Slav students from holding a procession, whereupon the students raised disloyal shouts. The crowd was exasperated and attacked the students, scattering them broadcast. Significance is attached to the fact that while the Bulgarian plenipotentiaries will also represent Servia and Montenegro, Greece has sent her own representative to the meeting place at Tchataldja. The action is supposed to be due to friction between the Bulgarians and Greeks at Salonica. A British steamer arrived at Constantinople yesterday with 600 refugees from Salonica who, running short of provisions, threatened the crew. A detachment from the cruiser "Hampshire" boarded the steamer and quelled the trouble. A Salonica message states that the anti-Jewish outbreak on the occasion of the occupation by the Allies was due to the fact that the Jews abstained from decorating their houses with Greek flags. A story is also being spread that Jewish bar-keepers served Greek soldiers with corrosive sublimate instead of cognac. The statement, however, is unfounded. A Belgrade wire says that Felhy Pasha, whose troops occupied the centre at the battle of Monastir, retired towards Rascia with his defeated army, but was overtaken and killed. Related reports confirm the impression that the battle was the bloodiest in the war in which the Servians have been engaged. They had the greatest difficulty in crossing the river Cherna, the passage of which had to be forced by desperate fighting at a heavy cost.

A Constantinople wire says that Marquis Gararri, the new Italian Ambassador, has arrived and is reopening diplomatic relations. A Belgrade wire says that the Turks who have surrendered since the capture of Monastir now number ten thousand. The number is increasing daily.

Later.

Europe is calmer to-day upon the positive declarations from Berlin and St. Petersburg that Russia is in no way falling away from the European Concert nor covertly egging on Servia. Reassuring utterances on all sides, especially from Russia, have tranquillised the Berlin public, which no longer believes that danger is imminent. Official circles state that while no Power is hostile to the idea of a conference, there is no prospect of a conference until the Turco-Balkan treaty is signed and the Powers know what they have to confer about. Austria apparently will make acceptance of her minimum demands in regard to the Adriatic question a condition of her assent to a conference or any other form of settlement. Austrian subjects in Constantinople belonging to the four classes of reserves have been recalled. The Red Cross unit has been ordered to return Vienna.

There are now three English doctors working in the San Stefano cholera camp. Three German correspondents have been brought to Constantinople from the front suffering from cholera. A significant telegram from Sofia says that it has been resolved to keep cholera away from Sofia; therefore no more wounded will be brought there.

Nearly four hundred Young Turks arrested in Constantinople and elsewhere have been exiled to Koniah. They include three Generals.

A Belgrade message says that the Greek Crown Prince to-day visited Uskub as a guest of the Servian Crown Prince. They drove in the streets together and were cheered. The attitude of Austria towards Servia is encouraging the Turks.

London, Nov. 26th.

It is expected in Constantinople that the truce will last 48 hours. Official circles are pessimistic as to the outcome of the negotiations. The question of Adrianople is likely to be the stumbling block. The Bulgarians are prepared to waive their demand for the evacuation of the Tchataldja lines, but insist on the capitulation of Adrianople. The Turks are equally determined to retain the town. The Ambassadors in Constantinople yesterday urged the Porte to conclude peace in view of the danger of complications. The discussion between the plenipotentiaries at Tchataldja yesterday was chiefly confined to arranging the line of demarcation of the two armies which will be drawn up by military representatives to-day. Negotiations will be resumed to-morrow.

It is authoritatively stated at Sofia that Bulgaria is anxious to be moderate in peace negotiations and to convince Europe of her reasonableness. To spare Turkey's feelings she might not insist upon the withdrawal of the Turks from Tchataldja and might allow the Adrianople garrison to march out. Sofia reports that a sortie was made from Adrianople on Sunday but was repulsed with loss. The last class of Bulgarian recruits, who are mostly lads of seventeen, have been sent to the front after three weeks' drill. It is reckoned that the Bulgarian losses have amounted to 100,000, which is a serious drain upon her small population.

A Constantinople message says that a French cruiser has gone to Dodegatch where disturbances have broken out. It is reported that the town is in flames, having been ignited by Bulgarian Commitzis.

The Greeks have occupied Chios.

A Belgrade message says that M. Prochaska, the missing Austrian Consul at Prizrend, has arrived safely at Uskub. Therefore the rumours in Vienna of his assassination are disproved. M. Prochaska met M. Edle, the emissary of the Austrian Foreign Office, who was sent to discover his whereabouts. The Austrian steamer *Wurmbrand*, which is off Durazzo, sends a wireless message to Vienna that the Servians are already within seven miles of Durazzo and that the inhabitants will not resist.

A sheaf of dementis has been issued in Vienna regarding the alleged mobilization. St. Petersburg and Berlin concur in the opinion that a solution of the Austro-Servian difference will be found in conjunction with the settlement of other questions when the war is ended. The suggestion that Germany should mediate between Austria and Russia is scouted.

At a demonstration held outside the Parliament at Bukharest yesterday a resolution was passed demanding that the Government should defend Roumanian interests south of the Danube.

In spite of official optimism on the Continent the public in Austria, Russia and Germany are apprehensive of trouble, fearing that the arrival of the Servians at Durazzo will precipitate action. The other danger point is the question of Austrian Consuls in Macedonia. It is asserted in Vienna that the Servians are preventing the representative of the Austrian Foreign Office from reaching the Consul at Prizrend. It is even declared that the latter has been killed.

The telegram adds that the Bulgarians are already considerably sobered and desire to end the strain, which is spreading among them. The first meeting of the Turco-Bulgarian plenipotentiaries was held to-day at Abaktchikeni, in a zone which has been declared to be neutral.

A Constantinople wire says that the workers at San Stefano in the cholera hospital include Miss Alt, an aged English lady formerly a trained nurse, who has been sent out by Lady Dufferin to establish a nursing system for Turkish women. Miss Alt fearlessly enters infected dwellings, tending patients single-handed and supplying comforts at her own expense.

The sensational reports of mobilization published by the Austrian and German newspapers have failed to disturb the equanimity of Europe owing to the conciliatory attitude of all parties, including Serbia, which is apparently preparing gracefully to yield upon the vexed question of a port on the Adriatic. The fact that the British Third Battle Squadron has returned to Malta is likewise regarded as indicating a relaxation of tension. Nevertheless, in spite of the generally optimistic feeling, a slight sound of the rattling of sabres may be discerned in an inspired telegram published by the *Kölnische Zeitung*, declaring that it is now expected that Russia will not delay in speaking in favour of pacification and that the Serbian frenzy will yield to good sense. The *Reichspost*, which is the organ of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, makes a significant statement to the effect that the Archduke during his visit to Berlin gained the conviction that the Triple Alliance was firmer than ever and that the three Powers would march in a serried line in Eastern affairs.

Later.

The Serbian Premier Dr. Pasic has made an important statement to the *Times* outlining the Servians' demand. He declares that it is essential that Serbia should possess a coastline from Alessio to Durazzo. This coastline should be added to Old Serbia by a strip of territory bounded on the south by a line drawn from Durazzo to Ochrida Lake and on the north by a line from Alessio to Djakova. Serbia, Dr. Pasic declares, is prepared to make every sacrifice to obtain this minimum. The *Times* in a leading article regrets the above statement as unlikely to assist efforts towards peace, and as being much more extensive than the original suggestion of a seaport.

Latest.

Some interest has been aroused by the sudden departure of the Austrian squadron from Smyrna in conjunction with the hurried sailing of the Austrian cruiser from Constantinople, though it is stated in Vienna that the vessels are coming home owing to the cost of keeping them in the Levant, which is now unnecessary. On the other hand, there has been a considerable reduction in the passenger service from Warsaw to the Austrian frontier which is attributed in Vienna to Russian mobilization, though the Russians explain that it is due to laying new rails.

With regard to yesterday's message in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* about the Kaiser's mediation inspired Vienna papers declare that the rumours of German mediation are unfounded. Mediation is only possible when the demands can be reduced by negotiation, but, Austria has already defined the irreducible minimum. There is nothing tangible to warrant to-day's pessimism except the undoubted military preparations of Austria and Russia. In view of the possible, not probable, contingencies it is explained that both the Austrian and Russian mobilization is a slow process, therefore it becomes necessary to begin even precautionary preparations long before they may be required, there is no indication of any disposition to break away from the European concert. On the contrary friendly conversations continue.

London, Nov. 27

A Constantinople wire states that the plenipotentiaries held another meeting yesterday in a railway saloon carriage. The possibilities of an agreement being reached are manifesting themselves.

A German correspondent, named Bumiller, has died of cholera at Constantinople. He was ex-Colonial official and has served in East Africa.

A curious report comes from Sofia and Constantinople that Turkey is desirous of entering the Balkan Confederation and that she has already made advances to the Allies.

A Bulgarian despatch reports that the buildings in the vicinity of Sultan Selim mosque in Adrianople are on fire. Fugitives say that the city is flooded to a great extent and that a state of famine and anarchy prevails. A Sofia wire states that recruits of the 1913 class have been summoned to the colours.

A Constantinople wire states that a feeling of scepticism continues there regarding the prospects of the plenipotentiaries reaching an understanding. Importance is attached to the arrival to-day of Nizami Pasha, Ambassador to Germany, who on his way to Constantinople conferred with Count von Berchtold and the King of Roumania.

A St. Petersburg wire states that the Tsar yesterday received the Austrian Ambassador in audience at Tsarskoe Selo. Public dissatisfaction is growing at the alleged failure of the Government to uphold Russia's dignity in the Balkans and official suppression of demonstrations in sympathy with the Balkan States. A collection in the streets of Moscow on Monday realized £20,000. Societies are being formed to support the Balkan Allies. Reuter is informed that the outcome of the interview which the Austrian Ambassador had with the Tsar was most satisfactory. The Tsar emphasized the pacific intentions of Russia and the Ambassador intimated that Austria would leave Serbian questions to be settled with other matters, and would not deal with them separately. Diplomats in London consider that there is every reason to anticipate that an adequate settlement in the Balkans will be found at the right moment. The outlook is serious, but there is no idea of an impending war. All the Powers regard war as insane and criminal. An Ambassador has informed Reuter's representative that the attitude of Britain has had wonderful results in keeping the Powers together. M. Edl is now on his way to Mitrovitz to inquire into the case of M. Tohy, the Austrian Consul, who was obliged to leave Mitrovitz and take refuge in Austrian territory. A Paris wire says that the Government has issued a most positive denial of the report that the Eastern garrison has been mobilized. The report was due to the blunder of a Brigadier of Gendarmes.

Later.

A Nancy wire states that owing to an unexplained mistake, Brigadier Blion ordered a general mobilization of seven Communes. Reservists were summoned from their beds and hastened to their posts. General Blion has been arrested.

A Rome wire states that the *Tribuna's* London correspondent wires that the Albanian question has been settled in principle, all the Powers adhering to the scheme for the establishment of an autonomous Principality. Another scheme is being considered by which the Powers guarantee the Albanians' neutrality in future.

A Cologne wire states that the well informed *Kölnische Volks Zeitung* says that the question of German intervention in the Albanian problem will only arise when another Great Power, sword in hand, places itself on Serbia's side.

London, Nov. 28

A Constantinople wire states that the Turks at Tchataldja numbered 70,000 on the 17th instant. There are now 100,000 troops there, and there will be 130,000 in a few days. They are largely fresh troops, with ample supplies, and are in no mood for peace. A Sofia wire says that a large part of Adrianople is on fire, through the dropping of pyroxilin bombs from aeroplanes. It is semi-officially reported that a partial mobilization of the Roumanian army has been ordered.

An Athens wire states that seventeen Greek transport have left Salonica conveying twelve thousand Bulgarians to Dedeagatch. An Athens wire says that the Crown Prince of Serbia to-day returned the visit of the Crown Prince of Greece at Salonica.

A Sofia wire states that recruits of the 1914 class have been summoned to join the colours on December 3rd. The plenipotentiaries yesterday continued their meeting until late in the evening and resumed it early to-day.

The foreign naval contingents are gradually re-embarking at Constantinople.

The *Daily Telegraph* publishes a telegram from Durazzo stating that the Albanian national flag, a black eagle on a red ground, has been hoisted on Government buildings. The authorities were previously prepared to surrender to the Servians, but the latter, who are a thousand strong, are reported to have suspended their advance ten miles distant. Proclamations of autonomy are general in the larger Albanian towns.

A Vienna wire states that the Emperor Francis Joseph gave audiences yesterday successively to the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the Chief of the General Staff, the Minister of War, Count von Berchtold and the Hungarian Minister of Defence. The attitude of the British press in opposing the exaggerated demands of Serbia is greatly appreciated in Vienna. Reuter is informed

that Germany is enthusiastically supporting the fair and moderate British policy in the Balkans. The country appreciates the conciliatory tone of the British press, and the unanimity of view is regarded in Berlin as a happy augury for the future development of Anglo-German relations. A Königsberg wire states that Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg has telegraphed to the Governor of East Prussia asking him to endeavour to allay the fever appearing to exist in his province, for which there is no justification. The alarming reports of warlike preparations on both sides of the Russo-Prussian frontier are without foundation. No special military measures have been taken by Germany, and no information as to Russian military activity has reached Berlin which Germany has found necessary to meet by counter-preparations.

Later.

A Berlin wire states that Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg's telegram was sent because the rumours of mobilization were causing a run on the Municipal Bank at Königsberg. The border provinces are especially liable to such a scare.

A Paris wire states that the mobilization mistake was due to the Postmaster at Arrancourt too readily assuming that he understood the purport of a telegram and promptly communicating with the Gendarmerie. Brigadier Blion was blameless, and merely carried out the orders to the letter. Too late the Postmaster checked the message, and realised that he had misread it.

A Rome wire states that a message from Valona says that the Assembly of Albanian delegates has proclaimed the independence and neutrality of Albania and has constituted a provisional Government. The Assembly will shortly send a Commission to the Governments of Europe to request their recognition of Albania.

A Vienna wire says that in the Reichstag to-day the Premier announced that three Bills would shortly be introduced relating to the supply of horses, the support of the dependents of soldiers in the event of mobilization, and military transport. He emphasized the urgency of a speedy and smooth passage for the measures and requested Parliamentary leaders to come to an understanding to facilitate this. According to the *Neue Freie Presse* the Premier, in announcing the Bill, remarked that the international situation was unchanged. The journal adds that the announcement of the Bills has made a great impression as showing that the situation is still critical.

A Berlin wire states that the authorities to-day receive a proposal from Sir Edward Grey for a conference of Ambassadors to consider the question of Albania, the Aegean Islands and the Dardanelles. The authorities were unable for the moment to express an opinion on the project, which is understood to be rather in the nature of a suggestion than a formal proposal. This, however, does not imply that their attitude is unfavourable.

News from Turkish Sources.

The following cablegram was received at the *Habul Matin* office in the Persian language, by its special agent at Constantinople on the 22nd November:—

"Defeat at Tchataldja has changed the position of war and the conditions of armistice. The Turkish fleet in the Black Sea has terrified the enemy. The Turks are engaged with heart and soul in driving back the Bulgarians towards the frontier. The Bulgarians broken hearted rallied round Kirk Kilisseh and are endeavouring to hold this position and that of Mustafa Pasha. The Bulgarian loss at Tchataldja is greater than that of the Turks from the beginning of hostilities. The surrender of Turkish troops at Monastir is false. The Greeks and the Servians are attacking. Fighting is going on all round. The Turkish positions are good. The enemy's loss exceeded twenty thousand, but the Turkish loss is also enormous. In Scutari the enemy being unable to attack any longer has fallen back with much loss. It is incumbent to aid the Turkish wounded soldiers."

Scenes at Tchorlu.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT WITH THE TURKISH FIELD ARMY.)

Tchorlu, Oct. 26.

It is quite evident that the Turks have now to face a situation in the north which has entailed a rapid change of plans. Situated as the correspondents now are it is quite impossible to furnish any concrete information, as we are not yet within even earshot of the guns. That there is a rearward concentration there is no doubt; and it is equally clear that there has been in the neigh-

bourhood of Lüle Burgas an unjustifiable instability amongst the Redif brigade. It looks at present—remember that this is only a judgment on local evidences—that the force at Kirk Kilisseh was not strong enough to stay the Bulgarian advance and that Abdullah Pasha has had rapidly to withdraw the whole of his forces concentrated south of Adrianople and is now striving to establish a defensive line with one flank on Lüle Burgas.

The fact that few wounded have been seen in trains returning from the north would suggest either that the retirement is strategic in view of unexplained conditions or that it has been forced after a heavy engagement, which was followed by a precipitate retreat in which the wounded were abandoned. In the latter case the pursuit was not heavy. If it had been I should have heard sounds of firing when I was close to Lüle Burgas.

A general panic, however, has seized the countryside in the area between Kirk Kilisseh and Lüle Burgas. Pathetic sights are witnessed in the south-coming trains. It appears that at Lüle Burgas news was falsely spread that the enemy was close on the town. The untrustworthy Redifs threw down their arms and mingled with the mass of old men, women, and tender children who fought for accommodation in the south-bound trains. The railway guards were powerless to deal with the terror that prompted the onrush. The trains that reached us were just masses of panic-stricken humanity. The footplates, and even the cowcatchers of the engines, were thronged with craven soldiers, who preferred the perilous haven of the locomotive to the rumoured terrors of a vindictive enemy behind them.

The staff officer at our station luckily had a battalion to hand and the fugitive soldiers were herded into the station penthouses. The civilian fugitives were allowed to proceed, and it would have been a hard heart that would not have been moved by the scenes of frenzied endeavour to quit the vicinity, scenes which only closed at nightfall.

Hundreds of families with their scanty *lares et penates* piled on bullockcarts toiled down the roads. The recent rains had rendered these roads mere morasses. It was a sheer panic. Terror had seized these unfortunate people such as might have been had the pursuit been one of relentless sabre work.

A mischance on the line had caused a block, and it was some hours before breakdown gangs could pass the trains with their freights of wild-eyed men and weeping women. The state of the trucks was beyond description. Even though they were packed so that no one could move, when the trains at last got under way men cast their distracted wives and children on to the heads of the living mass within the cars and tossed babies up after them.

Panics are inexplicable at most times. So far as I could see there was nothing to justify this wave of terror. Turkish officers who had perforce to witness these wild scenes were at a loss to understand it. I believe, however, that the news of King Ferdinand's call to his troops to consider the war as a crusade was spread broadcast in Thrace, and that a people always jealous for the honour of their women believed that the Turkish retreat exposed them to wanton brutality which would be carried out under the cloak of religion. To most it was an awful revelation to see such scenes so far from the actual theatre of operations and to see stalwart soldiers unblushingly compromised in the same pitiful panic with weak women and little children. It will be remembered that I have previously remarked on the small percentage of officers with the Turkish Redif organizations. Here we are face to face with one of the penalties of the shortage. These scenes do not augur well for the campaign.

War correspondents are to all intents and purposes prisoners, and I am doubtful if this will reach you. News filters in slowly, but I now learn from Turkish officers that the panic which overtook Mahmud Mukhtar's corps at Kirk Kilisseh was organized by the enemy's agents, Bulgarian villagers. It seems as if the enemy were not strong enough to take advantage of the rearward movement, for no information has been received of a Bulgarian advance southward.

Last night the first, second, and third corps of the Army of the East were echeloned along the fronts Visa—Bunar Hissar, Baba Eski—Lüle Burgas. There is an independent cavalry division at Visa. Tchorlu is at the moment the headquarters of Abdullah Pasha, who is in command, though the Minister of War is in the field with his headquarters apparently at Tcherkesakeui, a state of affairs which reminds one of the opening phases of the Battle of Paardeberg.

Redifs are coming steadily in to Tchorlu, mainly by road from Rodosto. The working of the railway by an untrustworthy Greek staff and the breakdown of the commissariat are among the principal difficulties that the General Staff have to face.

The Turks hope great things from their cavalry on Lüle Burgas downs.

War Impressions.

(FROM THE "NEAR EAST" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Constanza, Oct. 27.

THE check sustained by the Ottoman arms at Kirk Kilissh, the important strategic point thirty kilometres to the north-east of Adrianople, on Wednesday, was largely owing to the defection of the non-Moslem element of the forces, 12,000 strong, commanded by Prince Aziz Hassan, of the Imperial Cavalry. This force, composed of 10,000 Kaiserlich Redifs (or Reserves) and 2,000 Ottoman, Greek, and Macedonian levies, was to operate in conjunction with an army of 7,000 to 8,000 men under Hilmi Bey, who, coming up from the Uzun Keupru headquarters, was to perform a turning movement to oust the Bulgars, who, numbering 100,000, have been massed there since the opening of the campaign. The evident plan of the Turkish commanders was to join to northward of Kirk Kilissh, Aziz coming from the north and Hilmi sweeping round the town in its south-east corner. The movement began on Wednesday noon, and Hilmi's corps, true to the plan, advanced boldly on the Bulgarian entrenchments, which, at a range of five kilometres, opened a murderous fire on the masses of cavalry. Unhappily, the attackers were at a signal disadvantage in not having ammunition for their artillery, and so were unable to cover their advance. This deficiency was due to the lack of transport more rapid than bullock arabas. The junction was timed for sunset, but towards four o'clock the whole 2,000 of Aziz's force mutinied, and, despite the efforts of their commander, made off towards the Bulgarian lines.

As they were retreating, pressed by the loyalist Moslems, the mutineers encountered Hilmi Bey's troops, and a hand-to-hand encounter ensued, in which bayonets and clubbed rifles were used, many of the deserters being slain. It is even rumoured that Aziz very nearly lost his life at the hands of the enraged troops. Owing to this defection the Bulgarians were able to throw off their assailants, who retired in disorder to Lüle Burgas, sixty-four kilometres to southward, along the new branch line that was opened two months ago, and there they are now re-formed.

In the Kirk Kilissh affair the Bulgarian losses are set down at 8,000. The Turkish losses are said to be greater.

The of Battle of Lüle Burgas. Uncensored Description.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

With Nazim Pasha's Army, Oct. 30.

IMAGINE a Salisbury Plain under a gigantic magnifying glass and two hostile armies lined up in front of each other a matter of 25 miles, and you can then picture the theatre in Thrace, where the Macedonian issue is, as the writer sees it, being fought out according to the savage arbitrament of arms. It is impossible for any one eye to see the whole of such a stupendous battle, excepting by favour of an aircraft. All that a single correspondent can see is but a fraction of the gigantic struggle. If those who may read this only know the difficulties I had surmounted in order to see even this fraction, they would appreciate something of the obstacles which beset the modern correspondent. As I sit writing I am in the rear of the Turkish Fourth Army, the din of all arms in savage exercise reverberates on every side, the smoke from burning Lüle Burgas, a Tom Tiddler's ground for which Turk and Bulgar are now ferociously contending, rises as a cloud in the perfectly clear autumn sky, perfectly clear but for a fleecy mottle of shrapnel bursts. How I got here will be another story for another time, in itself a romance, but I am now concerned with the stern realities of actual war.

The Bulgars were a little slow in following up their initial success at Kirk Kilissh, as they had Adrianople to mask, and also to transport ammunition sufficient to make this battle possible. As it is, the possible failure of the ammunition on one side or the other may decide the issue. As the Turks were unable to concentrate in time to take the coveted initiative, and as the Kirk Kilissh screen has forced back, the four armies fell back, as already described, along an echeloned frontage which gave them a huge area of successive positions so like Salisbury Plain. This meant the abandonment of Adrianople with its garrison, computed at five weak divisions, and Lüle Burgas railway junction, but the Turkish staff believe that the Adrianople invested force will yet play a decisive rôle.

On Monday last the Bulgarians began to press the initiative on the main roads leading by the shortest route to the Turkish capital. Of what happened against the Turkish right echelon of the First and Second Corps I cannot speak with certainty; but Turkish reports say

that the Bulgarian initiative recoiled before Mahmud Mukhtar's seasoned troops. As for ourselves, on Monday the Bulgarians found an opening in the direction of Lüle Burgas. Pressing in under unceasing artillery preparations they denied the occupation of the village to the Twelfth Turkish Division, and the united artillery fire set the village in a blaze.

Ahmed Abouk Pasha's army is now established on the line of ridges Bederkeni-Haraba-Umurtcha-Imranli. I am actually with the 12th Division on the Lüle Burgas road. On its right is the 17th Redif Division, with the general reserves at Kutchnuk Karishdiren.

THE PANORAMA OF DESTRUCTION.

It was just before ten in the morning when I reached the point of vantage which gives a grand panorama of the whole of this portion of the great battle. The Bulgarian artillery had just opened fire and were bursting shrapnel all along the front. There seemed from the grouping of the bursts to be six batteries in action, though the fire was dispersed as if the gunners were not sure of their targets. There had been a white frost during the night and a haze overhung all the crests till nearly midday. Torgut Sherket's Division, which was in our immediate front, was admirably disposed, with firing lines thrown out under every convenient cover on the slopes from the main position, but the Turks seemed to be weak in artillery. I could count only three batteries within range of my glasses, and these were all engaged in indirect fire.

Due south of Lüle Burgas the Railway passes the river Ergene by an iron bridge with several spans. On the north bank is a large village surrounded by plantations. The Bulgarians evidently made this village their salient to break through the left of the 12th Division. Little by little the crackle of small-bore rifle fire began to increase on this front until suddenly it was evident that the enemy were trying to turn this flank. A Turkish battery on the left of the line opened a rapid fire, while two battalions from the support moved out to join the battalion already responsible for this front. It was really a heavy attack, but even before the supporting troops had come up the Turkish infantry intrenched at the bridge head had dealt with the invaders' first essay to establish themselves on the permanent way. I was much interested by the way the Turkish supports moved into position. Wave after wave, in loosely outshaken lines, they worked with callous movement up to the position and then took cover to form firing lines. Men dropped here and there, but there was no checking and no confusion. It was a methodical facing of death.

THE BULGARIAN SHRAPNEL.

The attempt to turn this flank, however, was but a side issue. Fearful things were happening on the direct front of the 12th Division. Here the Ottoman troops held an almost unending ridge of downland. About the centre were twin tumuli, and the bulk of the Turkish artillery supports was grouped on the reverse of these mounds while a division was pushed out on the slopes towards Lüle Burgas. As far as I could see, but little spade work had been done, and the troops had to find such cover as the natural conditions of the position supplied. These troops had fought heavily all yesterday, and as the enemy had been pressing them since morning their casualties had been very heavy, and towards noon Torgut had need of reserves. Consequently company after company was pushed over the hill-brow to fill the gaps torn by the Bulgarian shrapnel and rifle fire. The Turkish brigades held their ground nobly, but the Bulgarian batteries had found the range and lashed them with salvos of sweeping shrapnel. They staved off, however, each attempt which the Bulgarian infantry made to steal ground. But dull and obstinate as they were, the Turks were becoming shaken, and shortly after noon the Pasha feared that the Bulgarian infantry might successfully be launched upon them, and the reserve and every spare unit which could be swept in by the field *Gendarmes* were massed behind the twin peaks, while the sweating gunners worked their pieces as rapidly as the subtle mechanism would support; nor were the answering pieces slow to join in the dreadful revelry, and the wicked shrapnel of the Bulgarians ground in upon the devoted Turkish infantry.

It was, however, clear that the Bulgarians on this front were too strong for any defence the Turks could make. As Abouk Pasha had already called up for general service the corps in support (17th Redif Division), there was nothing left for Torgut Sherket. Every available train was bringing up troops of sorts from Saidler. These were marching to the guns, but Ottoman troops do not march hot-foot, they work out their military destiny at a snail's pace.

A DIGNIFIED RETIREMENT.

At 1 o'clock in the afternoon Torgut had withdrawn his guns and dissipated the strength he had collected for a counter-stroke.

In ten minutes, perhaps 15, the guns were clear excepting those left in position, which held on gallantly; then the division began to fall back.

It seemed as if the Bulgarian gunners had been expecting it; from under cover the Bulgarian guns opened on the concentrated Turks in a furious *rafale*. In all my long experience of the miserable scenes of war I have seen nothing finer than the retirement of the Turkish infantry. Just as the men sauntered into action so did they saunter out beneath this scathing punishment.

There was no mass formation in the retirement, it seemed as if suddenly the whole downland had become peopled with men in hundreds, but they were all shaken out in a wonderful extension, and seemed to care nothing for the rain of metal which swept down upon them, nor *pace* the gunners, could I see that the fearful halo-burst of shrapnel did any great or even considerable execution among these men, whose steps it could not even hasten. Slowly, deliberately, and with indomitable dignity the Turkish infantry retired, and we retired therewith. Already we were far from the line of communications whereby the story of their bravery could be transmitted. Nor had the infantry to retire far, for this country is just one long succession of admirable positions from Lüle Burgas to Tehataldja. Nor is it my opinion that the Bulgarians will be able to advance any distance. Certainly they will not be able to do so if it is true that Mahmud Mukhtar has been able to push their left back.

ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS.

As we came up to the new position which the battle-worn troops were to hold, we met a cavalry brigade hastening up to support the long-suffering infantry. This was the best the commanding General could do for the Twelfth Division at the moment. It was the Constantinople Brigade, not looking quite so bright and burnished as it does for a *Selamik*, but still looking firm and determined to take the first real chance offered. I waved to several of our friends from Tokathian's and the Pera Palace, and wished them *bonne chance* as they trotted by to the sound of guns. It did not look, however, as if their chance would be to-day, for the Bulgarian infantry must be as battle-weary as are the Turks.

THE DEBRIS OF THE BATTLE.

The journey from the front would deserve a description of its own. It is always pathetic to be behind an army while fighting, but rarely have I been so moved as by the groups of wounded painfully toiling on their way back to the railway line. Almost without intermission for nearly 30 miles we overtook these unfortunate victims of this struggle of nations. In some cases the wounded were lying down, in others they were in bullockcarts, and the agonies that these poor fellows suffered were readable in their lack-lustre eyes, for to lie in bullockcarts over Turkish roads must be one unending agony for those unfortunates nursing their shattered limbs.

Hundreds were dragging their weary way on foot, and seemed to have had no food, and as there was not a single habitation by the roadside for nearly 20 miles, their only hope of cover and relief was from the supply columns and field hospitals halted on the forward march. The way was replete with both, but Turkish field hospitals consist mostly of bearer companies, and its transport carries no nourishment for the hundreds that must fall by the way in this desperate encounter.

Between the supply columns there were many units of the great mobilization which was taking place behind. It is a case of "straight from the bench and the plough" and from the last straight to the battlefield. Many of the conscripts looked as if they were handling their weapons and accoutrements for the first time, but amongst the raw material was a percentage of old, hard-bitten soldiers whose grey beards and flashing eyes spoke of the racial dignity we have just witnessed on the battlefield.

Save for the savagery of man it has been a perfect day, and a great comforting sun sank to rest, first on a fiery bank of golden pink, then, as darkness filled the vault of heaven, in deep blood-red crimson, in fit harmony with the bloody scenes to which its light had given office throughout the livelong day.

Later.

My previous despatch is confined entirely to the operations as I witnessed them and contains no expression of opinion and no mention of the difficulties experienced both in reaching the battlefield and in forwarding the information to you. Both required stupendous efforts; both revealed conditions which will probably lead to the defeat of the Turkish arms. The corps of correspondents was conveyed to Tchörli, and there kept practically under arrest. The merest trivialities of information were communicated and all and sundry among the Turks were warned to have no communication with the foreigners. Our

feelings can be appreciated when the roar of cannon 80 miles away warned us that the great issues which we had faithfully to report were being decided within earshot while we were immured in a Turkish village.

Fortunately at this juncture our car arrived. Rain and the Turkish roads had delayed it three days on the journey from Constantinople. The stress had been so great that petrol for only 45 miles remained. In the Thracian villages naturally none was procurable. There was enough for the moment, and with skilful husbanding it would serve immediate needs. We had permission to push forward slowly, and that permission was enough. At the first blush of dawn we started the motor to the sound of the guns. Tchörli was almost devoid of troops. The terrible necessity of the Turkish left had called every available bayonet to push forward, and no more battalions remained to aid the Müstahfiz furnishing night outposts and railway guards. Luckily there was a heavy frost, for those who mark metalled roads in Thrace upon the maps are either satirists or knaves. Half a kilometre outside Tchörli the metalled road becomes a cart track, punctuated after rain with slimy mud-holes which defeat all wheeled progress.

WOUNDED AND STRAGGLERS.

We pass through the night outposts. At first there are no signs of war, but there is the distant reverberation of gunfire in the frosty air. Away over the rolling downs, and from the top of the next ridge, we see what seems an army in retreat, but it cannot be so because it is being crossed by a horsed ammunition convoy which has marched all night in answer to an urgent call from the front. It is the first batch of wounded marching eastwards—lightly wounded, trudging through the cold across these dismal downs to where the railway can take them or some dépôt give them food. But they are not all wounded. To every casualty there seem to be half-a-dozen sound men. What does it mean? It means that the Christian element in the Ottoman army takes every opportunity to desert—but not the Christians alone, for the whole 40 kilometres form one continuous stream of malingering stragglers who have fled from the dangers in front of them.

This is one result of the hasty mobilization and the under-officering of the Ottoman army. But, more remarkable to relate, the officers who, like ourselves, are facing in the right direction took no count of the stragglers but left them, unflogged and unshot, to lose themselves on the route and starving to terrorize the countryside. No wonder the Pashas in the firing line with the stanch troops are calling for reinforcements when battalions and companies of the second line troops melt away by desertion like snowballs in the sun. When the time comes to draw conclusive lessons from this war, let the theorists who set store by citizen soldiers think of those attenuated battalions that lost Törgüt Shevket Lüle Burgas.

Anon, as the car crawled axle-deep through cultivation or almost lost its balance upon the steep uncertainty of a Turkish bridge, we passed stray squadrons and companies toiling like ourselves to the front. Gone was the *elan* we had remarked in Constantinople; a grim, set vacuity of expression had taken its place, evidence of the state of mind produced by long forced marching upon the Turkish commissariat. Not that the commissariat is not doing its best, but an unexpected war and immoderate mobilization, as we ourselves know, produce situations requiring sudden expansion which would defeat the most elastic system in the world. Supply columns with horse, bullock, and buffalo draught were toiling up alongside these hungry troops.

Anon we struck the first convoy of wounded cases lying down. One's heart bled for these poor fellows ricketed over roads that bent even our springs, in bullock wagons. They were bearing their wounds with soldierlike fortitude; a captain, shot through the shoulder and biceps, supporting himself with difficulty on a weedy pony, told us about the fighting on the previous day. Lüle Burgas, according to his testimony, had been a series of firefights only, and on his front the Turks held their own. He laughed at the Bulgarians' shrapnel, but, pointing significantly to his wounded arm, admitted that their rifle-fire had been terrible.

THE RETREAT OF A NATION.

Nor was this tell-tale trail monopolized by combatants alone; the exodus of the Turkish peasantry continues to add to the difficulties on the lines of communication. They paddle along with their flocks and families, from frying-pan to fire as like as not, to be pillaged by malingering soldiery from Anatolia who know them not. Of such was the continuous stream on the trail through which we forged to the sound of the cannon booming louder at each mile we made. At Karishdiran we found the General Reserve, the Fourth Corps, with its battalions already marching off in answer to an urgent summons from the front.

The noise of battle was now quite near, and we avoided officers of the General Reserve lest some officious Staff officer should see fit to prevent our car from proceeding further. We found, however, our first field hospital here, and the medical officers told us the little they knew of affairs at the front. It is wonderful how impossible it is for any one to find out anything during the progress of a modern battle. At this juncture up galloped a staff officer whom the writer knew. He was harassed, very harassed, and admitted that the Bulgarians had found an opening at Lüle Burgas, where the Turkish line was too weak. "But it will not matter," he said, "Mahmud Mukhtar yesterday drove the Bulgarians pell-mell before him, and we have enough to hold on with here." With a wave of his hand he was gone. I hope his optimism is well founded, but for my own part I almost expect the Turkish left to be nearly back at Tchorlu by the time this is in print.

What we saw in the battle I sent in a previous despatch. Our pressing difficulty was to get this despatch back to the base. The field cable was unavailable for anything not written in Arabic character; at Tchorlu the Censor declined to read anything but French; the nearest Censor who knew English was 150 kilometres away, along a road that it takes three days to traverse; by railway it is as bad, as empties have sometimes taken 12 hours to pass two stations. At most only two gallons of petrol were left for the car. These are problems which face the correspondent acting with modern armies. If this message appears in the *Times* of Monday then the difficulties will have proved not to be unsurmountable, but how it will have been done is for the present my secret; but the reading public scarcely realize what expenditure of physical and mental energy is required in order that they may be advised truly how the Turkish soldier behaves under fire; how his lax discipline, his indifferent *bundobast* may lose him a campaign which picked troops are good enough to win, if intrepid endurance be the sole asset of military pretension. My impression that the left must fall back is substantiated by the fact that the Rodosto-Muradli line of communication has been abandoned in favour of the Bregli-Tchorlu line.

Since the beginning of mobilization 80,000 Turkish troops have passed through Rodosto.

Description of the Disaster.

(FROM M. H. DONOVAN.)

Constantza, No. 8.

An irremediable disaster has befallen the Turkish army. It has suffered a terrible, and appalling defeat, followed by a confusion and a rout for which there is perhaps scarcely a parallel in history—a rout which in its later stages degenerated into a wild panic and stampede.

The movement of retreat began early on Thursday, and since then I have travelled continuously, with few intervals for sleep—and for two days without food,—until I reached Constantza this afternoon. I came here because there is a free telegraph wire, and I am thus able to relate to you without fear of the censor the full story of this great calamity.

In my previous despatch I gave you an account of the earlier phases of the battle of Lüle Burgas. I told you how the Bulgarians after the victory at Kirk Kiliseh pushed south-east, leaving a retaining force at Adrianople. I described the lines of the retreating Turks and how for two days the Bulgarians pounded the new Turkish position with artillery and wore them down by infantry assaults. I told also how the Müstahfiz (garrison reserve) broke and fled in panic to Tchorlu and of the terrible scenes in the battle area as the Turkish peasantry fled before the oncoming Bulgarians.

In order to avoid confusion I will once more make clear the position of the Turkish force after Kirk Kiliseh.

The Turks had retreated south-west, and had taken up a new line. The left wing, formed by the fourth corps under Abouk Pasha, occupied Eski Baba and the heights west of Lüle Burgas. Next came the first corps under Fahir Pasha. The Turkish line ran thence to Bunar Hissar, round which lay the second corps under Nasim Pasha. Early on Tuesday the fourth corps on the extreme left found itself hotly engaged with the enemy. The Turks held a line on the hills west of Lüle Burgas.

The Bulgarians in large numbers strongly supported by artillery speedily drove back the Turks, who retired in the direction of Lüle Burgas.

Throughout the terrible fighting the superiority of the Bulgarian artillery was very pronounced. The Turks, unable to stand the murderous fire, withdrew slowly. As so many gunners were dead, and the majority of the horses had been killed, the artillery were forced to abandon many guns to the enemy.

Having effectually silenced the fire of the Turks, the Bulgarians launched an infantry attack, which stormed the town at the point of the bayonet. The greater part of the Turkish garrison had already withdrawn. Those remaining as a rearguard were caught like rats in a trap. The men of the fourth corps, although they had been without food for two days, offered a stubborn but unavailing resistance, and died to a man.

The victorious Bulgarians next advanced eastwards towards the railway station, which is four miles distant from Lüle Burgas. Here they met an unexpected resistance, which delayed their advance for two hours. A portion of the cavalry division was concentrated here under Salih Pasha and Fuad Pasha, the latter of whom formerly served in the German army. The Bulgarians, after hoisting the national flag in the principal mosque, pressed forward full of dash.

Fully to understand this dash it must be explained that Lüle Burgas lies in a cup-shaped depression encircled by hills.

As the Bulgarians approached the railway station they were subjected to a severe and raking fire from the batteries posted behind the station and the neighbouring hills. Deadly shrapnel tore through their ranks. When the confusion caused by this unexpected fire appeared at its height the cavalry under Salih Pasha, dashing from concealment with drawn swords and shouting the Turkish war-cry, swept like a tornado upon the exposed infantry. None could be expected to withstand such an onslaught. The Bulgarians turned, and the Turkish cavalry simply rode them down, causing extraordinary havoc in their ranks.

Elated by their success the Turks continued the forward movement, but suddenly found themselves exposed to the fire of the Bulgarian machine-gun sections. This surprise attack brought both the Turks and their horses tumbling to the ground, a torn and mangled mass. Few indeed of those gallant fellows ever came back.

Events succeeded each other in startling succession. The Bulgarians, recovering from their temporary check, hurried forward their heavy artillery, and the remaining survivors of the Turkish garrison beat a hasty retreat in the direction of Lüle Burgas railway station. The unerring aim of the Bulgarian artillery, however, cut short this retreat, and very few escaped as they crossed the plains on their way to the cover offered by the neighbouring hills.

It was now the turn of the Turkish artillery. The town was occupied only by the Turkish dead and the vanguard of the enemy. The Turkish artillery from its position behind Lüle Burgas accordingly opened a heavy fire on the town, inflicting severe losses on the enemy. Shells rained in Lüle Burgas. Houses were destroyed, and those uninjured by projectiles were killed by falling ruins.

Meanwhile the Bulgarian artillery had not been idle. The Turkish positions were badly chosen. They were exposed and almost without cover, while no shelter trenches had been made for the supporting infantry. The result of the artillery duel, therefore, was decidedly favourable to the Bulgarians, and caused heavy losses to the Turks. On the other hand, the severe bombardment to which Lüle Burgas had been subjected by the Turks led to its temporary evacuation by the enemy.

Towards evening the Bulgarian advance became more and more rapid. Large bodies of infantry supported by guns were pushed forward with incredible speed. To the amazement of the Turkish staff the Bulgarians occupied artillery positions which had apparently been previously selected. The batteries took up their positions as coolly as if they were engaged in manoeuvres in peace time, and when they opened fire they had the range of the neighbouring hills to a nicety. The marksmanship was superb and murderous.

The Commander-in-Chief watched the fight from the heights near the village of Sati-Köy, almost due east of Lüle Burgas. As he observed the Turkish artillery and infantry being mowed down his face for the first time in the engagement grew anxious. The Turkish artillery had from the beginning been poorly supplied with ammunition, and what they had was nearly all spent in the fight of the morning. Now many gunners stood round the empty limbers with folded arms, unable to reply to the Bulgarian fire. They awaited death, which came swiftly in most cases, with true Ottoman courage. Along the whole Turkish front the troops were harassed by a terrible fire. As time went on it became simply carnage. Men were falling in hundreds. The morale of the troops was completely destroyed by this appalling ordeal of shell fire.

When night closed in it brought a short respite to Abdullah's army, from shot and shell if from nothing else. The men badly needed sleep and food. But the Turkish commissariat is non-existent, and there was no food for them, and sleep was impossible, for the pursuing Bulgarians seemed endowed with relentless force and energy.

The Turkish dead and wounded lay everywhere. They cumbered the ground in all directions. Doctors were few, of ambulances there were absolutely none. The dead lay where they had fallen. Some attempt was made to remove and succour the wounded, but the greater part perished miserably from the bitter cold of the night.

The only ray of hope throughout the long, bitter day of disaster and death had been shed by the partial success of the right wing under Mahmud Mukhtar. While the left wing and centre were being so fiercely assailed Mukhtar, under orders from Abdullah, essayed a counter-attack against the Bulgars. The Turkish right sought to turn the left of the Bulgarians. By this move it was hoped to ease the terrible pressure. The already weakened left main body of the Third Army Corps accordingly moved forward from Vizeh, supported by an independent cavalry division.

This was some 25 miles from the left flank, near where I saw most fighting. Owing to the long distance I am unable to say on personal evidence what happened to the Third Corps, but I was informed that Mukhtar had checked the Bulgarian advance by Tuesday night, and had partially succeeded in enveloping the Bulgarian left flank. Desperate fighting between Mukhtar's troops and the Bulgars took place on the Istrandja heights before night closed in on the sorely-mauled left wing of the Turks. I slept the best I could, hungry and shelterless, amid the biting cold of the Thracian hills, awaiting the dawn.

On Wednesday the full strength of the Bulgarian army was hurled afresh against the Turkish left, it being the weakest point in the entire defensive line. Abdullah's losses had already been enormous, and the Bulgarians determined to force the Turkish left centre at any cost. To this effort a feeble reply was returned by the Turkish artillery, and efforts were made to rush munitions and provisions to the threatened flank, but the transport was inefficient, no aid being forthcoming for the starving and rapidly dwindling Turkish army. Fighting, as it was, for its life, fresh ground was again and again conceded, and the First Corps, which had been holding on grimly in Turkey, on the north-east of Lüle Burgas, was driven out early on Wednesday afternoon. Its retreat, which was eastward, was strewn with the dead and dying.

Disquieting news continued to reach Abdullah. From the harassed Second Corps at Bunar Hissar the commander implored Abdullah to send reinforcements and ammunition, declaring that they had come to their last cartridge, and that the lumber magazines were empty. But the unhappy Abdullah, the victim of the twin evils of maladministration and incompetency, could do nothing except wring his hands in despair as he saw the flower of the army perish before his eyes in slaughtered heaps.

Until Wednesday evening Abdullah entertained the hope of being able to stem the tide of the Bulgarian advance. But the dread certainty of impending disaster dawned upon him at nightfall. His casualties were enormous, and he found himself faced with another day's slaughter and another day's fearful punishment without the means of retaliating. It is impossible to picture the state of mind of this unfortunate Turkish commander. Late in the evening he sent a message to the divisional commanders of the centre right to hold their ground at any cost, but was informed by the commanders that it was impossible. After this it was but a question of a few hours before the final crushing disaster. The destruction of the Turkish wall of steel took place about this time, and the contest was hotly disputed by the Turks. Abdullah's officers informed me that it was the first division which gave way, and they had fought splendidly against overwhelming odds.

Throughout Wednesday the contest had been intense, and when night came it brought with it but a terrible prospect. Another day's horror for sorely stricken soldiers, with discipline all gone, lines broken, everything abandoned—guns, camp, equipment,—and thus retreat, once orderly, soon became a stampede. The news of the breaking of the line reached Abdullah about ten o'clock on Wednesday night. He was installed in miserable quarters in the village of Sakiz-Köy, where the commander was supplied with a piece of stale bread, his only food throughout the long day's labour. Nightfall found him grave, with a certain uneasiness and a certain shame at the conduct of his extreme left wing. The uninjured men began dribbling away from the firing line, grumbling and vowing they could fight no longer, for it was impossible for starving men to do justice to the Turkish army. Abdullah despatched the few remaining cavalry at his disposal to quell the malcontents, but dissatisfaction had spread even to the cavalry, and they joined the infantry in their hasty retreat.

ABDULLAH PASHA JOINS IN THE RETREAT.

The wretched commander of Turkish forces, fully recognising the hopelessness of the situation on the extreme left, gave the order for retreat, and he himself mounted his horse, discarding his overcoat and hat, and leaving his staff to take care of themselves, attended but by two orderlies, joined also in the retreat.

In the darkness of night the Turkish commander pursued his way towards Karishdiren, a small village ten miles to the south-east of his former headquarters, in the vain hope of yet saving the army by stemming the retreat of the centre.

It is difficult to conceal ill news. Abdullah may have been actuated by the best possible intentions, but his departure was the worst possible step. It brought disaster. The climax came at three o'clock on Thursday morning, when the Turkish left wing learned of the disappearance of the commander. It needed but some panic-stricken soldier to fire his rifle and shout "The Bulgarians are coming!" to complete the confusion. Chaos reigned. A general *saure qui peut* followed. In the darkness of the wintry morning the whole army broke away and made a concerted bolt for the road leading to the rear. Horses, stores, and arms were abandoned. The officers mixed pell-mell with the men and carried away the rearguard in their rush.

The advancing Bulgarians did not let the grass grow under their feet. One force, coming from Lüle Burgas, passed west of the railway line, and swept in a south-easterly direction towards Seidler, an important point on the railway. At four o'clock in the afternoon Seidler, which had already been abandoned by the Turks, passed into the hands of the Bulgarians. From the heights above the town the invading army shelled two retreating trains filled with wounded and fugitives. Karishdiren lies due east of Seidler, but it is fortunately sheltered from artillery fire by a range of low hills. On reaching this place I encountered a converging flood of fugitives belonging chiefly to the first corps. Among these were many Albanians who, like the rest of the army, were fiercely resentful. They declared that they had been betrayed by their leaders, and that they should never have been ordered to retreat. They had thrown away their rifles and greatcoats, and they were rushing about like men demented. Some of them were weeping, and were declaring amid their tears that, now that the Giaour had triumphed, their country was lost.

In the track of the Turks there was surprising little pillage. But the whole country was denuded of supplies. The panic-stricken inhabitants had fled a week before the first news of the Turkish reverses, driving their flocks before them, and carrying away all their portable property. These non-combatants had marched towards Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmora, or towards Tchörli, on the main railway line to Constantinople. The Bulgarian occupation of Seidler leaves the road open to Rodosto, and nothing can save this fine port from falling into the hands of King Ferdinand's army.

The battle fought round Lüle Burgas, which resulted so disastrously to the army of Abdullah, may be said to be the Nanshan of Thrace. The Russian defeat at Nanshan cut off Port Arthur from the possibility of aid from Kuropatkin. With the Bulgars astride the railway at Lüle Burgas, communication was cut between Constantinople and Adrianople, and Adrianople is now invested.

Wednesday settled the fate of Abdullah's army. This force could no longer fight. It had neither ammunition for its guns nor food to sustain the physical efforts of its soldiers. Its pitiable plight brought to light every moment the hideous defects of its organisation. It had occupied a capital line of battle with a great flourish of trumpets, but it was ill-prepared for the herculean task before it of conquering the highly trained and efficient Bulgarian army. The wisacres at Constantinople looked upon supplies and ammunition as mere superfluities, and had consequently made no arrangements to keep up the supplies of shell and cartridges.

Abdullah's army, like that of Napoleon III, had declared to be ready "down to the last button on the last gaiter." In reality it was hopelessly deficient in everything needed for the equipment of a modern army going into battle.

Mukhtar Pasha once said to me that the German training of the Turkish army would result in its death. It is, however, unfair to throw the blame of the present appalling disaster on German methods. But gross incapacity and muddling, if it has not brought death to the Turkish nation, has ended in an appalling disaster to its army.

Military inefficiency also played a great part in the catastrophe. There was an insufficiency of trained officers. I saw some companies of Turkish regiments going into action with only two officers in the last day's fighting. I came across instances of reserves ignorant of the mechanism of the Mauser rifle. The Anatolians mostly use muzzle-loaders, and had never seen a magazine rifle. The weapons had to be loaded by their officers or better instructed comrades. Even while their ammunition lasted their fire was utterly valueless.

They aimed too high or too low, and when the bullet did not go in the direction of the sky it hit some unfortunate comrade.

When the centre and left of Abdullah's army broke under Bulgarian pressure a portion of the second army corps and the whole of the third were left unaided to face the brunt of the Bulgarian onset. Mukhtar in order to save the second wing of the second corps from being enveloped by the enemy had to front on his right and swing round his left, and was consequently unable to continue the retrograde movement in a parallel line to the fourth and first corps. The Bulgarian wedge was now driven between the several wings, but at the latest news that I obtained of Mukhtar he was slowly retreating in tolerably good order, fiercely contesting the ground, losing heavily and sacrificing men cheerfully in the hope of giving the other shattered half of the Turkish army breathing time and the opportunity of reforming anew at Tchordlu.

In the rearguard action fought by Mukhtar the magnificent third division was completely annihilated. For five hours it stood its ground ready to die as it stood, as the Bulgars found to their cost when they flung themselves on its bayonets. A slaughtered heap of Bulgarian dead covering the ground in front of the third division for half a mile—a grim testimony to the fierceness of the struggle.

Osman Pasha, one of the divisional commanders—whom I last saw commanding the rearguard, and disputing every inch of the ground,—is reported to be wounded. I cannot, however, confirm this report, as since late on Thursday night I have been without definite news of either Mukhtar Pasha or Osman Pasha.

Abdullah Pasha and his staff, while paying the fullest tribute to the bravery and *elan* of the Bulgarians, attribute their success in a large measure to the efficiency of their Intelligence Department and the superiority of their artillery. The whole of Thrace has for months past been overrun with Bulgarian spies, who have kept the headquarters staff fully posted as to every movement of the Turkish army. These spies speak Turkish fluently, and have been able to move freely throughout the country with little fear of detection. Every yard of the terrain has been carefully nipped out, and while the Turkish military authorities were in blissful ignorance of the preparations for war, Bulgaria was making the most methodical arrangements. So comprehensive were these plans that the various gun positions were carefully selected, so that when the Bulgarian artillery arrived they had simply to unlimber and come into action at preascertained ranges.

So far it is the Bulgarian artillery that has achieved victory over the Ottoman host. In their preparation of a plan of campaign the Bulgarians displayed the finesse of the Japanese.

In the fighting last week I saw nothing of the Bulgarian cavalry. The infantry, lithe, hardy, intelligent mountaineers, are the eyes and ears of the Bulgarian army. On several occasions they penetrated the Turkish lines under the cover of night, harassing the sleeping soldiers with a desultory fire, and generally escaping without loss.

Constantza, Nov. 4.

Turkey is in a desperate plight. She is confronted with a wrecked army and the prospective ruin of her empire in Europe. Now that a national calamity has overtaken her, the numbers of prophets who foresaw her approaching dissolutions are increasing daily.

Already the finger of odium is pointed at Abdullah. He is earmarked as the national scapegoat. His offence, dispassionately viewed, is that with a strong army he ventured into the wilds of Thrace to attempt to beat the finely disciplined, highly organised enemy. Three weeks ago Abdullah Pasha, standing on the piazza in front of the War Office at Stamboul watching the motley crowd that a sergeant was endeavouring to lick into some semblance of military shape, made the remark to a brother officer, "If this enlistment of untrained men continues we have no need for an enemy—we shall destroy ourselves." Prophetic indeed have been these words.

The state of the army in the last stage of the retreat was pitiable in the extreme. Hundreds of men with the soles torn of their boots walked with bleeding feet, which must have caused them excruciating agony at every step they took. The Allies may have beaten the Turkish army, but they have not conquered the Turkish soldier. He has all the docility of a child, yet his courage is unsurpassed. Properly led, properly fed, treated as an ordinary human being he would go anywhere and do anything. He would conquer fresh worlds for Islam. I witnessed their sufferings and shared their privations in defeat. We were companions in misfortune. They are dead; I live. Yet while I was penned up with Abdullah's flying army I am certain that not one of his soldiers would have hesitated had occasion arose to give his life cheerfully to save mine—hated Giasour though I be.

Every soldier during this awful trial was ten times a hero. Thousands of these brave fellows were sacrificed to the exigencies of war.

Desolate homes in Anatolia and European Turkey bewail their loss. They sleep their last sleep on the wide Thracian plain. May the fierce biting wind which ever sweeps across the Thracian plain be tempered so as to blow gently over the last beds of these fallen heroes.

The Turkish Defeat.

(By the "Times" Military Correspondent.)

THERE is no longer any reason to doubt that the main Turkish Army in Thrace has been decisively defeated. The chief military interest is to ascertain how this disaster was brought about, and to estimate its consequences. There is nothing as yet to show that the attack has made any serious impression upon Adrianople, and the chances are that, after a first and perhaps rather half-hearted attempt to assault, the Bulgarian command decided to replace General Ivanoff's army by reserve troops, and to send it southward to co-operate with the 2nd Army, which was not strong enough to cope with Nazim Pasha unaided.

It seems probable that directly the Servian victory at Kumanovo was won, a division at least of the Servian 1st Army was entrained at Vrania and sent to the Adrianople front. It is also supposed that the 7th Bulgarian division stood at Rustendil in the initial deployment, and this division also has probably been brought up to the 1st Bulgarian Army as reinforcement. Joined with these troops there were reservists and young levies, so that a sufficient force may have been at disposal to replace the 1st Army in its trenches round the fortress. Only by such suppositions can we account for the large numbers credited by the *Reichspost* to the Bulgarians in their great battle before Constantinople. The ability of the Allies to transfer force from one theatre to the other and the inability of the Turkish staff to follow suit during the last ten days may prove to have had an important bearing upon the strategy of the belligerents.

So far as we can judge, the Turkish line was driven back on Thursday morning last to the front Midia-Sarai-Tchordlu-Muradli, but as the Bulgarian success at Lille Burgas was evidently followed up it was found impracticable for the Turks to hold the line of the Tchordlu river, and a corresponding movement in retreat of the Turkish right then became inevitable.

The *Reichspost* tells us that the fall of the lines is expected. After the military failure of Turkey, we cannot argue that the most unlikely events will not happen, but unless the rout is complete these lines should arrest the progress of the invaders for a time. In point of fortifications, and probably of armament, the lines are strong, while the sites of the works are dominating, but successful defence of all fortifications depends more on the spirit of the troops than on works and guns. It was the opinion of some good judges at the beginning of the war that the Turks would have done well to have begun where they seem inclined to end, and to have occupied these lines until they were strong enough to take the offensive. Many circumstances combined to render this strategy impracticable in the initial stage, and whether or no it is now practicable depends upon the spirit of the troops which have suffered least from the defeat, upon the arrangements for the retreat, and upon the character of the strain imposed upon the Bulgarians by their victory. The latter information we are not likely to be given, and it can be assumed that no matter what the strain has been, what losses have been incurred, or what lack of food and ammunition there may be, the Bulgarian staff will put a good face upon things and endeavour at all costs to profit by victory. Time has always been a primary consideration for the Bulgarian staff which must have had for its political instructions the order to act quickly and to prevent an astonished Europe with a military decision before diplomacy had time to deprive the allies of the fruits of their victories. Force if possible, and if not force then bluff, is obviously required by the Bulgars at this critical stage of their wonderful adventure.

We cannot tell what chance the Turks have of defending the Tchataldja lines with success until we know more of the closing incidents of the battle and of the character of the retreat. The lines are shown in the map which we publish to-day, and their general characteristics have already been described. If the retreat of Nazim Pasha's arm is even moderately well executed there should be more than enough troops to hold the line against all-comers, and the Turks may still decide to resist and to build up behind a numerically formidable army by calling up the various troops which Anatolia and Syria still hold. Such a decision would have at all events a reasonable political object—namely, to gain time and to exact more favourable terms of peace. There is no sign yet that the Nazim troops of the 3rd Army Inspection have reached the front, and there are still many Redif divisions which have not come up. The Syrian troops, which number three Nazim and five Redif divisions began

their mobilization on October 11, and have been concentrating at Aleppo preparatory to a difficult march across the mountains to take train for Scutari. There are still considerable powers of resistance left, but as the Bulgarian staff is well aware of the fact, their strategy will certainly take count of them. On the whole, no reversal of the fortune of war is to be anticipated, for the rapid march of events in Macedonia will soon permit the chief forces of the Allies to be transferred to Thrace, and nothing but the intervention of Austria or Roumania seems capable of depriving the League of the fruits of its victories. A very dangerous position might be reached if a mass of disorganized and enraged troops, regulars, irregulars, and Kurds, pour out from Tchataldja toward Constantinople, and though military necessities take the first place in war, the Bulgarian staff would be imprudent to ignore the consequences which might follow a successful attack upon the Tchataldja lines.

The Turkish Army's Wishes.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

Paris, Nov. 7.

MAHMUD MUKHTAR PASHA, Deputy Chief of Staff, has, a Constantinople telegram states, arrived in the Turkish capital. He informed the Grand Vizier that the Porte's application to the Powers for mediation had caused the worst impression in the army, which desired to continue the war, its situation being very favourable. The troops, he is said to have declared, refused to listen to a word about intervention.

A Council of War held at the Porte last evening was attended by many superior officers, notably Marshal Fuad and Mahmud Shevket. It is believed that the Council decided that the situation was far from being desperate, and repudiated all idea of intervention with a view to concluding a peace that was not favourable to Turkey, and resolved to change most of the commands in the army. Thus Ali Riza, General of Artillery, General Veli, Military General of Stamboul, General Osman, Mahmud Shevket, and Marshal Fuad will probably receive commands, the last mentioned replacing the Egyptian Prince Aziz.

The correspondent adds that the Council decided to continue the war.

At the Cabinet meeting yesterday the principal military officers remaining here handed to the Grand Vizier a signed declaration in favour of the continuance of the war. Both the press and public are exceedingly hostile to mediation at the present juncture.

The Turkish Private: Tributes.

THE Ottoman soldier, as I have seen him during those awful five days of torture, suffering, starvation, and defeat, has always faced death cheerfully and uncomplainingly, says Mr. Donohoe in a despatch to the *Daily Chronicle*. The Allies may have beaten the Turkish army, but they have not conquered the Turkish soldier. He has all the docility of a child, yet his courage is unsurpassed. Properly led, properly fed, treated as an ordinary human being, he would go anywhere and do anything. He would easily conquer fresh worlds for Islam.

Mr. E. Ashmead Bartlett also paid a well-merited compliment to the Turkish soldier, in a graphic article, which appeared in Wednesday's *Daily Telegraph*, describing the retreat after Lüle Burgas. He says: The responsibility for the disaster cannot be laid on the Turkish soldier. He, in innumerable instances, has proved himself as brave as ever he was. The responsibility rests solely on the administrative classes and high officials, who, eaten up with pride and self-confidence, and regarding the Balkan States with the utmost contempt, believed the Turkish army to be invincible. The army was caught utterly unprepared for war, and the military authorities remained blind in their belief that mere numbers set forth on paper and published broadcast in the press would win the day against an army smaller in numbers, but which has been carefully organising for war twenty-five years. Had the Turkish soldier been supplied with even one biscuit a day he might have held his ground against the invader, and I am convinced that he has been defeated more by sheer starvation than by any other single factor.

The Lines of Tchataldja.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Constantinople, Nov. 5.

ALL eyes are now directed to Tchataldja and its defences. They are to Constantinople what the lines of the Torres Vedras were to Lisbon. But whereas the celebrated Portuguese defences were hurriedly constructed those of Tchataldja are the result of many

years of careful preparation. They are strongly fortified and armed with formidable artillery. In 1877 Blunt Pasha constructed fifteen forts to strengthen the existing strong defences. Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha used them in 1878 to make a vigorous opposition to the advancing Russian army before retreating to the Da'ud Pasha Barracks, just outside the old Byzantine walls of Stamboul. An excellent paved road unites Tchataldja with Constantinople, affording easy communication between the two places. The last desperate hope of Turkey is that Tchataldja will prove to be impregnable.

A Byzantine historian remarked that Constantinople is defended by four barriers—the Danube, the Balkans, the wall of Anastasius, and the land walls of Stamboul. The lines of Tchataldja correspond to the wall of Anastasius. Now that the walls of Stamboul are a heap of ruins, much time and money has been spent in making the lines of Tchataldja as strong as possible. The whole scheme of the defences has been arranged according to the most modern ideas of strategic art. The hitherto victorious army of the Bulgars will find here an obstacle which will require all its bravery and tenacity to overcome. And if its object is achieved it will only be at the cost of a huge sacrifice of life. Only a frontal attack is possible, as each flank is protected by natural defences.

The Heir Apparent left for the front to-day to serve on the General Staff. The War Office has informed the public that artillery practice will take place to-night near Sweet Waters of Europe. This warning has been issued to allay any alarm which might be caused. The cruisers of all the Great Powers arrived last night at San Stefano.

The Turkish Ambassadors in the European capitals have received instructions to inform the Governments to which they are accredited that Turkey is determined to fight to the end if necessary, but in view of the fearful bloodshed she asks the co-operation of the Powers in bringing the war to a conclusion.

The Turkish Army.

(BY “RAHNUMA.”)

A fortnight ago, and before the commencement of actual operations, the writer ventured to suggest that, given the “will to conquer”—and that, above all things, is essential—good organisation, training, and command, rather than mere numerical superiority, lead to success in war. That numerical superiority is measured, in any case, not by the numbers available, but by the numbers actually employed—and it is organisation which places and maintains those numbers in the field, and it is training which enables them to be advantageously manoeuvred and efficiently led. The writer also ventured to foretell, and has been doing so for many years, that a war between Turkey and her Balkan neighbours would be likely to illustrate this precept well; for the Turks possess the superior numbers and the Balkan States the better organisation and training; whilst all possess the “will to conquer,” because the stakes at issue are and always have been vital.

Events seem to be proving the truth of this doctrine; and nations who, for instance, rely upon spare time military forces and nucleus naval crews, or who reckon upon safety by merely adding up the numbers of their Dreadnoughts, should bear these points in mind.

But upon what does organisation and training—or, in other words, efficiency—depend? And why does efficiency seem to be so lacking in the armies of the Turks?

Zeal, sense of discipline, patriotism, loyalty, grit, even energy up to a certain point—many of the qualities which go to make good soldiery are there; the Government is lavish with equipment; manoeuvre grounds know no restrictions, and neither officers nor men have calls upon their time nor temptations to turn their thoughts to pleasure or to vice. And yet organisation exists only upon paper, and training is a farce. Why? There are many, many reasons, but the writer will attempt to give a few.

Broadly speaking, military efficiency cannot be divorced from national efficiency as a whole, and that the Turks are inefficient as a nation their best friends will not deny. What public department, for instance, retained in their own control, has ever managed regularly and rightfully to fulfil its proper functions? Honesty of purpose can often be admitted, and though in official circles corruption is rife, the Turk—the real Turk—is not by nature dishonest. Indeed, in this respect, he is to the Near East not unlike what the Chinaman is to the Far East. The ethics of both are certainly hard to define, but neither delights in a swindle. The foreigner, for instance, who dines in a Turkish *han*, or purchases some Turkish wares, will get sixpenny worth for his sixpence—at a non-Turkish establishment in Turkey he will not. Corruption, then, stamps the upper and official circles, and honesty those below; and it is the

upper and official circles who organise and train, whilst the peasant but obeys. To Departmental corruption, then, may be traced the roots of many imperfections in the Turkish army, extending back for generations. The revolution of four years ago no doubt decreased the evils of corruption, but brought others in its train, for politics—a form of party politics—then appeared upon the scene. Positions of responsibility and power continued to be bought and sold, but political intrigue took the place of cash, so that in reality corruption merely assumed another name. Young Turks displaced Old Turks, and then periodically the latter turned the tables—the “Young” and the “Old,” by the way, marking their political ideals and not their relative ages. These political influences spread from the highest to the lowest ranks, and undermined the discipline of the corps of officers as a whole. Corruption, then, financial or political, is one reason why the Turkish army has failed to keep pace with the times.

Lack of imagination is another source of weakness, and common to all grades; inability to appreciate cause and effect, and so failure to distinguish the essential from the non-essential. To take but one example to illustrate this point.

Hours will be spent upon a barrack square, plodding away at semi-ceremonial exercises and German drill—real smartness, certainly, is never attained, but honest efforts are made to achieve something of the sort. But there the training often, if not always, ends. To practical musketry, to field exercises, and manœuvre no time will be devoted at all, and the writer, for instance, has found soldiers—men, perhaps, who had worn uniform for many months—unable even to manipulate their rifles, to insert cartridges into their Mauser magazines.

Another great obstacle to all efficiency is, no doubt, the inborn pride of the Turk, his contempt for races other than his own, his natural inclination to presume superiority and to despise his foe. “The Turk is a soldier born, and does not require to be organised or trained,” as the writer once quoted before.

Last, but not least, is that easy-going inertia, that tendency to leave all things to look after themselves—or to Allah.

Corruption, political intrigue, ignorance, pride, and laziness, these are some of the worst characteristics of the Turk and the Turkish army. And though his good characteristics are very many, we shall shortly see whether the evils are too deep-rooted to prevent disaster.—*The Near East.*

Behind the War.

(By JAMES DOUGLAS.)

Europe is a very staid and respectable old lady, but just now she is drinking heavily. She is drinking the wine of war. For a long time she has tipped furtively and discreetly. She has now got drunk on her own doorstep. At last she has let herself go and filled her ancient stomach with deep draughts of blood. It is a heady beverage, and already the good old dame is reeling and staggering. Some optimists think that her spree is nearly over, and that the bedraggled old harriidan will quickly go back to her knitting and dreaming. But I am doubtful. This is a very big thing, but bigger things are coming. There have been many surprises, and there are going to be more.

This is war waged in camera. But there is more behind it than we not of yet. The big cards have not been played. Russia and Austria have not shown their hands, and we do not know how many aces they have up their sleeves. But before long we shall see their cards. Nobody knows who dealt the four kings. They came out of nowhere. The hand that dealt them is a shrewd one, and more may be expected from it in due time. If the dealer be Russia, then the man to keep your eye on is Sazonoff. If, and when, he falls peace falls with him. He will have served his purpose, and his place will be taken by a minister with another rôle. Sazonoff, therefore, is the barometer of Europe.

Two grim facts curdle one's blood. The first fact is that the Allies have published no lists of killed and wounded. The second fact is that the Turks have taken no prisoners. Not one single solitary prisoner has arrived in Constantinople. If you like to add another grim fact to these, then you can note that all the belligerents have abolished the war correspondents. Not one single solitary war correspondent has been allowed to see the real thing anywhere. I hear a tragic story about the war correspondent of a great London newspaper. He broke loose and made his way from Constantinople to Adrianople. He spent money like water, and in the end he crawled back to Constantinople more dead than alive. Money could not fill his pockets with crusts. The dragon of war simply chewed him up and spewed him out.

The only war correspondent is a young Austrian officer. His name is Lieutenant Hermenegild Wegener. He is the only military attaché who has been permitted to go with General Savoff, the Bulgarian Moltke, whose strategy has astonished Paris and astounded Berlin. He has been the chosen favourite and pampered pet of the

Allies. He and he alone has told the world what Savoff wished the world to know. And everything he has said has been endorsed in letters of blood and fire. The amazing mystery of Hermenegild Wegener has not been probed. It bewilders the best brains in Europe. His terrible bulletins are sent to a modest newspaper in Vienna called the *Reichspost*. Evidently he is not for sale, otherwise he could have sold his bulletins for vast sums. All the big newspapers, which are spending money like water on the war have failed to buy him.

Why? There is only one explanation. He is the agent of Austria, the eye of Austria. The *Reichspost* is the organ of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The meaning of that fact is plain. It is this. There is a secret treaty between Austria and the Allies. That is why Austria has kept Roumania on her chain. That is why Austria has allowed Serbia to eat up the Sanjak of Novi Bazar. But how can these facts be reconciled with the Tsar's telegram to King Peter of Serbia, congratulating him that his “armies had proved successful in Macedonia without the need of invoking assistance from outside”? Obviously by assuming that Russia and Austria have made a deal, one cannot believe that the Allies have sold Russia or that Russia does not know they have sold her. Yet anything is possible in this vast network of intrigue. It is conceivable that the Allies squared both Russia and Austria before they declared war. It is hardly conceivable that both the secret deals were not made known to both Powers.

King Ferdinand of Bulgaria is the Bismark of the war. He it is whose crafty and ambitious brain spun the whole web of alliances and insurances and reinsurances. No other brain in Europe is capable of a feat which surpasses anything ever achieved by the Iron Chancellor. Ferdinand is a great journalist as well as a great statesman. His muzzling of the war correspondents is one proof of that. His choice of Hermenegild Wegener as his mouthpiece is another. Let us make up our minds that in Ferdinand and Savoff Europe confronts another Bismarck and another Moltke. Moltke refused to let Bismarck strike until he could guarantee victory. Year after year went by, and Bismarck waited patiently for the word. When Moltke said “Now,” Bismarck forged the Ems-telegram. The rest was inexorable fate.

Are all the Powers in the plot? There is evidence that England and France are not in it. Yet one wonders. Their rôle may be exactly that. It may be their business not to know or not to seem to know. Theirs to talk about neutrality while the Tsar congratulates King Peter. What was Mr. Masterman's uncalculated indiscretion compared to the calculated indiscretion of the Tsar? It is a jig-saw puzzle, isn't it? And on top of it all comes the calculated indiscretion of Lord Roberts! Why did Lord Roberts suddenly declare that the hour of our ordeal was at hand? What does he know? Sir Edward Grey described his speech as “unwise and provocative.” What made the old soldier so suddenly unwise and so precipitately provocative? He has been riding his hobby for years, but he never rode it so hard as that.

Another puzzle. Why has the German guardship *Lorelei* been sent to bring Abdul Hamid back to Constantinople? Is Abdul about to be restored and the present Sultan deposed? Who knows? It would be a great card to play, and old Kiamil may play it. And what is the rôle of Germany in the business? Kiamil has suppressed the one and only newspaper of the Committee. He has appealed to England for protection against a certain Great Power which is preparing to attack Turkey in Asia. Is that Great Power Germany.—*London Opinion.*

Statement by Count Berchtold.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Budapest, Nov. 5.

In the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Austrian Delegation to-day Count Berchtold made his expected statement, which was continually punctuated with lively applause and was on the whole favourably received. Count Berchtold, in the first place, referred to the conclusion of peace between Italy and Turkey, in promoting which Austria-Hungary had done her share. He remarked that immediately after the peace was signed Austria-Hungary had recognised Italy's sovereignty over Libya, and expressed his satisfaction that Italy had reached the goals towards which she had been striving for years. Though the outbreak of the conflagration in the Balkans could not be prevented by the conclusion of peace, the hastening of the latter had at least prevented a situation, serious enough in itself, from becoming still more complicated.

Turning to the situation in the Near East, the Minister mentioned that Austria-Hungary, in the closest agreement with her allies and in close touch with Russia and Great Britain, had been taking part in the exchange of views begun by M. Poincaré, and still proceeding, with the object of paving the way for the possibility

of intervention at a given moment. Austria-Hungary was also at the present time in touch with the other Powers, being convinced that this was the best way to realise the hope which was also generally entertained in Austria of extinguishing the conflagration as soon as possible. The great successes gained by the Balkan States in the war hitherto had considerably enlarged the aims which they set themselves to achieve. While originally the introduction of administrative reforms for the improvement of the conditions of life and existence of their race brethren in Turkey was the demand of the Balkan States, as was declared in their war manifestoes, the present aspirations of the allies were of a much more far-reaching nature, and were no longer compatible with the principle of the integrity of Turkey.

"As to our policy," Count Berchtold continued, "which is influenced by no tendencies towards expansion, our guiding care must be to combine according to need the maintenance of peace with the supreme duty imposed on us of defending the interests of the monarchy from any impairment. By the attitude we have hitherto maintained in respect of the events of the war we have given proof of a self-control and a moderation which have everywhere met with appreciation. We propose to pursue this course in the future, conscious of our latent strength, which offers us full security that we can make our voice heard. I do not doubt that we shall be able to do this without coming into conflict with the rightful claim of others. We are prepared to make large allowance for the new situation created by the victories of the Balkan States, and thus lay the foundations of a lasting and friendly understanding with them. On the other hand, we have also the right to demand that the legitimate interests of the monarchy shall suffer no harm from the new settlement of things."

Count Berchtold went on to refer to the moderate attitude adopted by Roumania, their close friend, and expressed the hope that her considerable interests, depending on her geographical position, would meet with corresponding consideration. He concluded with an appeal to the delegates to give proof of the confidence they had previously manifested by contenting themselves with his brief statements and refraining from detailed discussion, which in view of the delicate nature of the present negotiations would not be calculated to facilitate his task.

The Turkish Soldier.

Popular fancy draws a picture of the Turkish soldier as a frenzied tiger of a man whose onset is irresistible in its ferocity. It is very intelligible that such a picture should have been drawn, for the two facts associated with Turkish domination wherever it exists are military success and cruelty. How can we of Western Europe think easily of continual military successes as being gained against long odds except by an *elan* which overbears every opposition and surprises by its swiftness? We cannot imagine the conjunction of military success with a certain sluggishness more readily than we can conceive of a bloodthirsty animal that does not in some way spring upon its victim. But as a matter of fact, the Turkish soldier is slow—very slow. His slowness is at once his chief defect and the outward and visible sign of his chief merit.

His merit is that he does not care. A man who does not care whether he is killed or not is obviously hard to beat. On the other hand, his indifference extends injuriously to matters which vitally affect the issue of strategy and tactics. The potent fluctuations and reverses of temperament which mark the soldier of more subtle races—races with a more complicated nervous system—are unknown to the Turk. The classical "French frenzy" which the Italians used to fear is not a phenomenon known to Turkish battlefields. The Turk is no berserker. He might, indeed, if he had lived in the Norseland of a former age, have fought without armour, but he would have done so, not because he felt that to fight without protection was suitable to the dignity of the "berserker rage," but because he did not much mind whether he was protected or not. The Greek, as a politician and a rhetorician, knows the extremes of feeling. He will offer to spill the last drop of his blood when moved by a speech or by a hot debate in a café; but the cold fit will follow as rapidly, and he may absurdly fail to live up to his boast without any inconvenient degree of embarrassment. If he were more easily embarrassed there would be more hope for him as a soldier. Yet even the anarchy of the right of personal judgment demanded in all circumstances may be dispelled when discipline is made a habit—a thing that acts without the authorisation of any mental process. Foreign officers who have trained Greek peasants do not undervalue the material. If the Turk does not go fast, he never goes so slow as to stop. One has heard of cases of European troops who charged towards the enemy in a hurricane of exhilaration, but who, having been ordered to stop and lie down, could not be persuaded to get up and go on. The passion had passed. A disastrous contemplation of the risks had got to work. Englishmen probably fight more successfully than any other nation without passion, because they will move very rapidly when necessary, and will carry out a daring scheme exactly as it was planned, because

the planning was done not in a heady flight of excitement, but with a cool appreciation of the dangers.

The Turk is a fatalist. Zones of fire have no thrilling significance for him. If he is to be preserved, he will be preserved; if he is to be killed, he will be killed, and in that case will enjoy his reward from Allah. The writer has seen Turkish reservists plodding and slouching across open country under a severe fire from entrenchments. It was a hot day. Their coats hung from their backs, being carried, not worn. Some of them chewed cigarettes as they advanced. Occasionally they would stop to fire. Their boots were in a terrible state, some being tied on with bandages. But the impressive thing, properly considered, was that the rate of the advance never varied. Possibly if there had been cover to run to it would have been different, though one doubts it. These sorry-looking, hungry fellows neither lagged nor hurried. They had no pay for weeks. At the end of a long day's marching and fighting they would eat bread and some olives and drink some coffee and, perhaps, tear some mutton—always mutton—to pieces in their fingers. If only a fatalist could also have dash and forethought, surely there would be the world's perfect soldier! The Turk has not got dash, and never will have it; swiftness and real military bearing will generally be able to overcome his terrifying courage. Was it not Napier who, in describing Albuquerque, said, "Then was seen with what majesty the British soldier fights." The Turk also fights with majesty, but it is a purely passive majesty. His wonderful military instinct will not suffice for the hard days that lie before him, although since the Revolution his equipment has been enormously improved and his pay has been regular.

An incident which occurred in the experience of an English officer illustrates the indifference of Turkish soldiers to bodily danger. It is possible that the story appeared in print; if so, we trust that we shall not spoil it, as we write from memory. The officer, accompanied by a guard of Turkish soldiers, somewhere in Turkish territory, went to the edge of a cliff by the sea and began to shoot at a seal. Far below him he saw the head of the seal bobbing up and down in the water as a seal's head will. He had fired a good many times, and the last bullet had gone pretty near the mark, when one of the soldiers with him politely asked, "Do you not think, sir, that you have now fired often enough at Sergeant Yussuf?" The seal was, indeed, the sergeant. The officer was horrified at what he had done. Certainly the black head of the bathing Yussuf, wet and glistening, had looked exactly like the head of a seal. He expressed his deep concern, but the soldiers did not seem particularly to apprehend what he was concerned about. In any case, they assured him, the sergeant would not mind. Presently the sergeant put on his clothes and, smiling, climbed up the track to the top of the cliff. The officer apologized handsomely, blaming himself freely. But Yussuf, like his companions, did not seem to think there was much to be concerned about—after all, the mark had been very small, it was natural to fire at it, it was unlikely that the officer would hit it, and he (Yussuf) had not minded at all. That expresses the Turk's attitude towards life. Life is a fight. Bullets come and go like the rain, and do not matter very much more. The attitude was expressed again in the old Turkish custom of putting a round shot or a shell in a gun when a salute was fired. Blank shot was something inexpressive and inadequate. If the shell hit anyone, that could not be helped; at all events it was not worth worrying about. It is in keeping with the leisureliness of the Turkish soldier that he should be consummate in all military plans which require sitting still. Put him behind fortifications, and any army in the world will be hard put to it to dislodge him. Osman's defence of Plevna, to take only one typical case, will be a page of shining renown in the history of a military people long after the Turk has been deprived of the opportunity to misgovern other people in Europe.

The Turkish soldier is incalculable only in one thing. You cannot tell whether he will behave like a fiend or friend to his vanquished enemies. Left to his own guidance he is commonly simple, polite, and honest. But if it is hinted to him that excesses will be approved by his officers it is difficult to put a limit to his behaviour. Start him on pillage and massacre, and he is not easy to stop. He knows that his neighbours of the Balkans would be glad to do the same for him. The Turkish official bears responsibility worse than any man in the world. The gift of authority frequently turns a decent man into a devil. Speaking generally, the poorer and humbler the Turk is the better. He makes a good peasant but a bad prince.—*The Spectator*.

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Amount received from 19th Nov. to 23rd Nov. ... 15,994 2 3
Amount previously acknowledged ... 58,559 1 9

TOTAL ... 74,553 4 0

N. B.—In announcing the Turkish Relief Fund collections in our last, the name of "A Student of Moinia School, Ajmer," who paid Rs. 5 towards the Fund was omitted through mistake, although the contribution was included in the general total for last week. There is also a misprint of a figure summing up 41 contributions from Ajmer which ought to have been Rs. 205 instead of Rs. 200.

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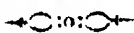
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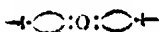


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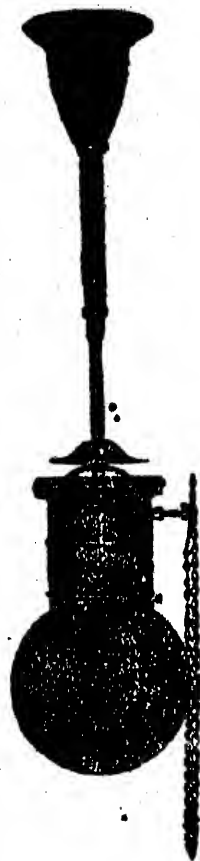
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Liberal Legislation.

Speaking at Aberdeen on the night of 29th November, Mr. Lloyd George said that a complete change in the land system was absolutely necessary. He referred to the Scotch emigration statistics and said that thousands of acres in the highlands that used to yield the finest soldiers in the world had been given over to deer. What would battalions of deer, have done for us in South Africa?—he asked.

The Opposition had recently shown an indecent haste to turn the Government out because it was impossible to delay the benefits of the Insurance Bill. The people would shortly find out their falsehoods in that respect. The sanatoria benefits had already begun, said Mr. Lloyd George. He gave an instance of a blacksmith who had paid four shillings and eightpence in contributions, and who would be treated for two years at a cost of £200. The Government would continue till poverty had been abolished from the homes of the people. The old theory of Empire was a perfect machinery for human slaughter, the work of attending the sick and hungry being only fit for the Parish beadle. Since 1908 a great Empire, for the first time in history, was taking a direct interest in the poor and sick and aged. An essential condition of social reform, concluded Mr. Lloyd George, was a thorough and complete change in the land system.

Mongolia.

A telegram to the *Noroye Vremya* from Uiga states that it is reported that Kobdo has been occupied by Chinese troops without resistance. The tribesmen willingly laid down the arms received from Khalka, and even prepared successive camps for the Chinese.

Tibet.

Ta-tu of Yuin has left Hukon for Litang, whence he will proceed to Batang, and possibly Chiando, but no further. Two interpreters will accompany him and assist in the negotiations with the English, who, according to the Chinese Press, are aiding the Tibetans. Many thousands of armed Tibetans are reported to be in the westernmost part of Szechuan, determined to resist invasion.

Persia.

Major F. B. Prideaux has been gazetted Consul at Seistan.

Sir Edward Grey, replying to Mr. Needham, said that the Persian Premier's invitation to Saad-ed-Dowleh to return to Persia was sent with the encouragement of Sir Walter Townley, British Minister. Sir E. Grey had reason to believe that Saad-ed-Dowleh's return might be useful in the present crisis, and he had instructed Sir W. Townley accordingly.

Afghanistan.

His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan recently sent a party of surveyors to the Panir illaka to survey a road for motor traffic. On the return of the survey party after completion of its work, the Amir gave orders for making a road between Badashan to Dashteri

The Week.

Home Rule.

The House of Commons in Committee on 26th November passed by 300 votes to 194, clause fifteen of the Home Rule Bill defining the taxation powers of the Irish Parliament, with an important Government Amendment suppressing the proposed power to decrease the Customs duties, thus preventing drawbacks and rebates. The Amendment was introduced in deference to a body of Liberals who feared financial complications. The Opposition vigorously protested against the wholesale guillotining by which the House of Commons only began the discussion of clause fifteen yesterday, and clauses fifteen to twenty-one, dealing with important financial matters, had to be passed through committee by 10-30 to-night. Seventy Amendments to clause fifteen remained undiscussed.

In the House of Commons on the night of 26th November the guillotining of clauses seventeen to twenty-one of the Home Rule Bill, after a debate lasting an hour, greeted with cries of "shame" and "scandal." The Government majorities averaged one hundred in the twenty-four divisions taken during the evening.

Pamir, with outposts for an officer and 25 men at every six miles. A regiment of Sappers and Miners has also been ordered to repair the Choragali route to Dhaka. New rules have been introduced for the traffic on the road from Jellalabad to Kabul. The centre path is reserved for wheeled traffic, the right hand side for horses, camels and ponies, and the left for pedestrians. Some sepoys have been detailed for road duty on the Choragali route. The Babara Mulla has, it is reported, again entered the Bajour country with his lashkars. The city police sepoys and officers who were sent to the Khost valley during the Mangal rebellion have been transferred to regiments of infantry. The Amir also gave them rewards in recognition of their services. New recruits have taken their place in the police force. The Amir recently gave Rs. 400 to the Moslems and Rs. 200 to the Hindus in Kabul for distribution as alms to the poor at the mosques and temples in the city. The notorious dealer in arms, Azam Khan, died recently in Khoran village in the illaka Halimzai Mohmands.

Indian Finance.

In the House of Commons to-day, Mr. Rupert Gwynne asked a number of questions concerning the purchases of silver, loans and transactions with Messrs. Samuel, Montagu and Company and other firms. Mr. Baker communicated a quantity of details about loans, and the correspondence between Messrs. Samuel, Montagu and Company and the India Office and between the India Office and the Bank of England.

Regarding the purchases of silver, Mr. Gwynne touched on several questions relating to the Gold Standard Reserve, and other Indian financial matters, and asked whether the Imperial Government was fully satisfied that there was a sufficiency of coined rupees to meet the demand for the movement of bountiful crops in India in 1912. Mr. Baker replied that the Government of India was satisfied but would continue to watch the situation carefully.

India and the Navy.

According to the *Englishman*, it is being stated in Calcutta that the independent Rulers, Princes, and Nobles of India are conferring with a view to collecting sufficient funds for a kindly gift to the Empire consisting of three super-Dreadnoughts and nine first class armoured cruisers, named after the Presidencies and capitals. The principal donors have suggested that the vessels should be stationed in the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The names for the Indian Ocean Dreadnoughts are the *Bengal*, the *Madras*, the *Bombay*, and for the cruisers the *Hyderabad*, the *Mysore*, the *Khatmandu*, the *Srinagar*, the *Gwalior*, the *Indore*, the *Baroda*, the *Rajputana* and the *Travancore*.

The idea, which is still in its infancy, is said to have originated either with Baroda or Gwalior. No official confirmation or denial of the report can be obtained. According to an authoritative statement, issued this evening, the announcement of the suggested gift by leading Rulers in India to the Imperial Navy came as a surprise to the Imperial Government, but as it was expressly stated that the idea was as yet in its infancy the Imperial Government would not expect to be formally approached until the idea assumed definite shape. The English papers welcome the fresh proof of the loyalty of the Indian Princes in the suggested Indian contribution to the Navy, but they are generally of opinion that the proposal is scarcely practicable, as it involves grave questions of policy and principle.

The McCormick Case.

Orders were passed on the 29th November by the Full Bench of the Chief Court, on the application of Fatima Bee to revise the order of discharge passed by Mr. G. P. Andrew, District Magistrate, Mergui, in favour of Capt. H. McCormick, who was prosecuted at the instance of the complainant on a charge of criminally assaulting her daughter Aina, nine years old. Three separate judgments were passed by Justices Hartnoll, Ormond and Twomey, the latter two concurring in Justice Hartnoll's judgment. The Judges held that Fatima's and Aina's statements were untrustworthy, and there was no *prima facie* case against Captain McCormick, that there was great delay on the part of Fatima in making her complaint, which had not been accounted for. Their Honours could see no reason why Mr. Andrew should not have tried the case, and held that the allegation that Mr. Andrew had prejudged the case, was unsubstantiated. The application was dismissed.

At the request of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Court forwarded to His Honour copies of the judgment of the three Judges of the Full Bench in the McCormick case. The judgment of Justice Hartnoll occupied close upon one hundred pages of foolscap. The Local Government will submit copies to the Government of India, who will forward them to the Secretary of State.

Sir James Meston at Aligarh.

The Address of the Trustees.

To

The Honorable

SIR JAMES SCORGIE MESTON, I.C.S., K.C.S.I.,

Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces,

Patron of the M. A.-O. COLLEGE, ALIGARH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

We, the Trustees of the M. A.-O. College, Aligarh, most respectfully beg to offer your Honour and Lady Meston our warm and cordial welcome and to thank you and her Ladyship most sincerely for the honour you have done us by coming to-day, soon after assuming the onerous charge of your august office, to visit this seat and centre of Mussalman learning in India.

Your Honour, it is needless to dwell, at any length, upon the history and work of this college which are fully known to you already: for although this is your first visit as patron of the institution, yet your sympathy with, and your interest in, the cause of Muslim education in general, and in the welfare of this college in particular, are very well known to us all and constitute the solid groundwork of those hopes and aspirations which render our future—otherwise dark and doubtful—bright and promising. To have you at the head of our Local Government is a sure guarantee for those rare blessings which we have learnt to associate with the name and prestige of the British rule in India. Among those blessings, none can compare in immediate as well as ultimate results with that of education, which has been the watchword of Aligarh and its movement during the last forty years. It is true that education has an importance of its own in this age, in every country and among all peoples, but its value and need for a people, who have lost practically everything and have everything now to re-acquire under a constitutional Government and amidst advancing and competing nations, is immense beyond calculation. We are eternally indebted to the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur for a correct diagnosis of our case and right prescription of the remedy. His chief lesson to his community was to free the soul and character of the Mussalmans from the shackles of those false notions and wrong ideals which, in the guise of religious superstitions, social prejudices and other pretensions, had sapped the foundations of all those true impulses and great virtues which are the *vine quæ non* of human advancement and civilization in all ages and in all countries. This great purpose was to be achieved by reverting to the real Islamic teachings and by drawing upon European science, literature, culture and practical methods of life,—representing as they do true principles of human nature and social evolution—and thereby enriching the minds and re-constructing the character of the youths of the community. He was the first to realise and to point out the supreme blessing we enjoy in possessing a grand and unique opportunity, under the benign British rule, of attaining this end by means of education and education alone. He therefore urged with all the strength and force of his genius and personality—and urged till death—the supreme necessity of loyal and friendly relations with the British rulers and of concentrating the best part of our national activity and resources upon the completion of the great educational scheme which is identified with Aligarh and its movement and has played such a prominent part in the history of modern India. Our ultimate destiny in this country is therefore bound up, in a large measure, with the position and prospects of this college, which represents the greatest educational effort of our community and has sought, ever since its foundation, to secure national regeneration by means of infusing new life and light into the heads and hearts of the Mussalmans. It has tried to set before them the ideal of education in its broad and true sense, and has thus opened new vistas of hope and sure lines of advance. The culture of mind, the strengthening of character and the training of manners, as much as the extension of knowledge, are the main objects which we have constantly kept before us and have always tried to attain. How far we have succeeded in our efforts in this behalf is known to all those who have watched the growth and work of this college. But, according to our own estimate and judgment, we are still far off from the goal which we have in view and hope, with the help of Almighty God, to reach some day. But all this depends upon the success and completion of that programme which was long ago laid down by the great founder of this college and has guided our efforts during the last forty years.

Your Honour, in the life and evolution of every institution there always comes a critical stage which determines, for better or for worse, its fate and future for ever. That point has now arrived in the history of this college, and we, its Trustees, are face to face with problems which are as complex as they are momentous in their far-

reaching results. On an occasion such as this, our clear duty and safest course is to try to maintain, intact and unimpaired, the basic principles of the great founder of this college, whose wisdom and foresight have stood the test of time and experience and should therefore still serve as the guiding star in all our moments of trial and trouble.

This, your Honour, we are determined to do under any circumstances and to the best of our ability. The preservation of the fundamental principles of the Aligarh movement is our most sacred trust which it is our duty to safeguard. But we do not minimize the nature and extent of our difficulties or underrate the seriousness of the situation. There was a time when the principles of the Aligarh movement prospered and flourished in a congenial atmosphere, which they breathed on all sides, but those conditions appear to have changed and a new spirit and new forces are setting in rendering the maintenance of our traditions and ideals more and more difficult. But we are convinced that the present situation is only a temporary phase in that period of transition through which we, along with the rest of India, are passing with such bewildering rapidity, ultimately to reach a grand and glorious future, under the blessings of the British Government. At a time such as this, we humbly pray to God Almighty that we may be able to give a good account of our great trust, which we regard as the most valuable asset of our community in this country.

Your Honour, apart from those problems to which we have referred in general terms, the matter, which is engaging our chief attention and causing us serious anxiety, is our inability to meet the growing demand of the youths of our community for admission into their national college. We had to refuse this year about 700 applications for want of accommodation and adequate staff. We cannot but regard this as a most serious outlook for the future not only of this institution but of the whole community, firstly because it deprives a large number of the most promising Muslim youths, in different parts of India, of the benefits of that education and training which are available here only, and by means of which alone "new life and light" can spread into and reach the distant parts of our community; secondly because it is depriving us of the support and sympathy of many old friends who are naturally annoyed at the disappointment of their sons and relations who are refused admission every year. The only solution of this difficulty is further expansion and adequate provision for necessary accommodation and staff. We fully realise the fact that the present college has already approached the limits of reasonable extension. It will therefore be our chief endeavour, so far as our means and circumstances will permit, to open more colleges here with separate staff and establishment. These are the lines on which our expansion in the future will proceed. The time is now ripe and we are ready to make a beginning in this direction. But for all this we require adequate funds, which are our greatest need.

Your Honour, we do not propose to touch upon the question of the proposed Muslim University on this occasion, as it is still pending before the Government of India. The whole question is to be considered by the representatives of the community next month, when it will be submitted to the Government for final settlement. But whatever be the ultimate issue and decision in this matter, our course as Trustees of this college is clear.

In any case, the expansion and completion of our Educational scheme have to be pushed to its legitimate and ultimate end and this college has to be thoroughly equipped as a central national institution in the proper sense of the term. And this has to be done soon, otherwise it may fail in its purpose and forfeit the confidence of the community. We therefore desire, and we hope deserve, the support and sympathy of all our patrons, benefactors, friends and well-wishers, in this great enterprise.

Your Honour, we may be permitted on this occasion to lay before you one of our urgent needs, and that is the question of the land we badly require for our school buildings and boarding houses, proposed to be built at a distance from the college, and for these we wish to acquire land sufficient for our future development and expansion. The site and locality have already been chosen and, we trust, will meet with your Honour's approval.

In conclusion, we again beg to thank your Honour and Lady Meston most heartily for the trouble you have been pleased to take this morning in going round the college and in listening to our submissions with such gracious attention and kind interest. May your term of office prove to be a period of many blessings for the people of these Provinces in general and this institution in particular. We earnestly hope that the Trustees will have the privilege of your Honour's gracing this institution with your presence as often as the onerous duties of your high office may happily permit.

His Honour's reply.

YOUR HIGHNESS, NAWAB, RAJA SAHIB AND GENTLEMEN,

It is with feelings of no ordinary pleasure that I find myself in Aligarh to-day. If there is one side of my work in the United Provinces to which I look forward with deeper interest

than another; it is the advancement of true education. And here, in the Mahommedan Anglo-Oriental College, we have a great and far-reaching experiment in education, to which there is no precise parallel in India. I have therefore looked forward with delight to re-visiting Aligarh after an interval of many years. When last I saw it, Mr. Beck, whose memory is still warm in the affections of many of you, had just died. He had left behind him an enthusiasm and efficiency which have never since been surpassed; but the numbers were small, some of the chief buildings were incomplete, and the courts of the college were cumbered with bricks and lime—the earnest of development of schemes with which the Trustees were then aflame. To-day I have seen the fruition of many of those schemes, a college greater, statelier and richer than we thought of in those days, and the mind naturally reverts to the pious benefactors and the earnest workers whose generosity and toil have accomplished these results. In your address you have enumerated some of the donors, with a seemly gratitude for their munificence, and you have also in your thoughts the devoted men who gave their time and energies and hearts to the actual working of the college. Foremost among these latter in recent years has been our old friend, Nawab Mushtaq Husain. He laboured with single mind for the advancement of the college until failing health withdrew him from his heavy task, and I am rejoiced exceedingly to see that he is able to be here with you to-day. And here you will allow me in passing to say a word of thanks to the public spirited gentleman who took up Nawab Mushtaq Husain's work and is carrying it on till the permanent successor is available. We know how ill Nawab Muzammil-ullah Khan can spare the leisure which the work of Honorary Secretary absorbs; and I am sure that you all appreciate his patriotism in coming forward to help you at this time.

If the pleasure of being here could be enhanced, it has been enhanced by the cordial welcome which you have offered me. I am highly sensible of the honour which you show me in coming many of you from long distances and at much inconvenience to meet me. Your Highness has left the heavy cares of State. Your President, my old friend, the Nawab of Bahasn has come from distant Jaipur in spite of the discomfort which travelling causes him. My good friend, the Raja of Mubandabad, has put aside for the day the many anxieties which beset him; and others whom I see among the Trustees have made no small sacrifice to join our gathering to-day. I warmly appreciate their courtesy, and I thank you from my heart for the pleasant things which you have said about me personally. It will be, I trust, a recurring pleasure to exercise my privileges as patron and to visit the college whenever I can usefully offer you my assistance. I have no desire for inquisitorial interference; but I personally think that a closer association between the Local Government and the Governing Body than has recently prevailed will be of advantage to both of us.

The address which Your Highness has just read is a remarkable document. It narrates the principles on which your founder based his scheme of education. It touches on the difficulties which you realise in carrying those principles into practice. It affirms the principles and expresses your determination to surmount the difficulties. It then dwells on the administration of the college and on some of the pressing problems with which you are confronted to-day. Gentlemen, I do not know which part of your address commands my greater admiration, the soundness of your proposals for the future or the sureness of touch with which you describe the present. But whether you deal with the present or the future, I note with sincere approval your unflinching adherence to the two great axioms on which this institution is based and which its name embodies—loyalty to the British Government and the regeneration of Islam by a liberal education. If you continue to abide by these principles your difficulties must disappear. In replying to your address I shall invert the order of your subjects, touching first on your executive problems, and then going on to those wider issues which are troubling your thoughts and mine.

My tour of the college to-day has given me not only a morning of consuming interest, but also some helpful light on administrative problems to which your address alludes. The most urgent of these is the question of accommodation. In this respect the first obvious need is the removal of the collegiate school to another situation and its complete segregation from the college. The mingling of the schoolboys and the college students is thoroughly bad for both, and I am glad to hear that revised plans for the new school are being pushed forward. I have seen your proposed site and it seems to me perfectly suitable, though probably expensive. You received a grant of the Rs. 20,000 for the new school as far back as 1906; and through the generosity of the Government of India, we shall be able to hand you a further sum of Rs. 1,20,000 whenever the necessary land is acquired and the plans and estimates are settled. You will no doubt bear in mind the need for all reasonable economy in the structure in view of the importance

of proper equipment and a competent and adequate staff. The removal of the school, however, is only a preliminary step in your policy of expansion. You consider that the college should be, to quote your own words, "thoroughly equipped as a central national institution in the proper sense of the term." I take this to mean that you wish to make education at the college available for Mohammedans from any part of India; and from some other remarks in your address I gather that you have abandoned or modified the policy which you formulated in 1909 of endeavouring to establish Mohammedan colleges in other provinces, working up to the B. A. and B. Sc. standards, and of making provision at Aligarh for post-graduate studies. The question, however, touches rather closely on one of the issues in connection with the proposed University at Aligarh, and for that reason I shall not pursue it further at present. In any case what is actually happening is that students are flocking to you from all over India and even from beyond its borders. You cannot possibly take in all who ask for admission, as the numbers would be incompatible with either proper hygiene or proper teaching. I presume also that you cannot even now keep your classes down to 45, the figure which you desired to fix, and perfectly rightly, as a maximum in 1909. This being so, your desire to expand your numbers and to limit your classes points, in your opinion, to no other possible course than the one you mention, namely, the foundation of another college. This courageous conclusion raises large and important questions which I shall be very glad to consider with you in detail. It would be premature for me to say more at present than that you may count on the continuance of that benevolent interest and ready help which the Government of these provinces have always shown in whatever sound and useful project you may place before them. There are certain minor points in your address, as well as certain matters of detail which crossed my mind when I was inspecting the college, on which I hope to have an opportunity of private consultation with the Trustees. I will conclude this portion of my reply by expressing my sincere gratification that you are taking up the question of female education. I am sure that in time you will find the labours of your college incomplete for the well-being of your community, unless you are able to supplement them by provision for better education and better medical aid to those members of your race whose destiny it is to become the mothers of the future generation.

Now, gentlemen, I come to matters of a different moment, to the matters which have been chiefly instrumental in bringing me to Aligarh to-day. It had originally been my intention to visit the college at leisure in the course of a regular tour in this part of the provinces later in the season. But, since I took up my office in September last, I have been hearing a great deal about the college, both from its friends and from its critics, in connection more especially with the wave of deep feeling which is passing over the Mohammedan world to-day. What I heard left me, both as patron of the college and as a warm friend of the Indian Mohammedans, no option but to come here without further delay to consult with you—representatives of Mohammedan thought in these provinces—and to offer you whatever help and advice are at my command. I knew and revered the great Syed, that noble and far-seeing patriot whose spirit is with us here. I knew and received in my earlier days no small kindness from many of his personal friends and chosen companions, such as the venerable Maulvi Zain-ul-Abidin, who have long since passed into rest. I have watched and worked with hundreds of Aligarh students. I have had many anxious consultations with those who held Aligarh dear and who fear that all is not well with her. I can thus claim some first-hand knowledge not only of the hopes and purposes of the wise men of the past, but also of the influence which your college is having on the life and character of your community. And this knowledge has begotten at once affection and alarm; affection for the ideals which Sir Syed Ahmad bequeathed to you, alarm at the dangers by which these ideals are jeopardized. I see these dangers, and I feel that I should be no patron of your college but an incubus, no friend of your community but an enemy in disguise, if I failed to tell you frankly where, in my opinion, the dangers lie, and where I look for the remedies. Whether you take my advice or not rests with you. I cannot take over your responsibilities, but my offer of help is disinterested and sincere.

Trustees, all who know Islam know the suffering of their hearts to-day. It would be wrong for me to discuss the causes of that suffering here; with admirable restraint you have refrained from any reference to it in your address. But this much you will let me say, that the British Government in India are no callous observers of her distress. The people of Islam are a proud people. They are proud of that great mediæval empire which, starting in a little valley among the sands of Arabia, grew until it challenged the mighty power of Rome itself. They are proud of the civilization and literature with which Arabia endowed the world. They are proud of the ancient

glories of Cordova and Damascus and Cairo. They are proud of the beautiful city on the Golden Horn, which was wrested from the Byzantine Emperors four and a half centuries ago, and which ever since has been the centre of Mohammedan sovereignty and its faith. For us British, the pride which we have in our own history gives us a fellow-feeling with the pride of Islam. And now that your pride is veiled in pain, our sympathy follows you silently but none the less sincerely. We hope with you that the worst is past. We ask you to turn your eyes to the bright gleams that irradiate the darkness of the last few months. Look at the patient heroism of the Turkish troops amid their terrible privations, shortage of clothing, want of food, ravages of disease. Look at their unflinching courage in battle, their splendid coolness in retreat. Let me read you the following tribute from the War Correspondent of the *Times* with Nazim Pasha's Army. Writing of the gigantic battle of Lüle Burgas, he says:—

"I was much interested by the way the Turkish supports moved into position. Wave after wave, in loosely out-shaken lines, they worked with callous movement up to the position and then took cover to form firing lines. Men dropped here and there, but there was no chocking and no confusion. It was a methodical facing of death.

"At one o'clock in the afternoon Torgut Shevket had withdrawn his guns and dissipated the strength he had collected for a counter-stroke. In ten minutes the guns were clear excepting those left in position, which held on gallantly; then the division began to fall back.

"It seemed as if the Bulgarian gunners had been expecting it. From under cover the Bulgarian guns opened on the concentrated Turks in a furious blast. In all my long experience of the miserable scene of war I have seen nothing finer than the retirement of the Turkish infantry. Just as the men sauntered into action, so did they saunter out beneath this scathing punishment.

"There was no mass formation in the retirement; it seemed as if suddenly the whole downland had become peopled with men in hundreds, but they were all shaken out in a wonderful extension and seemed to care nothing for the rain of metal which swept down upon them. Slowly, deliberately, and with indomitable dignity the Turkish infantry retired, and we retired therewith. Already we were far from the line of communications whereby the story of their bravery could be transmitted."

Surely a race that produces a soldiery of whom this can be written is a race to be still proud of, a race which, under wise and enlightened guidance, has yet a glorious future before it.

The recent tribulations of Islam, however, have another and deeper message for the Mohammedans of India. It is this message to which I now ask your earnest attention. If the misfortunes of Persia, and the calamities of Turkey have taught us anything, they teach us that a nation cannot live on prestige, on tradition, on memories of past glory. The fierce competition of modern life brushes these aside and yields the palm of success to strength and efficiency alone; to strength which is moral as well as material, to efficiency of mind as well as of body. It is these qualities alone that can save Islam; and the first duty of Islam is to reach after them, laying aside its regrets and forgetting its wounded pride. It is the business of every true Mohammedan, not to whine or talk large or fly into ineffective tirades on paper, but to play the man, to close up the ranks, to cease from wasteful dissension, to put down extravagance, and, above all, to prevent the weakness of the present generation from infecting the young, and to give them a clearer vision of duty and a better chance in life than their fathers inherited. The opportunity of you Mohammedans in India, as your address truly says, is unique. You are sheltered from external aggression under the Crown of England. It requires no devastating revolution for you to enter on the path of reform. The way is open and the hand of encouragement is on your shoulder. Progress may be slow in your day, but you can at least clear the course for your sons and save them from some of the mortifications which you have had to suffer. That then is what I ask you to do through the agency of this great college, and I will now explain how you can do it. You must bear with me if you do not always like what I am going to say. I speak to you not as a flatterer but as a friend.

In the first place, I appeal to the Trustees, both present and absent, to set the rising generation an example of union. I hear constantly of two schools of thought among politically-minded Mohammedans. They are described as sharply divided; but most careful analysis shows them only to be, on the one hand the school of years, on the other the school of youth. It is a fleeting and unreal distinction. Those of us who are old were once young; those who are young will soon, alas, be old. Time will think little of our differences. I have no wish, however, to minimise them. The ferment of new ideas fills young minds with impatience against the conser-

vatism of their elders. The elders suspect and dislike the eager and, as they often think, superficial enthusiasms of the young. But nowhere, far less in the government of the college, is there room for two schools of divergent policy on such lines. You elder men need the warming zeal of your junior colleagues. You younger men need the practical wisdom and experience of your seniors. I beseech the elder men patiently to guide and direct the energies of the others; I beseech the younger men to be tolerant of restraint, to weigh their words, and to show that respect for age which all religion inculcates. Settle your differences with dignity, maintain each other's honor, and present a united front in dealing with the students so as to discourage and suppress the spirit of petulance and irreverence which is one of the greatest dangers to their young lives. United you will stand; divided you must sooner or later fall. And is the decay of Aligarh a price which should be paid for your dissension?

In the second place, as you hope for the well-being of Aligarh, I ask you to remember the guiding principle which must determine the relations between the boys and their instructors. You well know what your religion teaches to be the duty of the learner to his teacher. Unless that duty is enforced, the greater part of education is in vain. I advise you, therefore, with a feeling of the deepest conviction to support the authority of the college staff. You must either trust them wholly or not at all. If they do not command your confidence I look to you to tell me so and to convince me of the reason; if they do command your confidence give it to them in the fullest measure, for only thus will you secure two conditions without which your labours are in vain. On the one hand you cannot expect your professors to work wholeheartedly if they are either subject to public attack or feel that they have not your authority behind them. In teaching enthusiasm is everything; and you cannot be served with enthusiasm unless you in turn show generous trust. On the other hand you must get the boys' minds securely attached to teachers. They must, if they are to work without distraction, regard their teachers in the light of parents and their decisions as final. Hence I would urge on you the importance of discipline, a discipline unfettered by personal considerations or mistaken sentiments. I understand from Mr. Towle that you have delegated full disciplinary powers to him. I cannot too highly praise your wisdom in doing so. Resist all temptation to whittle his authority away. Let him be a despot, for I am sure that he will be a benevolent despot. Avoid disparagement and needless interference, which only hurt the susceptibilities of the staff and tend to alienate their sympathies from the great work in which you are all partners.

In the third and last place I appeal to you on behalf of the students. I ask you to set your faces resolutely against everything which distracts or deters them from their work. Their work is growth, mental and physical; and it is your duty to protect their bodies from avoidable disease and their minds from avoidable excitement. Every moment of their life at college is precious; and every hour that is lost in illness or in mental worry is a check to their development and a handicap in later life. Think then constantly of their bodily health; take the best advice about sanitation; see that their food is good and their clothing adequate; encourage habits of hygiene and self-respect. Think also and at all times of their mental health. Keep sensations and excitement out of the college so far as you can. I do not say, keep the students from politics, for thoughtful young minds cannot be prevented from turning to questions of burning moment in the outer world; but keep politics and controversy in their proper place as subjects for the debating society or table talk. Do not let them get an ascendancy which upsets the nerves and unsettles the mind at the most critical period of life. Let me hear, I pray you, no more about nights of mourning and days of fasting which your religion does not enforce. If these high spirited and generous lads are to grow into strong and useful men, their bodies must be fed and their minds nurtured. Trouble and sacrifice will come soon enough when the mind is tempered and the body set. Bring them into the young life before their time, and you do a cruel disservice to those who need your special care.

Gentlemen, I have done. I have made a threefold claim upon your loyalty to the ideals of the great Saiyed and to the college which you hold in trust. I have asked that concord and good feeling should dwell among yourselves; that the teaching staff should have your cordial support; and that the students should be left free to enjoy, in health of body and peace of mind, the happiest years of their lives. With you more than with any other single group of men lies the future of Islam in India. Treat this college on right lines, and your community will grow in influence and power. Let it go down hill, and you will ruin one of the noblest educational experiments in modern India and eternally discredit your community. Which is to be? You are all here, trustees, professors and students, teachers and taught. I appeal to you all this afternoon. The issue is in your hands; and in your hands I leave it, with every confidence that wisdom and right will prevail.

TETE A TETE



WE HAVE received the following telegram from the Hon. the Raja of Mahmudabad:—"We are all aware that in the war in which Turkey and the allies are involved an armistice has now been proclaimed and the terms of peace are being considered. Let us all hope that the war has practically

come to an end, and that further bloodshed will be averted. If that is happily so, there will be no further addition to the number of the wounded, and the work with which the Red Crescent Society is immediately concerned will soon come to a close. But there has arisen in an acute form the problem of relieving the widows and orphans of those who have been slain and the refugees who have been obliged to take shelter within the walls of Constantinople from numerous places. Their number must be large and their sufferings intense. The following cablegram from His Highness the Aga Khan to me indicates the gravity of the situation:—"According to all accounts from independent sources, apart from Red Crescent work, terrible, unheard-of suffering amongst Moslem refugees. Thousands of women and children dying of cold and hunger. Terrible calamity for Islam and humanity. Thousands of innocent little ones daily shivering to death. Pray you at once organise meetings throughout Northern India and Bengal. Appeal to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, also to His Highness and nobles of Hyderabad. Kindly organise house to house visits everywhere and send money collected telegraphically to the Right Hon. Mr. Amir Ali who will forward to Constantinople at once for relief of refugees, orphans and widows. Appeal to all Moslems, to all human beings. For God's sake, for sake of Prophet, do not let thousands of Moslems daily die for want of help. See what Russian public subscription has done for Balkan sufferings. Now or never time for help. Am broken-hearted to see terrible sufferings. Help. To my Islamic brethren and to all my countrymen I appeal in the name of humanity to rise to the occasion, and to extend their helping hand by contributing their mite for the alleviation of the painful suffering of their fellow creatures abroad." The warmth and earnestness with which the people have hitherto responded is gratifying indeed, but the seriousness of the situation demands sacrifice, strenuous efforts and arduous work in a still greater degree. I have no doubt that my countrymen will readily and generously respond to this pathetic cry for relief, and I trust that the members of our community will organize local and house to house collections in every town and village. It is immaterial whether the money so collected is sent to the Right Hon. Mr. Amir Ali or to the Prime Minister in Constantinople, but the object should be clearly specified. I am doing and will do all that lies in my power in furtherance of the noble cause and will shortly organise a tour of visits to important places throughout India." We need hardly add any words of our own. The appeal of H. H. the Aga Khan should suffice to move a heart of flint. The decision of the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad to visit different parts of the country for raising funds is the only way in which a leader of his influence and position can meet the supreme call of duty and faith. Will not other Moslems of weight and influence imitate this noble example and cheerfully bear a little inconvenience and trouble for the sake of Islam?

THE *pourparlers* between the Bulgarian and the Turkish delegates ended on the 3rd instant, and the conditions of the armistice have been signed. The Turkish terms, according to the London reports, include the continuance of the armistice during the whole period of peace negotiations and the granting of most extensive facilities for re-victualling all the Turkish besieged fortresses and

detached forces. Sofia, however, reported that the conditions of the armistice were that, while the belligerent armies remained in their present position, besieged fortresses should not be re-victualled. The latter condition has not been confirmed and appears to have been the usual Sofian bluff. On the face of it any such condition would be unthinkable, for, unless the besieged Turkish garrisons in Adrianople and Scutari are plentifully supplied with provisions, they might be starved into surrender even before the peace negotiations formally open in London on the 18th instant. We are sure the Turkish delegates must have weighed this point most carefully before agreeing to the conditions of the armistice. Before the *pourparlers* were entered upon, Sofia had announced the firm resolve of the allies to insist on the surrender of Adrianople and Scutari and even the abandonment of the Thessalonika lines by Turkish troops as the preliminary conditions for an armistice. This attitude, however, soon gave place to a more complaisant frame of mind. The Turkish army, though driven back, has not yet been altogether beaten or destroyed. The strength of the Turkish defence at Thessalonika soon brought home to the Bulgarians the hopeless nature of their task. The arrival of the Turkish reinforcements from Asia Minor and the marvellously rapid reformation of a strong and determined army, lacking nothing in discipline and morale, have been more compelling arguments in shaping the Bulgarian attitude than the aspirations of Tsar Ferdinand or the wishes of his allies. Bulgaria and Servia have both been drained of their manhood. But even apart from that, they have almost touched the limits of their resources and cannot continue the campaign much longer. The position of Turkey has been, on the contrary, improving every day. Her resources are not yet exhausted and she needs nothing but time to concentrate, at the most vital point, the scattered forces of an extensive empire. It is, in fact, due to the force of these circumstances that the Turks have secured the most favourable terms from the Bulgarian delegates. The apparent resentment of Greece and her reluctance to sign the armistice accepted by her allies are significant. We think, however, she has already realised the ruse has failed. She also, we are sure, realises the danger of standing aloof and thus impairing the strength of the Confederacy in the diplomatic manoeuvrings that are to precede the final settlement. The coming peace negotiations may end in agreement and a satisfactory solution may be reached. The conditions of peace will, however, have to undergo some revision at the hands of the great Powers if they agree to act in concert. We trust Turkey will not accept any terms humiliating to her honour and dignity and designed to end her rule in Europe. There is no reason to suppose that she has lost all hope of being able to defend her honour and her territory. The greatest danger that threatens her is not the Confederacy but the sentimental quacks who love to talk freedom and justice from high places at her expense.

In spite of the optimism of the latest messages the conflict between the Diplomatic Situation.

Austro-Servian standpoints is far from removed and still continues to endanger the situation in Europe. Since the declaration of Albanian independence and the decisive and energetic attitude adopted by Austria in regard to the Servian pretensions to a port on the Adriatic, the Servian newspapers have no doubt grown less assertive and bellicose. The sudden change of tone is, perhaps, due to some Muscovite hint or remonstrance. The Serb, drunk with insolence and the wine of success, began to indulge in proud and glorious soliloquies about his future and to snap his fingers at the world. The Triple Alliance looked on silently and Russia laughed in her sleeves. There were, however, taking place at the time far-reaching consultations in Vienna, Rome and Berlin, in which the voice of Bukharest was accorded a welcome hearing. As a result of these consultations, the predominant partner of the Alliance has stepped forth in shining armour and proclaimed his resolve to prevent any outsiders from troubling his friends or menacing their legitimate interests. The speech of the German Chancellor lacks nothing in clearness of meaning, and it was natural that it should have caused a serious flutter in the diplomatic dovecoats in Paris and St. Petersburg. Now that the attitude of Austria and her allies has been set forth with courageous frankness, the danger of the situation has ceased to be vague. The menace lies in the conflict that is supposed to exist between the Austrian views and the Servian ambitions. The task of diplomacy is to find out a mutually satisfactory solution of the problem. Much, however, will depend on the nature of the peace terms that the allies succeed in securing from Turkey. The seeming defection of Greece is a calculated ruse, though it can hardly affect Turkish attitude and may considerably weaken the strength of the allies' position. The growth of serious differences amongst the allies themselves is not an unlikely contingency. A mutual quarrel about the division of the spoils will end the Confederacy and probably leave behind no spoils to divide. The decisive word will, in the last resort, lie with Russia. It was on the strength of Muscovite assurances that the Confederacy entered on its war of aggression. It will largely

be in accordance with Muscovite wishes that it will shape its conduct in the concluding stages of the war. The Russian attitude is bound to be uncompromising if she feels sure of M. Poincaré and Sir Edward Grey. There can be no question as to the abject subservience of France to the Russian will. Sir Edward Grey, though mortally afraid of offending Muscovite susceptibilities, is at times incalculable. The peace negotiations will be conducted in London under the shadow of the proposed conference of the Ambassadors of the great Powers. The issues are weighty and complex and no one can safely predict whether they will be decided through peaceful diplomacy or the sword. One thing, however, is certain. The interests of Turkey are at this juncture bound up to a large extent with the interests of Austria. The Triple Entente has practically delivered a unanimous verdict against the existence of Turkey in Europe. It would, we presume, be owing to the attitude of the Triple Alliance if she finds herself treated with some consideration in the coming settlement. Her "friends" will, of course, be never sparing of "advice," but we trust it will not be of the kind that Sir Edward Grey on a certain memorable occasion tendered to Persia.

When King Ferdinand and his allies decided to exhort the Christian hordes to battle in the name of the Cross, they must have no doubt calculated the effect of their astute war-cry to a nicety. With a

view to open the floodgates of murderous passions in the Balkans no better cry could have been devised. The mask of the "liberator" was worn simply to play up to the cant of gushing European liberalism. It was, however, as Crusaders that the leaders of the Confederacy could hope to evoke in a semi-barbarous and priest-ridden peasantry that desperate frenzy of looting without which they could not dare to face the Turk. The maddened hosts of fanatics have overrun Macedonia and Thrace and the "freedom" of oppressed Christians is being won through rapine and massacre. Reuter says that Macedonia is drenched in blood; and, as if to mitigate the shame and horror of the outrages committed by Christian armies, the message rounds off with what is perhaps intended as an apology. The Mussalmans, we are told, are also taking part in the outrages. We may presume King Ferdinand's "Crusaders" are not massacring the followers of the Cross. Macedonia has been drenched in Moslem blood and it needs a wide stretch of the imagination to conceive that the victims of a brutal and blood-thirsty soldiery are numerous and powerful enough to retaliate. False rumours about the slaughter of Christians had early begun to circulate in the European press, for the Confederacy wanted to prepare some sort of "moral" atmosphere for their shambles. The extermination of the Moslems in European Turkey seems to have been systematically organised. The Bulgarians and the Servians have left in their trail smoking villages and hecatombs of innocent victims. We had briefly noted in our last what an eyewitness had observed of the Servian methods. The last mail has brought overwhelming testimony which brands King Peter's "chivalrous army" as a pack of cowardly assassins. The war correspondent of the Copenhagen Journal, *Riget*, sent to his paper a message from Uskub via Selmin in which he indicts Servian warfare in Macedonia as "barbarous" and "murderous." The Servians, he says, are behaving towards the Albanians with the utmost severity. Small detachments go out almost every day from Uskub into the outlying country, burning down villages and massacring the population. The correspondent likens these expeditions to "man-hunts," and declares that a Servian officer boasted to him of having with his own hand killed nine Albanians in one day. On one spot no fewer than 86 Albanians were shot in a row because they were found in possession of arms. Montenegro has not been lagging behind her allies in this respect and has been wreaking its spite by peculiarly atrocious methods. The Cattaro correspondent of the Vienna *Reichspost*, describing the melancholy condition in the Tuzi hospital, says:—"In a part of the hospital, carefully guarded by soldiers, lie ten Turks whose noses have been cut off by Montenegrin soldiers. It would be useless to deny this fact, since it has been possible, in spite of all measures of precaution, to take a photograph of the mutilated inmates of this ward." Comment is superfluous. Thus, it would seem, "a godless pandemonium, branded by Gladstone's immortal words" is being ended and a harassed and oppressed land prepared for the advent of "the reign of Christ."

IF CONQUEST were as easy and simple an affair as an "annexation" vote by hysterical parliaments. Lybia should now be Italian and proud of owning allegiance to King Victor Emmanuel who had fired the imagination of his people with fond prophecies about the new imperial destiny of the descendants of Scipio. The prowess of his "magnificent army" had, however, to be reinforced by the undoubtedly subtle and nimble wits of his Ministers; and he has succeeded in forcing the Porte into surrender by methods more cunning than valiant. The Treaty of Peace has

not, however, brought the effective possession of Lybia any nearer than it was when His Italian Majesty had signed his famous Decree of Annexation. The process of disillusionment has set in rather sooner than was expected. The romance has completely worn off the glorious vision that set aflame Jingo patriotism and moved the frenzy of Italian mobs. The attitude of the Tripolitan Arabs has proved a shattering reality. The Italian populace is for the first time beginning to see the naked steel of hostile bayonets through the vanishing splendours of the dream. The *Egyptian Gazette* remarks that the treaty of peace is accepted as a political necessity, imposed chiefly by Italy's relations with her ally, Austria-Hungary. While the official and semi-official Press lauds the provisions of the treaty, the independent journals criticise them severely. Specially noticeable is the opposition of the unofficial Clerical newspapers like the *Momento*, of Turin, which writes: "We regard this peace with real sorrow. It is not the logical and dignified consequence of our war. The country feels this profoundly, and we with it." On the other hand, the *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican organ, considers that "Italy, having embarked with incredible levity upon an enterprise of which she had never estimated the difficulties, gets out of it in the best possible manner." It will be remembered that the Clerical party was specially zealous for the war, and it is remarkable that a very well-informed foreign diplomatist in Rome received the first news of the signature of peace from the Vatican several hours before it was generally known. Signor Barzilai, a Deputy who is a specialist on foreign politics and, though nominally a Republican, was in favour of the war, was interviewed by the *Giornale d'Italia* on the peace. The Deputy stated that he did not know whether, after reading the terms of peace, he was one of the victors or one of the vanquished. He pointed out that Italy, after signing the peace, held only 300 kilometres (187 miles) of coast, and had penetrated little more than 10 kilometres (6 miles) inland, so that perhaps she could not ask for much better terms. The numerous Italians expelled from Turkey also ask why no claim was made on Turkey for compensation to them. Several of them consider that the treaty will lessen Italian prestige in the Levant, especially as the Sultan is to have a representative in Lybia. It is also asked why Turkey should not pay for the cost of the maintenance of the Turkish prisoners, so generously and even luxuriously treated. All this is very prudent if not very fine. It only remains to be seen how the "Annexation" Decree is put into force. The Tripolitan Arabs are organising the government of their country on the basis of the autonomy conferred by the Sultan. They have sworn to maintain the independence and integrity of their fatherland and many of the Turkish comrades have thrown in their lot with them. There are many acute observers of the situation who think Italy will at length solve the difficulty by imitating the Turks, i.e., by "conferring" autonomy on the "annexed" provinces.

In a recent issue we appealed to our readers to contribute what little they could towards the fund opened by a committee of gentlemen in Rangoon with a view to lend financial help in securing the release of Mr. Arnold. We are, however,

The Arnold Release Fund.

sorry to note that little response has so far been made to our appeal. We are aware matters of very engrossing and anxious nature at present engage the attention of the Mussalmans, but we are confident they will not, even in their most trying hour, forget that they owe some duty to Mr. Arnold. Donations towards the Fund may be sent direct to the Treasurer, Mr. Ahmad Moolla Dawood, of Messrs. Moolla Dawood, Sons & Co., 26, Merchant Street, Rangoon, and not to Mr. C. T. Wood, as we announced previously. We may also state that we have opened a separate fund for the purpose with a view to collect contributions from the readers of the *Comrade* and others who may send their donations to us. The money received by us will be regularly announced and sent to the Arnold Fund Committee, Rangoon. For the present we have only to announce the following donations:—

The <i>Comrade</i> ...	Rs. 100 0 0
A Moslem Sympathiser ...	" 5 0 0
TOTAL ...	" 105 0 0

El-Alam, the sole remaining organ of the Egyptian Nationalists, was suppressed in the beginning of November in consequence of an article headed "Opinion of the Nationalist Leader on the Present War." The article in question is

The Suppression of "El-Alam."

alleged to have been a violent attack on the Ottoman Government, and contained the opinion that the Christian States had come to an agreement to turn the Moslem Turks out of Europe. It concluded, we are told, by holding Kiamil Pasha and Nazim Pasha responsible for the reverses of the Turkish army. *El-Alam* is the fourth of the Nationalist journals suppressed during the past thirteen months. The other three were (1) the *Miss-el-Fatat*, suppressed on the 6th October, 1911, (2) the *Watan*, on the 6th April, 1912, and (3) the *Lewa*, on the 1st September, 1912. The Cairo correspondent of the *Pioneer*, that

never-failing "friend" of the Egyptian Nationalists, is much concerned at their plight and remarks that "what the Nationalist Party will do now no one knows. Another organ it can not obtain, as the Press Law expressly forbids such a step." We do not know what the Egyptian Press Law lays down for such cases, or whether it has been specially designed to prevent the growth of Nationalist journalism. If the correspondent means that no Egyptian holding Nationalist views would be permitted to start a journal, then we may well ask with the glib correspondent "what the Nationalists would do." Perhaps Lord Kitchener has considered the bearing of every possible answer to this question. As far as we know different answers have been attempted in different countries, and in no single case has the answer been found satisfactory to those who "crown their efforts at pacifying political agitations" by effectually gagging inconvenient or unwelcome criticism. The disappearance of *El-Alam* will not mean death to the Nationalist cause if indeed that cause is just and represents the hopes and aspirations of the best Egyptian patriots.

The Hon. Secretary of the All-India Moslem League writes:—"It has been decided by a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League to postpone for the time being the annual sessions of the League fixed for the

30th and 31st December; but as there are several important questions awaiting solution, it would be inexpedient to postpone their consideration indefinitely, and a meeting of the Council of the All-India Moslem League will, therefore, be held at 11 A. M. on the 31st December, 1912, in the Qaisar Bagh Baradari, Lucknow, to discuss them." He, therefore, requests the members of the Council to be present at the meeting, as the questions to be discussed will be very important. Those members of the League who do not belong to the Council may also attend, provided they give the Hon. Secretary due notice of their intention to do so before the 25th instant. The Hon. Secretary further informs us that the council will have, among other matters, (1) to consider the draft of the Rules and Regulations, as prepared by the Honorary Secretary; (2) to consider a Note on the Public Service question, prepared by the Honorary Secretary for submission to the Government and the Public Service Commission; (3) to consider the advisability of starting an independent organisation under the auspices of the All-India Moslem League to raise subscriptions for the relief of Turkish widows and orphans, or to supplement the efforts of the Hon. the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, indicated in his recent appeal; (4) to discuss our present political situation, with special reference to recent events in the Moslem world, our relations with the Hindus, and other allied questions, and (5) to discuss the desirability of placing a definite political ideal before the community. The Hon. Secretary adds that the meeting will be of a consultative character. We are glad the Hon. Secretary is aware that there are several important questions awaiting solution and that it would be inexpedient to postpone consideration of them. We doubt, however, if a meeting of the Council—and that, too, of a "consultative character"—will be of a very great use. We absolutely fail to see why the League itself should not meet. The situation demands complete, unwavering resolve and speedy action on the part of the community. We hope all the members of the League will try to meet at Lucknow not merely to "consult" but to resolve and to act.

NORMAN, we are sure, is so distasteful to those in charge of newspapers as to have to offer apologies for their delays. However convincing and adequate the reasons may be, delays are very

Our Delays.

naturally and properly disliked; and proprietors or editors can hardly feel comfortable in such cases even though they receive, in abundant measure, the sympathy and indulgence of the public they cater for. It has been extremely painful to us that the *Comrade* has not been able to maintain the punctuality that characterised it before its transfer to Delhi. We have explained the reasons more than once and need not repeat them again. We have spared no effort or expense in order to remove the enormous difficulties we have had to face. Things have at last been got into a fairly workable order, but the delay of some days that occurred at the start has persisted week after week. We need hardly say that we never shrink from any amount of extra toil to attain punctuality in the date of issue, but the anxious days through which the world of Islam is passing, have multiplied our duties a good deal and the calls on our time and energy have recently been varied and great. The only possible way to get rid of the initial handicap that still delays the weekly issue of the *Comrade* has, therefore, seemed to us to combine, for once only, two numbers into one and to issue the combined number punctually on the fixed date. There has, therefore, been no issue of the *Comrade* on the 7th December, and in stead we are sending out this number consisting of thirty-two pages on Saturday, the 14th December. We trust our readers will excuse us for our past sins and we may confidently hope that the *Comrade* will henceforth continue to appear with unbroken punctuality.

WE PUBLISH elsewhere an interesting letter from "A Moslem Lady" which is in itself a notable example of how the present crisis in the history of Islam has led all thinking Moslems to ask themselves if "the heavy misfortunes of Mohammedan nations can ever be retrieved." The question is very complex as well as, in all conscience, very urgent. Our correspondent has apparently devoted to its consideration patient study and thought and has come to the conclusion that "the root-cause which has mainly brought about the degeneracy of Mohammedan nations" is the low and helpless condition of Moslem women. Ignorance and incompetence of Moslem women very vitally affects the social efficiency of Moslem communities everywhere in the world. In any scheme of social reconstruction woman's position will have to be carefully considered and fixed and the utmost opportunities placed within her reach to enable her to exercise her due influence in social life. She has to be educated. Within well-defined limits she has to be emancipated. She has, above all, to be enfranchised as an independent personality in the economic sphere as well. Her present condition and status are assuredly a great handicap to her as indeed to every new generation that comes to life under her training and care. But "the root-cause of the degeneration of Mohammedan nations" lies elsewhere. Mr. Garvin attributes the failure of the Turks to the degeneration and ignorance of Turkish women. Mr. Garvin is a tremendously clever journalist and knows how to spice his paragraphs. But even Mr. Garvin himself will be the last person to claim more than a journalist's acquaintance with the sociological conditions of Islam. We do not at all minimise the importance of the woman's problem in Moslem society and we sympathise with much that our correspondent thinks and feels. It is, however, a part of the larger problem that the Moslem world has got to solve, the problem, that is to say, of finding out the true basis for social reconstruction. It is at root a question of ideals. Woman like man is but a part of the machinery with which social experiments are conducted. The real thing that matters is the goal. Have the Moslem communities any goal in sight to-day? That is the question.

THE HON. SECRETARY of the Reception Committee informs us that the twenty-sixth annual session of the All-India Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference will be held in the Kaiserbagh Baradari at Lucknow on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of December.

The All-India Moslem Educational Conference.

1912, when many important educational questions affecting the Mussalmans of India, including those relating to the proposed Moslem University, will be discussed. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, I. M. S. (retired), has been elected to preside. The Reception Committee has undertaken to make all necessary arrangements for the board and lodging of the members of the Conference and cordially invites all the members to Lucknow to attend the session.

THE HON. SIR JAMES MESTON paid his first visit as Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces to the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, on the 4th instant. He received an address of welcome from the Trustees of the College which dwelt on the aims and ideals of the institution, its past history and present needs. His Honour's reply was a remarkable utterance in many ways. Both the address and the reply are published elsewhere. Sir James Meston said that it had originally been his intention to visit the college at leisure in the course of a regular tour. "But, since I took up my office in September last, I have been hearing a great deal about the college, both from its friends and from its critics....What I heard left me, both as patron of this college and as a warm friend of the Indian Mohammedans, no option but to come here without further delay to consult with you, representatives of Mohammedan thought in these provinces, and to offer you whatever help and advice are at my command." Sir James went on to refer to matters of the greatest concern to the Trustees, the staff and the students alike, emphasised the points that needed the most anxious consideration of the governing body and gave his advice on those points in a spirit of evident candour and sympathy. The matters dealt with in the latter portion of His Honour's speech have a vital bearing on the welfare of the college. Those, however, who know Aligarh intimately know as well how complex these matters are and would hesitate to form a hasty opinion. One must obviously study them with patient care if a right solution of the difficulties is to be reached. Sir James Meston did not conceal his anxiety in certain respects about the future of the college. We hope to examine in detail in our next how far His Honour's fears are justified and what the real troubles and anxieties of Aligarh are.

The Comrade.

The Defeat of the Turk.

II.

EVENTS that decide the fate of nations and let loose new currents in history are but imperfectly apprehended at their birth. The sense of change, of catastrophe, of irrevocable fate overwhelms the spectator and his mind wanders dazedly through a multitude of loose impressions. It is exceedingly difficult for him in the rush and fury of the moment to disentangle the essential from a confounding mass of accidents. He can rarely help mistaking the consequence for the cause. Such errors are natural, almost inevitable. One can hardly escape the spell of the most obvious and the most glaring when one sees big, terrifying episodes taking place in human affairs. Even if the Balkan war were a trivial military issue, the peculiar character of the combatants would have still sufficed to rouse the entire dramatic sense of the world. As it is, the struggle has brought about one of the greatest crises in modern history; and the wide issues it involves, the forces it has set to work, its motives, its cries, its passions and its possible results form a theme of baffling range and complexity, a picture of vast scale, of startling colour, of varied emotion on the canvas of history. Its most outstanding features have been the rapidity and decisiveness with which the Balkan allies have so far overcome the military resistance of the Turk. The fact has astounded many and surprised all. Its possible consequences involve the destiny of millions, and have already plunged Europe into the deepest anxiety and fear. Naturally enough, every observer with a gift of expression has marked his sense of the fateful drama in letters of flame and has sought to account with disconcerting ease and assurance for the military failure of the Turk. Numerous theories and explanations have been set afloat in hot haste, and they vary as much as the angles of vision of the theorists. Almost all these intellectual efforts seem to us to be superficial and inadequate. Some of them are bold and adventurous, all of them carry an air of engaging plausibility and interest about them, very few, indeed, go beneath the surface and dive into the very roots of things. The failure of the Turk in the Balkan struggle is a startling, an overwhelming fact. Let us, by all means, concede it. None of the explanations that the European observers and critics have offered are satisfactory and full. The real causes are not exactly those that have so far supplied its most tremendous headlines to the Press of Europe.

We had summarised in our last many of the impressions of some of the war correspondents with the Turkish army and given in detail the causes to which they ascribe Turkish defeats. These causes may be summed up in a single phrase—military inefficiency. This, however, does not carry us very far. It does not require an expert eye to see that starving and loosely organized regiments, imperfectly drilled, under-officered, lacking competent leadership cannot be a reliable defence against a formidable adversary. Even a slight mistake in military detail may spell disaster. But military inefficiency cannot be a prime cause in itself. It is obviously a result of more general and deeper causes. A patriotic and intelligent Turk, smarting under the pain and humiliation of defeat, must be face to face to-day with a host of awkward doubts and questionings. He sees there has been something wrong with the Turkish army. Is it because there is something wrong with the Turk himself? Obviously enough, an inefficient army means an inefficient central government. Is this inefficiency deep-seated and ineradicable, a part of the national character? What are the causes responsible for this inefficiency? Are they so general that there can be no reasonable hope for the future of the race? These and similar questions inevitably suggest themselves as one tries to look beneath the events that have dealt such a terrible blow to the existence of the Turkish Empire in Europe.

Some writers in the European Press have attempted to find answers to these questions in a most dilettante fashion. These impressionist attempts merely tickle the fancy without elucidating the problem. Solutions have been offered from three distinct standpoints—cultural, political and psychological. To take the last standpoint, it has been suggested, for instance, that patriotism, as known to the Western mind, is non-existent in the Turkish character. The Committee of Union and Progress endeavoured to bring into existence a spirit of patriotism but failed signally. All the Committee could produce and did produce was a nationalist sentiment which limited itself to the securing of Turkish domination, and a spurious form of "Pan-Islamism," which met with but a cold response beyond the Empire, because it was purely selfish and intended to establish a Committee

control of the Islamic world. What formerly united Turkey was the Padishah, the Calif and the Faith. Such of the Turk's leaders as knew how to play upon these strings produced harmony—a united army, an unyielding endurance, and a confidence of success—which made the dull-minded but naturally brave Anatolian Turk a formidable foe on the field of battle. Abdul Hamid possessed the power and was learned in the art of playing upon these three strings, and it was this alone that made it possible for him to withstand, to a certain extent, the incessant pressure of the West. The rule of the Committee has robbed the Anatolian Turk of his few inspiring ideals. He does not understand and consequently hates the views and methods of the Committee leaders. The removal of Abdul Hamid shocked his sensibilities and shattered his ideal of the Calif. The early attitude of the Committee towards the present Sultan accentuated the general feeling of distrust. It was in a mood of doubt and distrust that the recruits from Anatolia were dragged from their fields. They were called to fight, not by a Calif they believe in, not by a Government they consider faithful to their traditions and their creed, but because a "Committee" had involved the country in war. Even so, had all gone well from the start the result would have been different. But from the outset the soldiers found themselves without their best friends in the army, the "Allaie" or ranker officers. The Redifs were the first to give way at Kirk Kilissh, chiefly because their officers were strangers to them—Young Turks with new ideas, and not the staunch Moslems the ranker officers were. Thus the once formidable Ottoman army is reduced to a mob of sullen, disobedient men, because the old ideals they held worth dying for have been robbed of their mystic value. The Padishah, the Calif and the Faith have been treated with scant respect by the Young Turks, and what the classes despise the masses will not venerate.

According to another reading of the situation, the Turkish failure is set down to the intellectual inferiority of the Turk and the general low level of culture that obtains in the race. It is argued that the days are now past when supreme human bravery and courage counted for everything, and everywhere in the world one sees that it is brains that count and not mere brute force. To-day, as ever, the Turks represent the finest type of fighting men in the world. "The Turkish peasant is simple, good and kind, he loves children and loves flowers. But once the religious fervour takes him and the call of war fires his blood, he becomes a savage, capable of ferocious deeds and filled with courage which death alone can destroy." But he is a fighter pure and simple and as such fights without intelligence, for the wave of civilisation which has spread to almost every part of the earth has left the Turk untouched. But the Servians and Bulgarians are made of different calibre, for in these countries the past few years have witnessed a marvellous change in the learning and intelligence of the peoples. Not only are the Bulgarian and Servian soldiers better equipped for war, armed with better weapons, supplied with better outfit, but, man for man, they are far superior in intelligence to their Turkish foes.

Yet another observer ascribes Turkish defeats to the inferiority of the Turkish morale. "In war," said Napoleon, "the moral is to the material as three to one." In what particular, then, does the moral of the Turks differ from that of their enemies. Not in the valour of the common soldier, says the observer. Not in faith or in zeal for his cause. Nizam and Redif are willing as ever to go hungry and ill-clad, so long as they have boots to march in and cartridges to slay the Gincour withal. It is in their mental attitude towards their foes that they have proved themselves inferior to the peasant soldiery they despise. It is the disastrous over-confidence manifesting itself in "frantic boast and foolish word" which has forbidden them to make adequate provision for victory, and has laid them open to humiliation at the hands of those whom they have for centuries trampled underfoot. It is the pride which has always in military history gone before a fall, the consequences of which a military aristocracy will never learn to estimate. "It is the fault of the Prussians before Jena; of the Parisians who shouted 'a Berlin'; of the Russians in their contempt for the 'yellow dwarfs'; of the British before they were chastened by Nicholson's Neck, Colenso and Magersfontein." The Turks lack the moral qualities needed for efficiency in peace and war alike. Wealth cannot buy moral qualities, rather it is destructive of them. A little people and poor, which is willing for sacrifice, can stand in arms against the might of a great Empire. The Turks lack the spirit of sacrifice: sacrifice, not on the field of battle, but in the long-drawn preparation which makes a nation fit to die.

Summing up these arguments, we find that the failure of the Turks has been due, according to one observer, to the banal effect of the methods of the Committee of Union and Progress which have shattered the ideals that moved the Turkish people to face death heroically and unflinchingly in defence of their country; according to the other, to the inferior intelligence and lower cultural level of the Turks; according to the third, to the Turk's lack of the moral

qualities that are needed for success in modern life. Taken severally, each of the three arguments is only partially true, while they mutually destroy one another. If the Turk lacked inspiration he would not have fought with the valour and stubbornness to which almost every observer has borne ample testimony. Even if the old inspiration has been weakened, the authors of the Revolution need hardly be brought into requisition to explain the cause. The weakening of the force of old ideals must, in that case, be due to general intellectual and moral decadence of the race which the Committee of Union and Progress strove hard and manfully to arrest. The Young Turks committed many mistakes; one of them was that they readily believed that the political organisation of the spurious democracy of Western Europe would suit the true democracy of Islam. Another mistake was that they set themselves to the task of evolving common patriotism by completely enfranchising all the rebels in the heart of the Empire. It is difficult, however, to accuse them of having debased the ancient ideals of the people or robbed the spiritual and temporal symbols of the race of their virtue and inspiration.

The mentality of the Turkish masses is no doubt inferior to that of their more subtle neighbours in Europe. The causes are mainly historical. National organisation has remained almost exactly where it was ever since Mohammed the Conqueror entered Constantinople. Continued military success bred confidence which inevitably degenerated into indifference and neglect. While the Christian races in Europe grew in knowledge and power and organised social life for definite secular purposes, the Turk enjoyed little leisure to administer his empire in peace. A nation in arms can hardly evolve administrative efficiency or arrive at new ideals of social development. As a consequence, the Turk's greatest need, up till the end of the 18th century, was to maintain superiority in arms. His social needs remained primitive and his administrative methods simple and direct. His career as a soldier impoverished the social life of the people and indirectly affected even his military efficiency. Europe passed on from one complex stage of organisation to another. The social values underwent a vital change. National strength began to be measured in terms other than physical. The Turk with his old outlook, old organisation and old weapons found himself facing an entirely new and insupportable world. Political troubles engrossed his energies and he failed to find powerful leaders who could have adapted the activities of the people to the varying needs of the times. Circumstances have made the Christian races of Europe more nimble-witted and more subtle in mind and feeling. The Turk has had to pay dearly for his simplicity and his inexperience. He is not, however, inferior in mental calibre. He has simply had no time to learn. A people that can feel a fine contempt for death and are moved to supremely heroic efforts by noble ideals are surely capable of the highest intellectual and moral development. The failure of the Turk has been grave and disastrous and may lead to incalculable results. But it has not been due to the innate decadence of the race. Political circumstances and historical accidents have profoundly affected the course of his general development. The social insufficiencies, the defects of mental training and the limitations of character may take long to cure. They are decidedly not incurable.

The defeat of the Turk has been due to national inefficiency as a whole. This inefficiency is the result of diverse causes which have long since been operating in the national life through the accidents of politics and history. The supreme need is the creation of a new environment. The Turkish masses furnish the most splendid material for the evolution of the type of personality that has come to be the dream of the Eugenicist and of those who swear by social efficiency. In physical stamina and grit, in courage and endurance, in habits of industry, in sustained zest for toil, in resolution and fortitude and in all that strength of character which imparts creative energy to human initiative and bends circumstances to human will, the real, unsophisticated Turk has no peer among the races of men. His dull, iron environment has dwarfed him. The enforced militarism of his career has paralysed his social energies and locked up the spirit of his personality. Nothing can prevent him from breaking through the inviolable bar of circumstance and rising once more to the giant stature of his early destiny. He does not require new ideals of life, duty and endeavour. The one thing that he needs is the new instrument. He has got to be equipped anew—intellectually. He must acquire new experience and learn to swim in the tides that wash the world to-day. His morality has been too artless for the problems with which he has had to deal. He has always been hit below the belt. He has often been a dupe of his own sense of moral fitness. Europe has readily taken full advantage of his simple moral texture while he himself has not wholly escaped the contagion of European vice. In a beautiful tribute to the Turk, which we reproduce elsewhere, M. Pierre Loti bewails the effect of Europe and its civilisation on the character of the Moslem races. "We take away from these believers," says M. Pierre Loti, "little by little their prayers. We impose upon these dreamers

enamoured of immobility our fruitless agitations, our rage for quickness, our alcohol, our scum and rubbish of humanity. Everywhere in our wake there follows instability, cupidity and despair." M. Loti, after illustrating the moral qualities of the Turks,—their modesty, their kindness, their veracity—concludes: "There among them, more than anywhere else, is uprightness and courage to be found. There among them is the last refuge of calm, respect, sobriety, silence, prayer. I think there is not a single Frenchman who has lived among them and has a heart but will ardently join me in the homage which I render them here, at this moment of supreme distress—a useless homage I know well, and, alas! that will be like the sorrowful wreaths which are deposited upon the tombs." We do not, however, share M. Loti's despair about the future. The Turk may have been defeated, but he is not dead. On the contrary, he contains within him abundant promise of a long and vigorous life. He represents in physical endowment the most efficient racial type. The sources of his moral inspiration have not yet run dry. The only thing he needs is to organise his life on the new intellectual plane and create the necessary environment for the evolution of a new personality. The need is equally shared by the whole world of Islam. How that need is to be met is a supremely important question. We hope to take it up for consideration soon.

The Departure of the Mission.

THE All-India Medical Mission leaves Bombay on the 15th instant for Constantinople. The event will remain in many respects memorable in the history of Moslem India. The sacrifice that the Mission represents in cash is modest; the undertaking was well within the powers of a vast community to organise; the motive and the need could not be more insistent—and yet, with all that, we may well excuse the organisers of the Mission if they feel a legitimate pride in what they have been able to accomplish. They had broached, in a tentative way, a novel scheme which might have altogether passed over the head of a community lacking initiative, enterprise and experience in handling matters of wider scope than those it had hitherto dealt with. They had a vague confidence in the strength of Moslem feeling in India for the troubles of Moslems abroad, but they had never seen that feeling put to actual test. They knew there would be widespread grief, deep mourning and incessant prayers in India if any other part of the Islamic world was involved in distress. But what they had never known and could never be sure of was the capacity of the Indian Moslems to rise to the height of one of the greatest crises in Islamic history, to bear its weight with courage and to concentrate their efforts on organising active help to meet the needs of the moment. The Mission that sails to-morrow from Bombay has, to a certain extent, redeemed the character of the Indian Moslems as a community of practical and earnest men. More than that, it has, on a modest scale, shown them to be men not without the ability to will, to organise, to achieve. The Mission carries to the Moslems of Turkey a message of deep sympathy and good-will from Moslem India. In joy and in grief the heart of Islam beats in unison. But this is the first time in the history of Indian Moslems that their sympathies has taken shape as a humane and beneficent measure to relieve the sufferings of their brethren abroad who lie torn and bleeding. The moral value of this fact can hardly be over-estimated.

Those who have helped in the equipment and organisation of the Mission with money, thought or labour need, we are sure, no other reward than the satisfaction of feeling that they have done their duty. The enthusiasm of upwards of fifteen thousand Delhi Moslems who accompanied the members of the Mission all the way from the Jam'i Masjid to the railway station to bid them farewell may be gratifying as a testimony that the heart of Islam is alive. The real gratification would come when the Mission, after reaching its destination, proves of real service and fully accomplishes the work with which it has been entrusted. Its task is heavy, its responsibilities are heavier still. We have every reason to believe that every member of the Mission is inspired with the purest love of service, is fully alive to his duties and will prove worthy of the great trust that his community reposes in him.

The organisers of the Mission have had naturally to overcome many difficulties. As time was passing we were getting more and more anxious about the early departure of the Mission under the directorship of our valued fellow-citizen, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari. It is, however, not an easy matter to explain to those who

are not conversant with the difficulties of organising such a Mission how difficult it really is. It has kept the director, the manager, and ourselves, and the whole of our staff, busy for many weeks and particularly during the last three weeks. Men had to be selected, uniforms had to be designed, ordered and fitted, passages arranged for at concession rates and booked, passports had to be applied for and, as a special concession, obtained from the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Delhi after offering paroles to the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi of the identity of those—and they were legion—who had not brought certificates of identity from their District Magistrates. But all this that can be said in a dozen words or two kept the workers busy throughout the time that the Mission was being organised. Individual members of the Mission sometimes took as much as a day or two to themselves in making all the necessary arrangements for them. At the last moment it was discovered that some members of the Mission had no warm underclothing nor the wherewithal to purchase them; and a private fund had to be opened in order to secure the money for the purchase of these very necessary articles. Every member's baggage was inspected, superfluous clothing and useless articles of bedding, like *razais* and *lithams*, rejected and blankets substituted. When all this was done the time of departure had to be arranged after requesting His Excellency the Viceroy to permit the members of the Mission to be presented to him. And only when all this had been arranged could we really say that the Mission was going to sail on a definite date. Even then at the last moment through a misunderstanding we were within an ace of losing the train by which the Mission had arranged to travel and about which information had been given to their friends at the various stations on the route. We could breathe freely at last when the train, carrying the members of the Mission, steamed out of Delhi amidst the cheers and prayers of thousands of Delhi Moslems.



Verse.

True Aim of Life.

"What am I? Why exist? Why cease to be?

Whether in death the eager-questioning Mind

A passport to eternal life shall find?"

Still dost thou ask of grim Eternity

Yon heavens that smile with sweet serenity

Vouchsafe no answer, and the Powers that bind

The Soul to that in which it is confined

Preserve the secret of mortality!

Cease idle questioning; 'tis enough to know

That not in vain did Providence bestow

This precious boon of Life, nor did it shower

High gifts upon the soul, but that it might

Teach thee thro' ills to steer thy course aright,

And consecrate to Good Life's short-lived hour!

Nizamut Jang.



Mr. Asquith and the War.

THE following is the text of the speech which Mr. Asquith delivered at the Guildhall Banquet on Saturday night, the 9th November:—I thank you on behalf of my colleagues for the honour which

you have done us in drinking this toast and for the cordiality and generosity with which to-night, as always, the citizens of London have recognised the efforts of those, to whatever political party they may belong (cheers), who for the time being are entrusted with the administration of the affairs of the Empire and to do their duty to their country (cheers). This is the fifth successive year in which I have had the privilege of responding as the head of His Majesty's Government to the toast which you have just proposed. We are living, my Lord Mayor, as you have reminded your guests, in anxious times. We are the spectators of great and moving events. The Balkan armies are in effective possession of Macedonia and Thrace. Salonica, the gateway through which Christianity first entered Europe, is occupied by the Greeks, and we may at any moment hear of the fall of Constantinople itself. It is a satisfaction, my Lord Mayor, to me to be able to assure you and your guests that, so far as this country is concerned, its relations with the other Powers, without a single exception, were never more friendly and cordial. (Loud cheers). The Great Powers of Europe, while each maintaining its special alliances and friendships unimpaired, are working together with a closeness of touch and a frankness and freedom of communication and discussion which is remarkable, and which, indeed, may seem almost unintelligible to those who believe that because for certain purposes the Powers have been and are ranged in different groups, they must therefore in a time of European crisis be arrayed in opposite camps. Nothing is further from the fact (cheers). The Great Powers have been blamed in some quarters because they did not succeed in averting the war. They sought, and sought honestly and earnestly, by diplomatic pressure and without resort to force, to secure conditions of order and good government in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. But forces were at work which were beyond the control of any diplomatic manipulation. The Balkan States having matured their plans, perfected their equipment, co-ordinated their reciprocal action, decided that force was the only effectual remedy. They, and they alone, were prepared to use it. They took the matter into their own hands. Things can never be again as they were before (cheers), and it was the business of statesmen everywhere to recognise and accept the accomplished fact. (Cheers.)

When Mr. Pitt, mortally stricken by the news of Austerlitz, came home to die, he told those about him to roll up the map of Europe which hung upon the wall. My Lord Mayor, even the campaign of Austerlitz did not produce changes so sudden or so startlingly and overwhelmingly complete as those which during the last month have been wrought by the Balkan Confederacy. The map of Eastern Europe has to be recast, and in the process it may be that ideas, preconceptions, policies which were appropriate and valid in what is now a bygone era will have to be modified and reconstructed, and perhaps even to go altogether by the board. Upon one thing I believe the general opinion of Europe to be unanimous—that the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which have cost them so dear. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) There is, so far as I know, no disposition anywhere either to belittle the magnitude of the struggle or to dispute the decisiveness of the result (cheers). We here in this country have no direct interest in the exact form which the consequent political and territorial redistribution may ultimately take. There are other Powers whose relations, geographical, economic, ethnical, historical, with the scene of conflict and its destination are such that they cannot be expected not to claim a special hearing and voice when the time comes for a permanent settlement. I purposely refrain, my Lord Mayor, at this stage from even indicating in the most general way the points, some of them full of difficulty, which must inevitably emerge for solution. For the moment, and as long as a state of belligerency continues, His Majesty's Government, so far as their influence goes, deprecate the raising and pressing of isolated questions which, if handled separately and at once, may lead to irreconcilable divergencies, but which may well assume a different and perhaps a more practicable aspect if they are reserved to be dealt with from the wider point of view of a general settlement (Hear, hear). My Lord Mayor, war is a terrible, though it may from time to time be a necessary, form of arbitration when a deadlock arrives in human affairs, and none of its worst horrors have been absent from the campaign which is now being waged. It is at this moment the first and the greatest of European interests to circumscribe its scope (cheers). For that object the Great Powers have hitherto laboured as with one will. So far they have laboured successfully. It is our hope and belief that they will continue so to labour to the end (cheers). At such times, as you, my Lord Mayor, have most truly said, the burden of responsibility which falls upon the shoulders of the advisers of the Crown, onerous as it always is, is exceptionally heavy, and it is a source of sincere gratification to them to know that, however much we may be divided among ourselves in the arena of domestic conflict, we have in these larger matters the sympathy and the support of the whole community (cheers), and that we, who are for the time His Majesty's Government, can speak in the councils of Europe in the name and with the authority of a united people. (Loud cheers.)

CORRESPONDENCE



A Warning to Muslim Nations.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR—While the heart of the Muslim world is lacerated and bleeding in consequence of the colossal tragedies with which the unprovoked war of spoliation in the Balkans has overwhelmed the Ottoman Empire, the question arises whether the heavy misfortunes of Mahommedan nations can ever be retrieved. Europe has unmistakably shown that international justice and even the dictates of humanity are, in its view, rigidly restricted and governed by racial and religious considerations. The doctrine of the *status quo ante bellum*, which was solemnly proclaimed by the combined Chancellories of Europe and which would have been ruthlessly applied to the Turk without any sentimental cant about the "fruits of victory," had the fortunes of war favoured him, as in 1897, has been promptly reversed and even the British Foreign Minister has, to quote his own words, "adjusted his ideas to the march of events" by a complete *volte-face*. Some of the nations of Europe have been rehabilitating their military prestige at the sole expense and by the spoliation of Muslim countries. Italy has wiped out the disgrace of Adowa by fleching Tripoli, France of Sedan by appropriating Morocco, Russia of Mukden by overshadowing Persia, and the Balkan States of their past subjection and defeats by dismembering Turkey. It is thus revealed to the Mahommedan world that the dictum of civilisation and humanity—"live and let live"—is not held to apply to Muslim nationalities. If the Islamic world values its continued existence without molestation and wishes to hold its own, it is high time that it should wake up to the inexorable exigencies of the gravest crisis that has ever confronted it. This is impossible as long as the Muslim races do not in all earnestness search out and remove the causes which have led to their gradual decay. Is it not the supreme duty of all Mahommedan leaders and publicists at this calamitous juncture to probe and eradicate the causes instead of treating the symptoms of this malady? Every discerning mind outside the Muslim world has traced the root-cause which has mainly brought about the degeneracy of Mahommedan nations. The eminent publicist, J. L. Garvin, in his sympathetic appreciation of the Turk, published in a recent issue of the *Pall Mall Gazette* (dated 18th November), repeats what other genuine friends of Muslims have often urged. He ascribes the decay of the Turkish race to the results of the status of Muslim women in the social system of the nation. Mr. Garvin observes:—"Physically they compare less and less well in every generation with the peasant women among all the Christian races, and it is chiefly the degeneration and ignorance of the mothers which threaten to make the Turks a dying race." What else can be expected under the baneful effects of the Zenana system? In their simplicity and ignorance of the subtle and slow but absolutely sure working of physiological laws the Muslim races expect the sons of the hapless mothers, who against the injunctions of their creed, are consigned to a life of mental and physical lethargy, to surpass in bodily agility and mental vigour the descendants of those who have the double advantage of being equipped with the inherited aptitudes and qualities of both parents, whose lives are equally free and healthy. On every Turkish reverse and mishap the word "slow" is writ large by the finger of doom as a warning to those who are blessed with an insight, though in bravery and fortitude the

Turks are second to no other martial race in the world. If in view of their past and recent experience and of the natural laws which govern human progress, the Muslim nations do not quickly let the scales of a deeply cherished but most harmful prejudice fall from their eyes and remove, along with other causes, this deep-seated canker of a one-sided development of the body politic, their eventual decay, in the view of all competent and disinterested observers, is likely to be accelerated like the increasing velocity of a falling body.

It must be remembered that the nations who have rightly co-ordinated the status of the sexes have prospered and are prospering—Japan in Asia, Abyssinia in Africa, and the Christians in Europe and America. Since the days of Muhammad the Conqueror who was in advance of his age in his armaments, naval and military, and in his knowledge of the science of war, and of the great Taimur-Lung, whose wife Hamida used to ride out clad in chain-armor, fully armed and unveiled, and to lead armies, how greatly has the Muslim world changed for the worse. In those times the position of women was more or less similar among the great nations as regards their intellectual and physical development. The social conditions in the world have undergone a tremendous change since the Middle Ages and are having their natural effect on the evolution and advancement of nations.

No one is more blind than those who refuse to see. Will the Muslim nations awake from their somnolence and make an honest endeavour to see?

LONDON:

Yours faithfully,

November 22nd, 1912.

A MUSLIM LADY.



Short Story.

Vicissitude 4.

(THE GOVERNESS.)

Tranquillity reigned in the Ali Hossain household. Occasional breezes across the calm of domestic felicity were not uncommon between the master and mistress, but these, like the soft winds at the close of a hot summer's day, only served to clear the atmosphere and make it more agreeable. This time, however, matters were very much more serious. For three long days not a word had passed between Mr. and Mrs. Ali Hossain, their demeanour had been studiously polite towards each other, but not a word passed the lips of either when alone together. In dead silence Mr. Ali Hossain took his meals, his wife attending to all his wants in an equally frigid manner. In dead silence they retired to rest—not a sound was heard in the room at any time.

The cause of all the trouble was their little girl aged seven. The innocent child herself had done nothing to offend her parents who both loved her dearly, but unfortunately all the same she was the cause.

Mr. Ali Hossain was firmly convinced that it was high time the child had the supervision of a good governess and tried to convince his wife of the necessity. Mrs. Ali Hossain did not see it at all in the same light, however she was willing to let her husband decide in the matter. She had no objection whatsoever to a governess—only she must insist on certain qualifications. These qualifications had nothing to do with the governess's capacities for teaching, love of children or suitable testimonials. Oh dear! no, those were quite unimportant matters in Mrs. Ali Hossain's eyes. What she insisted on was that the lady should not be a day under 50, should have absolutely no claims to looks of any description and should preserve no traces of any manner which Mrs. Ali Hossain might consider at all approaching tightness, especially in her demeanour towards Mr. Ali Hossain. These qualifications being satisfactory, Mr. Ali Hossain was at liberty to see about such trifles as her knowledge of the rudiments of teaching, etc.

Advertisements had been put in the papers, friends had been consulted, several governesses had come (and gone), but up to the present no one had been found who combined in her all the

necessary requirements. The last one had seemed suitable, but unfortunately only three mornings ago Mrs. Ali Hossain had noticed her smile in response to some remark made by Mr. Ali Hossain and at the present moment she was being driven to the railway station with her boxes on the carriage. Mr. Ali Hossain had selected this lady, and the last words he had spoken to his wife after many bitter recriminations had passed between them were: "Well I wash my hands of the whole affair. You can choose a governess for the child, only if you get one and she proves unsatisfactory, don't come to me to get rid of her."

Two days more passed. Suddenly at breakfast Mrs. Ali Hossain broke the silence. "The new governess comes to-day. This time we shall have no more trouble."

Mr. Ali Hossain was surprised. He, however, would not demean his dignity by asking for any further particulars, reflecting he would soon be able to find out everything. Conversation progressed as before, the war of silence and no further reference was made to the matter.

Mr. Ali Hossain came home in the afternoon a little earlier than usual. He went straight to his wife's room but hearing voices paused before entering. A maid-servant seated before the door informed him that the new governess had arrived and was talking to her mistress.

Mr. Ali Hossain entered the room and saw a woman of about ninety—bent almost double with age. Her eyes were protected by huge goggles, a cap covered her head and ears entirely, and a big muffler round her neck hid the lower part of her face thoroughly. Mr. Ali Hossain felt no temptation to linger and gaze at this beauty and he hastily beat a retreat.

A week went by. Mrs. Ali Hossain seemed quite satisfied with the new governess. No complaints were heard. Mr. Ali Hossain asked the little girl casually how her lesson were getting on, but could get no very definite answer. However, he thought it wiser to keep quiet for the present as everything was going on so smoothly.

That evening there was a big Purdah Party given by the Commissioner's wife. Mrs. Ali Hossain brought out her most beautiful jewels for the occasion and was helped to dress by the kind and obliging governess. She came home rather late, and being somewhat tired, put her jewelry in the almirah intending to put it in the safe the next day at her leisure. In the morning a note came from the governess. She had a bad headache and begged to be excused from her duties that morning—if she were better she would leave her room in the afternoon. She would like perfect rest now if possible. Mr. Ali Hossain immediately sent back a message granting the request, and calling the child told her she could have a holiday.

Mr. Ali Hossain went to Court. At about 3 o'clock he was startled to get a message requiring his presence at home immediately. Not knowing what had happened he rushed back to find his wife almost in hysterics in her bedroom, the doors of her safe and almirah wide open and several empty jewel cases lying scattered on the floor. After a little while Mr. Ali Hossain gathered what had happened—his wife had opened the safe to put away her jewelry properly and had found everything gone. Pacifying her as best he could he sent for the police at once. While waiting for them to come his eye fell casually on the morning paper lying on his table. A paragraph caught his attention.

"Mysterious Burglaries.—We have reason to believe that the daring burglaries which have recently taken place are the work of a gang of old offenders. One man was caught this morning escaping from a big house in the suburbs. He acknowledged that one of their confederates was an Eurasian woman, who gained admittance to wealthy Indian households by passing herself off as a governess, and once in the house easily helped her confederates. We would warn people against this woman who generally adopts the disguise of a very decrepit old creature—and somehow soon manages to ingratiate herself with the ladies of the zenana."

Mr. Ali Hossain strode to the governess's room and pushed open the door. The room was empty—a tin-box was lying in one corner. Opening it he saw a rusty black dress, a pair of goggles, a cap and a muffler.

"I wonder which she'll be most angry over—the governess or the jewels?" he murmured to himself.

LIL.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Nov. 29.

THE *pourparlers* at Bagtchekeui continue, but nothing concrete has yet been effected. Nazim Pasha is entertaining the delegates in a sumptuous manner with meals from a Constantinople restaurant. Government circles in Sofia are confident that an armistice will be concluded in a few days.

Baron Hottendorf, Austrian Army inspector, has arrived at Bukharest to confer with the Roumanian Chief of Staff.

A Sofia wire states that after a desperate fight near Demotika two divisions of Turkish Redifs surrendered to the Bulgarians. The prisoners included two Pashas, 252 officers and 8,879 men. The Bulgarians also took several Mountain Batteries, two machine-guns and a thousand horses.

The Bulgarians announce that the lines around Adrianople are constantly drawing closer and that Bulgarian troops are now within a thousand metres of the city. They state that Consuls have hoisted flags, to prevent the Bulgarians firing on Consulates.

The representatives at Tchataldja are now discussing the Turkish counter-proposals which mitigate some of the Bulgarian terms.

London, Nov. 30.

A Constantinople wire says that the report of the Turkish peace delegates was considered yesterday by the Council of Ministers which announced that the *pourparlers* were of a satisfactory nature, and it is hoped that an armistice will be signed in one or two days.

A Sofia wire states that the division of Turkish Redifs captured by the Bulgarians formed part of the army operating between Tarrush and Kirjali. They were probably trying to reach Gallipoli.

A Rieka wire says that the bombardment of Scutari has been resumed. The Montenegrin Government has designated three delegates to Sofia to take part in the eventual peace negotiations.

A Vienna wire says that a decree has been issued prohibiting the exportation of horses. The three Bills in connexion with mobilization, foreshadowed by the Premier on the 28th instant, have been introduced into the Reichsrath. One provides that all males under fifty years of age shall be liable to work for the army in the event of mobilization.

It appears that Sir Edward Grey, in converse with the various Ambassadors, indicated the utility of a conference of Ambassadors in some capital which would save time and facilitate the discussion of matters especially interesting to the different Powers. He mentioned Albania, the Aegean Islands and the Dardanelles as being especially interesting to Britain. The Ambassadors have informed their Governments of this suggestion, which is now under consideration.

London, Dec. 1.

Sir Edward Grey is spending the weekend in the country after three weeks' close attendance at the Foreign Office. This supports the belief that the international situation has greatly improved during the last twenty-four hours.

A Rome wire says that the *Tribuna* warns Greece to abandon her aspirations regarding Southern Albania, as Austria and Italy are absolutely agreed that Albania must be made neutral.

A Constantinople wire says that the Cabinet has approved the draft armistice, which will be signed to-day. It applies not merely to Tchataldja and Adrianople, but to the whole of Turkey in Europe. It will last while the preliminary negotiations for peace continue. It stipulates that the position of the belligerents shall remain as at the moment of signature. There have been no *pourparlers* on the subject of the terms of peace and therefore the reports of the fate of Adrianople and the demarcation of the new frontiers are unfounded.

An Athens wire states that the Bulgarian army, on board nineteen transports on the 28th ultimo, has landed at Dedeagatch.

The Servians have captured Dibra. They also occupied Durazzo midday yesterday. No resistance was offered. The Austrian Lloyd steamer *Graf Taurbrand* thereupon left with refugees. A Vienna wire says that an extraordinary session of the municipality has issued a manifesto to the Emperor that national and economic prosperity can only be vouchsafed to the State which maintains peace not by dishonourable weakness but by force. The crowd outside the building formed in procession, singing the National Anthem. The Burgomaster addressed them.

It is incorrect that Sir Edward Grey has proposed a conference of Ambassadors to consider the question of Albania, the Aegean Sea and the Dardanelles, as stated in Berlin yesterday. It is understood that the report was based on some remarks made by Sir Edward to certain Ambassadors with regard to the present cumbrous and dilatory interchange of communications between the capitals, in which the suggestion was thrown out that some form of international body, which could sift proposals, would be useful.

Ismail Kemal Bey, President of the provisional Albanian Government, has telegraphed to the Italian Foreign Minister announcing that the Albanian National Assembly met at Valona and proclaimed the independence of Albania and further constituted a provisional Government charged to defend the existence of the Albanian peoples. The provisional Government asks Italy to recognise the Albanians' independence.

Later.

Messages have been received from Paris and Vienna with regard to the conference of Ambassadors, which it was stated Sir Edward Grey had proposed. A Paris message says that the proposal has not yet reached a definite stage, but that the friendly manner in which it has been received, especially in Berlin, is regarded as a most favourable sign. The proposal has not yet been received in Vienna, but it is stated that if the resolutions passed are not binding the suggestion might be acceptable on certain conditions. Ismail Kemal Bey has telegraphed to the Austrian Foreign Minister in the same terms as to the Italian Foreign Minister.

London, Dec. 2.

The improvement in the situation continues, although the signature of the armistice by the Balkan States has been postponed for forty-eight hours to enable the delegates of Greece, which insisted on separate representation, to obtain the necessary authority to sign an agreement which has been considerably whittled down. The agreement now amounts to the stipulation that both sides shall remain as they were, while besieged towns will be reprovisioned and blocked ports and islands temporarily raised. The appearance of Greece on the scene is particularly noteworthy. It is believed to be a token of growing mistrust between Greece and the rest of the Allies, whom Bulgaria is representing. The armistice will be fixed for eight days, but it may be prolonged another week. The real tug-of-war will begin with the peace negotiations proper. It is stated that the Allies' demands include an indemnity of forty-eight millions sterling.

Prior to the arrival of Bulgarian troops at Dedeagatch, the place was occupied by Bulgarian Comitajis who perpetrated a dreadful massacre, the victims, who included some Christians, numbering fully five hundred. The Turkish quarter was completely pillaged.

A message to the *Times* from Salonica says that Macedonia is being drenched in blood. The innocent country is being left to the tender mercies of Comitajis and blood-stained auxiliaries of the Bulgarians. An enormous amount of indiscriminate slaughter is proceeding, notably in the district of Avrethbissar. Mohamedans have likewise joined in the general destruction.

A Rieka wire says that the bombardment of Scutari continues. Heavy rains are hampering the Montenegrins.

A Paris wire says that the suggested conference of Ambassadors has not yet taken official shape, but it is understood that while the Triple Alliance agrees to it in principle, it raises difficulties with regard to the place of meeting, favouring Brussels, the Hague or other neutral capital. It is pointed out, however, that this arrangement would involve the appointment of special plenipotentiaries, as distinct from resident Ambassadors, which would entirely change the character of the proposed conference, making it a real conference, at which the Balkan States might claim to be represented. A Vienna wire says that the newspapers are far more hopeful in tone on account of the report that Russia has given assurances that she does not intend to support all of Serbia's aspirations. Inspired journals declare that Austria will not object to Serbia using some Adriatic port, under Albanian sovereignty. The semi-official *Fremdenblatt* is careful to point out that Austria's optimism is based solely on the conviction that Europe will carry out Austria's minimum programme.

A Belgrade wire says that an emphatic semi-official denial is issued to reports that Serbia is concentrating troops on the northern

Frontier and is fortifying Belgrade. A Vienna wire states that the Emperor to-day gave a prolonged audience to General von Hottendorf, who has returned from Roumania.

London, Dec. 3.

The armistice has not yet been signed, the Greek delegates being still without instructions. A Sofia wire says that King Ferdinand has gone to Tchataldja. The departure of King Ferdinand for Tchataldja is regarded in Sofia as a positive indication that an armistice is on the point of completion. The Bulgarians, Servians and Montenegrins are anxious for peace and it is believed that Turkey is also, but the Greeks apparently wish to continue the war. The newspapers at Athens remind the Allies of the obligation to end Turkish sovereignty in Europe and declare that peace is not wanted. That would leave the work half-finished, and would diminish the fruits of victory.

It is reported in Paris that M. Poincaré, Premier, has warned Greece against any outbreak of dissensions among the Allies.

A Berlin wire states that significance is attached to the unexpected visit of the Roumanian Crown Prince, who is Inspector-General of the Roumanian Army. He proceeded immediately to an audience with the Kaiser at Potsdam. The Crown Prince had been attending the funeral of the Countess of Flanders at Brussels.

An Athens wire states that the Greeks are surprised and annoyed at the complaisance of Bulgaria in accepting Turkish proposals which are so advantageous to Turkey. The newspapers point out that Serbia is able to send 70,000 men to Tchataldja, while Greece can place her fleet at the disposal of the Allies, and so make final victory certain. The Greeks think the Allies ought to insist on the complete definitive liberation of Christians in the Orient.

A Sofia wire says that a final meeting of plenipotentiaries took place this evening. It is expected that the armistice has been signed.

A well-informed source says that the armistice will be signed, if necessary, without the Greeks, who may be left to continue the war alone, if they so desire. Telegrams to London show that the Turkish terms for an armistice, though reduced, are still more extensive than has hitherto been imagined. They include the continuance of the armistice during the whole period of the peace negotiations and the granting of the most extensive facilities for revictualling all the Turkish besieged fortresses and detached forces. Reuter learns that Greece does not agree to such terms, which, she says, will make the Turkish people and army believe in a victorious Turkey imposing terms upon the Allies, reduced to impotence. Greece has several times offered three divisions at Tchataldja and the co-operation of the fleet to Bulgaria, but has not received a reply.

Later.

A Constantinople wire, despatched at six o'clock this evening, states that the armistice was not signed at to-day's sitting. A Constantinople wire states that an armistice has been signed with Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro.

In his speech in the Reichstag debate, Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg said: "We will direct our efforts to maintain Turkey's vitality after the war, as an important economic and political factor. Other Powers are making similar operations." The Chancellor further declared that none of the Powers had designs to acquire territory at the expense of Turkey. Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter denounced the attack of the Socialist Herr Ledebour on the Tsar of Russia. He also said: "Throughout the crisis our relations with England have been particularly confidential. Negotiations between London and Berlin have occasioned not only gratifying intimacy, but have contributed to an understanding between the two Powers." (Cheers.) Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech is generally viewed favourably in the British and French Press, though it is considered in Paris that it was superfluous for him to strike a warlike chord during the present difficult situation.

An Uskub wire says that M. Edl, the emissary of the Austrian Foreign Office, has proceeded to Prizrend to inquire on the spot into the affair of M. Prochaska, the Austrian Consul at Prizrend, who disappeared from that place and afterwards appeared at Uskub.

A Constantinople wire states that official circles there are of opinion that the conference of Ambassadors on the Balkan situation will be held in London as the proposal emanated from Great Britain. The peace negotiations will be conducted in neutral territory, probably in Budapest or Bukharost. The consensus of opinion in Europe is that the conference of Ambassadors will be held in London.

London, Dec. 4.

A Constantinople wire says it is believed that the Greeks have demanded the capitulation of Janina and the surrender of Turkish troops at Chios, where severe fighting occurred on Sunday and Monday. The Commandant, at Adrianople telegraphs that there were rifle and artillery duels with the investing forces on Monday. He says he is determined to resist to the end. A wire from Grada

(Montenegro) says that as a result of a sortie of the garrison of Scutari on Monday, a severe battle was fought, from two in the afternoon, till five on Tuesday morning resulting in the repulse of the Turks with heavy loss. The British Press is unanimous in condemning the action of Greece, which is threatening to complicate the European outlook more gravely than ever. The papers are of opinion that Turkey is too astute not to make the most skilful use of the divisions among her opponents, and will be encouraged to prolong what seemed a week ago to be a hopeless contest. They urge Greece to abandon her intractable attitude, which will imperil the fruits of the victories, pointing out that the level-headed Bulgarian statesmen have probably the best reasons for their policy of complaisance towards Turkey.

A Sofia wire states that the conditions of the armistice are that the belligerent armies remain in their present positions. The besieged fortresses shall not be revictualled, but revictualling of the Bulgarian army shall be carried on *via* the Black Sea and Adrianople commencing ten days after the conclusion of the armistice. The peace negotiations shall begin in London on the 18th instant. Hitherto revictualling *via* Adrianople has been impossible as the railway is close to the Turkish positions.

Greece has reserved her signature to the armistice for twenty-four hours, but it is expected that she will sign. Greece will in any how take part in the peace negotiations in London.

A Constantinople wire states that Miss Alt, the aged English lady who was working in San Stefano cholera hospital, has been taken to the British hospital, suffering from overwork. Lady Westmacott will replace her.

A Berlin wire states that the Roumanian Crown Prince conferred with Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, to-day.

A Sofia wire states that King Ferdinand and Dr. Daneff are returning to the capital. After their arrival, peace delegates will be appointed. The normal export and import of goods will be resumed to-morrow, railways being again in a position to handle freight.

The Albanian situation is much easier, though the *Kölnische Zeitung* animadverts on Russian silence, declaring that till Russia speaks the word which "will put Servian swelled heads in their places," the spectre of war will not be exercised. The tone of the Belgrade Press, however, has completely changed and the papers are now unanimous in declaring that Serbia will accept the Powers' decision. The papers protest against the massing of Austrian troops on the frontier. There are believed to be a hundred thousand Austrians at Semlin.

A Paris wire states that the favourable reception of Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech by the British Press has created a feeling of uneasiness there, which is strongly reflected in most of to-day's papers, whose comparatively colourless comments yesterday have been replaced by a fresh wave of pessimism. The papers appear to suspect that an effort is being made by Germany to detach Britain from the *Entente*. It is noteworthy that several of the most important journals, contrary to custom, abstain from comment. St. Petersburg papers consider that Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg's sword rattling is discounted by his reservations regarding the circumstances in which Germany will support Austria in arms. The *Noroe Vremya* says it is not so easy now to terrorise Russian diplomacy as at the time of the annexation of Bosnia. Such intimidation would frighten nobody.

A Berlin wire says that in the Reichstag debate on the Estimates Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg dwelt on the situation in the Balkans. He emphasized that an exchange of views between the Powers was in progress. Though he could not give the precise details, he could say that it was proceeding in a conciliatory spirit with every prospect of success. Of course, he continued, the claims of the Powers could only be determined when the terms arranged between the belligerents became known. They would then be able to see how far they touched the spheres and interests of others. If, as he hoped was not the case, insurmountable difficulties existed, then the Powers directly interested must assert their claims. "This also applies to our Allies. But if in asserting their claims they were attacked, contrary to expectations, from a third side, and their existence were threatened, then we, as a faithful ally, should firmly and resolutely place ourselves at their side. Then we should fight on the side of our Allies and defend our own position in Europe. I am convinced that in such a policy we should have the whole people at our back."

London, Dec. 5.

A Rome wire states that two Greek gunboats yesterday bombarded Valona in Albania, shells falling between the Italian and Austrian Consulates. They withdrew on a protest by Ismail Kemal Bey.

The only condition of the armistice mentioned in the official announcement made in Constantinople is that troops shall remain in their present positions, but it is believed there that the Turks will be allowed to provision Adrianople and Scutari daily. The armistice is welcomed at Belgrade, which is convinced that Serbian aspirations will be fulfilled. The outlook in regard to Austria and Serbia is regarded as more favourable than heretofore.

It is officially announced in Athens that the most friendly relations have not ceased to exist between the Allies, and official circles are confident that the *pourparlers* begun by the Allies regarding the terms of peace will result in a common resolution to achieve the object of the war. A Sofia wire says that the attitude of Greece excites annoyance in official circles and arouses apprehensions of future difficulties between the Allies. It is understood that Greece has not signed the armistice because she desires to annex some islands in the Aegean. The opinion is held in Vienna that the Balkan League will be practically exploded before the division of booty, and that this will be chiefly due to the rivalry between Greece and Bulgaria for the possession of Salonica.

The exact facts about the terms of the armistice, and the attitude of Greece, are still somewhat uncertain. Semi-official telegrams from Athens to-day reject the theory of a quarrel between Greece and the Allies. They say that there has been merely a natural difference of standpoint owing to the actual conditions in each country, for instance, Greece has still to deal with scattered bodies of Turkish troops. There is, however, no reason to doubt, the telegrams add, that negotiations will lead to a full agreement among the Allies.

It is stated in Constantinople that the proposal that the peace negotiations should be held in London emanated from the Porte, which wishes to conduct them on neutral ground, besides having the advantage of Sir Edward Grey's advice. Apparently the peace negotiations between Turkey and the Allies, and the conference of Ambassadors for a general discussion of the Balkan question, will be held simultaneously in London.

The Crown Prince of Roumania has left Berlin for home.

The London papers generally comment on the sensitiveness of the French and Russian Press on the subject of Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech. They affirm that Great Britain is as loyal as ever to the *Entente*.

Router learns that the Greek delegate only reached Tchataldja on Friday. He found that the Bulgarian representatives, who are also representing Serbia and Montenegro, had been negotiating with the Turks for three days, and he was faced with the terms of armistice cabled yesterday. He immediately communicated with his Government, who thereupon made a long, dignified appeal in which they besought the Allies not to weaken or endanger the League. The Greeks contend this will prove an important historical document, and will show that Greece not only had no intention to leave the League, but that she made every effort to maintain it in its original form.

News from Turkish Sources.

The following cablegram has been received by the *Habul Matin*, on December 2nd, in the Persian language, from its special agent at Constantinople: "On 1st December the Turkish garrison at Tchataldja and Adrianople exceeded two hundred thousand. Rumours of Turkish surrender at Demotika are unfounded. The Montenegrins again met with heavy loss at Scutari. The loss of life sustained by the Allies and Turks is estimated at two hundred thousand and one hundred and twenty thousand, respectively.

"For the present an armistice is arranged. The European Powers are pressing the Porte to conclude peace, but the Ottomans and the Turkish Army are opposing it. The proposed peace terms run thus:

"That the belligerents must retain every position they now hold, *viz.*, Macedonia (except some positions) and Albania (except some of the coast line which should be granted an autonomy under the Sultan's suzerainty). As for the war indemnity, both belligerents must suffer their own cost, but the expense of war captives should be paid by the parties involved. An Austro-Balkan war is threatened."

News by the English Mail.

(FROM THE "LEVANT HERALD.")

ISMAIL KEMAL BEY granted an interview to a member from the *Neue Freie Presse* in the course of which he, amongst other things, deprecated the idea of the Balkanic Powers to extend their territories at the cost of Albania. A dismemberment of Albania would have as consequence that Europe will never get peace. If the

territories over which the Balkanic States have now extended their conquest are to be severed from Turkey, Albania must be made independent. Albania will have the ambitions of a civilised country and will be happy to have the best possible intercourse with Serbia, which will be allowed the free use of Albanian ports for her commerce. In reference to the Malissors, Ismail Kemal Bey declared that they are fighting against Turkey for the Albanian independence, but not in the interest of Montenegro.

The war correspondent of the *Daily Graphic* totalizes the killed and wounded in the last few days alone.

Both armies have suffered appalling losses in the great battle of four days and three nights last week.

Figures carefully collected give these tremendous results:—

Bulgarians	...	...	...	24,000
Turks	...	...	...	20,000

General Abdullah Pasha addressed to the Agency Ottomane a letter in which he denies the fact of his pretended revocation from his command and explains that the decision arrived at of uniting into one the two armies of the East brings as consequence the command of the whole body in the hands of Nazim Pasha.

As to his return to this city Abdullah Pasha declares that his state of health made it imperative.

("MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND "DAILY CHRONICLE"
CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Nov. 10.

This morning the sentries guarding the railway at Büyük Tchekmedjeh, just beyond San Stefano, found three bombs on the line. Several Bulgarians whose demeanour was regarded as suspicious were arrested.

A number of Bulgarians disguised as Turkish soldiers were caught attempting to cut the telegraph line at San Stefano. The prisoners will be brought before a court-martial to-morrow.

Transports conveying 22,000 soldiers from the Black Sea are expected to-morrow at San Stefano, where the men will be landed. Already 18,000 of these troops, who belong to the army of the Erzerum province, have been disembarked there. They are leaving for Haden-Köy, on Tchataldja Lines. Many volunteers from Mesopotamia and Kurdistan are expected at the same port, together with divisions from Damascus, Diarbekr, and Bagdad, numbering over 70,000 men. All will arrive through the Black Sea. A large number of them are destined for North Thrace.

A fresh draft of 2,000 wounded has just been brought here. Their injuries are very serious. The total number of wounded here is 23,000.

Turkey has engaged a number of European aviators, and has bought some aeroplanes. Those she formerly possessed were destroyed at Kirk Kilisseh.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Constantinople, Nov. 8.

The influx of villagers and townsfolk from Thrace continues. Over 38,000 families are believed to have entered the capital during the last three weeks. A considerable number have been sent to Anatolia in order to lighten the pressure in Constantinople where the sanitary conditions cause some anxiety. A meeting of the Medical Council was held to-night to discuss measures for the prevention of epidemic disease.

The Press, without exception, now counsels resistance, appeals to the Moslem world to support Turkey and calls upon the Ottoman Army to defend the capital and the Khaliphate to the last. The *Tanin*, after a spirited apostrophe to the Turkish people, whom it conjures to show itself worthy of the ancient conquerors of the Empire, indulges in an equally spirited attack on the *Times* on the ground of its "defamatory and malicious" criticisms of the Ottoman Army. The *Tanin* presumably refers to the accounts from eye-witnesses of the panic which followed the actions at Kirk Kilisseh and Lule Burgas that were published in recent issues of the *Times*.

Rumours of the advent of a Young Turk Ministry and of the appointment of Mahmud Shevket Pasha as Inspector-General of the Forces were current here to-day, and brought about a fall of 1½ point in Turkish Unified stock. They have since been officially denied, and the newspapers which published them have been suppressed.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, Nov. 12.

The *Vossische Zeitung* declares that preliminaries for the formation of a principality in Albania are already progressing. The Albanian leaders abroad are making themselves acquainted with the intentions and views of European diplomacy, and will shortly assemble at Vienna, whence they will go to Elbasan, where

a provisional Government will be established. The chief of these leaders is Ismail Kemal Bey, ex-leader of the Liberal Union party in the Turkish Parliament. His principal lieutenants, who are likely to be members of the new Government, are Gurakutchi Dervish Hima, who is editor of the Albanian journal *Shkipetar*, and Ekalan Bey, an Albanian notable and nephew of Ferid Pasha.

With the Turks at Lüle Burgas.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Rodosto, Nov. 3.

THE outline of the great Thracian battle that raged from Sunday night (October 27) to Wednesday evening (October 30) has already reached you by cable. I can, of course, only speak of the front at which I was present, and it would be futile to say that it was anything but disastrous to Turkish arms. The reason for this reverse is the combination of circumstances which have already been pointed out in the *Times*. Torgut Shevket's troops fought stubbornly and well, at least that portion of his army that was sufficiently trained and officered. It was, however, opposed by an enemy superior in numbers, discipline, and artillery, and the best material in the world cannot stand against such odds indefinitely. The marvel is that Torgut Shevket was able to maintain the unequal combat as long as he did.

Torgut Shevket's duty was to hold Lüle Burgas as long as he could while the Second and First Corps echeloned on his right on the line Bunar Hissar-Via endeavoured to turn the tide of the invasion, which the Turks calculated to be in its greatest force on the short road route to Constantinople. It has been impossible to obtain a correct *ordre de bataille*, so really I am in the dark as to the exact forces that Abdullah Pasha disposed for his great military effort. I have not been able to ascertain even what troops were at Baba Eski, or what has been their fate. Torgut Shevket had with him the 12th Division (Nizam), 17th Division (Redif) plus the heterogeneous units that have been pushed up to the front with the inconsequence of frenzied mobilization.

The village of Lüle Burgas lies amid plantations in a valley not dissimilar to Netheravon. The Turkish position on October 27 lay on the down tops north of the village. Here to all intents and purposes with a good use of the spade they should have been comfortable enough. The troops, however, had been shaken by the extraordinary events in Kirk Kilisli. The flood of panic-stricken fugitives, the broken Redif battalions that came tumbling back upon Lüle Burgas, must have had their influence upon the morale of the Fourth Corps, especially as we know that the panic communicated itself to some of the troops stationed at Lüle Burgas, though they had not been within 30 miles of the fighting.

The Bulgarian advance was slow. To begin with they were impeded by the weather, and, considering the method of the Turkish concentration, they must have been very uncertain as to the actual position of the Ottoman main strength. On October 26 Bulgarian cavalry were between Lüle Burgas and Baba Eski, and on Sunday morning the Turkish outposts at the former position were in touch with the advance guard of the leading Bulgarian division. Towards evening this division deployed, and the Bulgarian artillery began to shell the Turkish positions. For this part of the operations I have only hearsay evidence. It is, therefore, only possible to generalize. It appears that on Sunday night the Bulgarian infantry began to advance, and the prolongation of their firing line proved that more troops were deploying into the battle. According to Turkish accounts the first essay of the enemy's infantry to force back opposition failed and the Bulgarians suffered heavily. All through Monday the 12th Division held its ground, and the contest was mainly confined to a heavy artillery duel. On Monday evening, however, fresh Bulgarian troops captured Sardjali and drove the Ottoman troops out of Sarmasakli with great slaughter. Torgut Shevket found his right turned. To have attempted to have retained Lüle Burgas village after this would have been foolhardy, and he fell back during the night and morning of Tuesday to the strong position I found him in when I reached the battlefield early on Wednesday morning. Unfortunately, when an ill-disciplined and ill-found army has to fall back from close touch with an enemy troops get out of hand. Apparently there were fearful scenes in Lüle Burgas during the night movement, and as a result of the block, disorder, and panic much of the Turkish artillery was abandoned. Already weak in artillery, this was an irreparable loss.

In spite of the difficulties of this retirement Torgut Shevket got his corps into a decent position by Wednesday morning. The dispositions in this second position have already been outlined in my telegraphic despatches. The Turks held this position with success all Tuesday, and as fresh troops were pushed up and thrown into the line it seemed that matters were working out favourably. On Tuesday night the Turkish officers in Tchorlu were full of confidence, and permission was freely given to the correspondents

to go forward on Wednesday morning. I reached the ground early in the morning, and except that the Turks seemed weak in artillery—I could only see three batteries—they seemed to be holding their own. An attempt by the Bulgarians to turn the left of the position from the direction of the railway bridge was promptly checked, and at midday Torgut Shevket massed his reserves behind the headquarters knoll. It looked as if he was contemplating a heavy counter-stroke, as the troops were massed right up under cover of the colline. All through the morning the Bulgarian artillery fire had been strengthening, and shortly before this movement by the Turkish reserves it was so heavy that it was evident that fresh artillery had been brought into action.

At half-past twelve a few battalions were withdrawn from the 12th Division, but at 1 p.m. a general retirement was ordered and the rest of the 12th Division and the Smyrna Division came back over the downs in the manner I have already described in a previous letter. Up to the moment that I left it was an orderly and well-conducted retirement in spite of the heavy punishment with which the Bulgarian gunners signalled the movement. My only criticism made at the time was that it was too general, and that the artillery support had been withdrawn too early. It appears, however, that Ahmad Abouk, who was conducting operations on the extreme right of Torgut Shevket's battle, had drawn upon the whole of the general reserve that was at Kutchuk Karishtiran, and Torgut Shevket, instead of falling back only to one of the many excellent positions that were available, began a general retreat upon Tchorlu. This was a matter of 40 kilometres. I have already described the state of military vagrancy in rear of the Turkish Army. The army was in no condition either physically or morally to undertake a 40 kilometre retirement. At 3 p.m. I had left it an outmanoeuvred and much punished army. By nightfall, as accounts reach me, it had become a beaten army. Further disorder was created by the arrival of Bulgarian cavalry at Seidler railway station. Those who were in Tchorlu, and saw the Turkish Army arrive there, say that the disorder was general. Harried and hungry soldiers, refusing to obey their officers, pillaged the bakeries and stores, and the large percentage of untrustworthy material, having secured bread, wandered away in the direction of the Marmara ports.

The Struggle for Rodosto.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Rodosto, Nov. 10.

A SEVERE engagement for the possession of Rodosto has taken place to-day, and the issue is not yet decided. It was remarkable as being the first combined sea and land fight of the present war. The enemy occupied the hills to the north-west of the town with a large force, which was harried with customary intrepidity against the Turkish infantry barring the approach that way. The Turkish battleship, *Mesudiye*, which arrived off the port last night, opened a telling fire with her two 9.2 in. Vickers guns and her 6 in. guns on the enemy's position, and succeeded in checking their advance.

The bombardment continued unceasingly throughout the day. The boom of the guns and the whistling of the huge projectiles as they flew over head on their errand of destruction towards the Bulgarian lines carried terror into the hearts of the peaceful inhabitants, happily until now unfamiliar with the sound of artillery.

Commanded by Colonel Renzi Bey, the Turkish infantry behaved with their traditional bravery, and though opposed to overwhelming numbers fought with the utmost determination. As night drew on the Turks were forced to retire, and they occupied a fresh position closer to the town, where they prepared to make a final stand. The enemy, who included several regiments of Serbian infantry, were able to creep nearer to the entrenchments under cover of night, and because of the darkness it was no longer possible for the battleship to co-operate further in the defence. In the west of the town, nearest to where the Bulgarian attack was made, a store of petrol was set on fire and did immense damage. The inhabitants were forced to take refuge elsewhere.

The bold defence of the Turks received high commendation from the foreign inhabitants of Rodosto. The third regiment of infantry who formed part of the second corps, which faced very heavy losses at the battle of Lüle Burgas, fought to their last cartridge, but they were hopelessly outnumbered. At midnight an Italian gunboat which lies in the harbour took off the Italian subjects who wished to leave the town. During the night the *Mesudiye* steamed out of range, but remained ready to renew at daylight the bombardment of the Allies' forces.

(CENTRAL NEWS CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Nov. 11.

A telegram from Constantinople to-day reports that Rodosto has been recaptured by the Turks. After all the inhabitants of the town

had left on the command of Nazim Pasha and it had been occupied by the Bulgarians, the Turkish battleship *Mesudiye* opened a heavy bombardment on the Bulgarian positions and simultaneously 3,000 soldiers were landed. They immediately attacked the enemy under cover of the warship's fire and retook the town at the point of the bayonet. The Bulgarian losses were very great.

The Retirement from Tchorlu.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Tchorlu, Nov. 10.

I AM in the unique position of being the only foreigner with the advanced covering force of the Turkish Left Army. Hakki Pasha's brigade is holding Tchorlu, while the army goes into position, I believe at Tchekesskeni. The Bulgarians apparently were unable to pursue after we retired from Lüle Burgas to-day, holding Kutluk Karishtiran as an advanced position.

The Turks have demolished the railway here, and when I arrived the artillery looked in as if ready for instant retirement. All available stores have been pushed up from Rodosto, and this line of communication has now been abandoned. The last stores were removed in transports and escorted to the *Mesudiye* and a gunboat.

I learn that salutary measures have been enforced here to restore order among the troops and looters are summarily dealt with. The village bakeries are working at fever pace to bake bread for the troops. I am not unfavourably impressed with the condition of the troops of this advanced brigade. They show, of course, signs of the desperate experience of the last ten days, but they are well clothed, and the gun horses are in workmanlike condition, in spite of the awful mire in which they have had to manoeuvre.

The Last Defences.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Constantinople, Nov. 11.

IN assuming that Turkey's last stand will be made at Tchataldja, it has been forgotten that Hindan Köy, which is considerably nearer Constantinople, is also strongly fortified. A formidable line of fortifications extends at this point from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea, and if it is defended it will prove a great obstacle to the Bulgarian advance. The Bulgarians have a considerable distance to cover before they reach the capital, and the present lull in their operations is due to their waiting for reinforcements in order to meet the fresh Turkish troops that are being poured into the field.

Reports from Rodosto show that the port is like a city of the dead after five o'clock in the evening, when all the inhabitants keep indoors. Refugees are no longer allowed to stay there, but are sent on to Anatolia. The foreign consuls, it is said, have asked that the town should be surrendered without unnecessary bloodshed, but this the Turks have refused. An Englishman who has just arrived from Rodosto by the Italian torpedo cruiser *Coatit*, which has brought Italian subjects from the threatened port, tells me that the city is still in the possession of the Turks. The rumours of a massacre are unfounded.

Prince Abdel-Hamil, who has now recovered from the wound he received in an engagement at Adrianople, has rejoined the army. He left to-day for Tchataldja. The Arabs have offered many thousands of troops to help the Sultan.

A large number of wounded are being transferred from the capital to Brusa, in order to prevent dangerous overcrowding in the hospitals.

On the Turkish Left.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Böyük Tchekmedjeh, Nov. 13.

THE Bulgarians are drawing near. I witnessed to-day the attack on the Turkish positions at Böyük Tchekmedjeh, and the reply by the Turks with their warships and heavy guns.

Rodosto has fallen, and a force coming via Silivri and Bogados has occupied the range of hills to the west of this place. Here the extreme left flank of the Turkish position is very strong by reason of the difficult nature of the ground. A narrow causeway spanning an estuary of the sea connects Böyük Tchekmedjeh with the western shore. The main road to Tchataldja crosses this bridge. To the north is a lake five miles long and at one point three miles wide. A second causeway, impracticable for wheeled transport and guns, traverses the lake near the bridge.

The Turks sent four warships to strengthen the left of the position. One, the *Mesudiye*, had already assisted in the defence of Rodosto by bombarding the Bulgarian position. The warships anchored in the estuary.

To-day at daybreak a Bulgarian force, estimated at three thousand men with four guns, appeared on the hills to the west and opened fire. The village is emptied of its inhabitants. I wandered through the deserted streets this afternoon and met not a single civilian. All the houses are closed. A small force of Turkish infantry is holding the eastern end of the bridge, while the rest of the Turkish force is entrenched on the hills east of the town.

It is impossible for the Bulgars to force a passage at this point. The lake is unfordable and not suitable for pontooning. Any force attempting to force the passage of the bridge and causeway would inevitably be destroyed by the combined fire of the warships and the heavy artillery which the Turkish commander has mounted on the hills.

The Turkish ship bombarded the Bulgarian positions throughout the day with the object of beating down the fire of the enemy. This offensive movement of the Bulgarians is regarded as a reconnaissance to feel the strength of the left flank of the Turkish force.

Turkish Chances at Tchataldja.

(BY THE “TIMES” MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

ALTHOUGH diplomatic anxieties claim our chief attention at this moment, the culminating acts of the great military drama in the Balkans are still full of interest, and none the less because in all warlike operations there is ever room for conjecture and surprises.

The events in the western theatre of war and at Adrianople have a certain influence upon those in the principal theatre and may consequently be studied first. The fall of Salonica and the surrender of that part of Zeki Pasha's army which retreated from Uskub down the railway set free the eastern wing of the Greek Army and that part of the Serbian First Army which has co-operated with it. There is a chance that an endeavour may be made to utilize this recovered liberty by the despatch of troops eastward, by sea or land, in order to take part in the concluding operations in the principal theatre. The object might be to land troops at Edeagatch or on the Gallipoli Peninsula, or, alternatively, to repair and make use of the railway for troop transport. Both these operations would take time, for the railway has been extensively damaged, and the chartering of ship to carry horses, guns, wagons, and supplies would occupy the staffs concerned for a considerable period. The Turkish defence on the side of Albania, at Sentari, and in Epirus is not yet completely broken down, and if two or three Serbian divisions of the First Army have already been sent east the forces remaining are not extravagantly large to pursue the enemy vigorously and to hold the steadily expanding area in occupation of the Allies.

Two Serbian columns at least are heading straight from Prizrend and Kritchewo towards the ports on the Adriatic which Serbia covets. These columns are delayed by the snow and the state of the roads, as well as by Turkish resistance, which was of an unexpectedly resolute nature in the case of the southern column, but there is no word to say that their advance has been checked on account of Austria's attitude. All that is necessary to say with regard to the military situation in view of this attitude is that the Allies are in no position to ignore Austrian and Romanian representations. The northern frontiers of Serbia and Bulgaria are completely uncovered and defenceless.

THE ATTACKS ON ADRIANOPLE.

The famous correspondent of the *Reichspost* assured us some ten days ago that Adrianople would fall last week, but so far as we can judge by reports the event has not happened. The black veil has been drawn very closely round the town, but so far as the writer can judge, the assailants have suffered heavy losses in all their attacks from their first onset on October 22 up to their last failure on November 8, and have made no impression upon the main line of works. There is a high-power wireless station at Constantinople, and it is apparently in touch with a station at Adrianople, whence news is said to have been received. So far as one can judge by comparing the accounts, there must have been a hurrah attack by the First Bulgarian Army in full force on October 22. This attack failed and the fortress was found to be in good posture for defence. Siege and heavy guns were then brought up and an endeavour was made to break in on the north-west front. This also failed, and the siege guns probably proved inadequate in face of the large Turkish armament, which

is much superior, at all events in number of guns, to anything that Bulgaria and Serbia can produce. We heard subsequently of Turkish sorties, which extended to Kadinkeni, and almost to Buldurkeni, on the banks of the Maritza, and it was obvious, provided that these reports were correct, that the distant defence of the town was still vigorous, and that the close attack was not even begun. The line of investment was then completed by the Bulgarian occupation of Skenderkeni, south-east of the town, but no claim has yet been made that any vital part of the defence has been touched.

The attack last week appears to indicate that the Turkish commander has pushed out his advanced works on the south-west side as far as Kartal Tepé, which is 10,000 metres from the main line of defences on this side. The defences of Kartal Tepé must be semi-permanent or field works. The impression received is that these were carried by the assailants on the night of Thursday last, but were recovered next day or on the night following by a counter-attack on the part of the Turkish reserves. This is not in itself improbable, although the Bulgarians, as reported by the correspondent of the *Reichspost*, claim the contrary, for the Turkish garrison has always been active and enterprising; it would be assisted by the heavy guns in the main line of works; and while the Turks have been encouraged by successes, the assailants have probably been depressed by heavy losses. If, however, as is asserted by the correspondent of the *Reichspost*, the fort of Karkas Tepé (? Karkas Fort) has been taken by the Bulgarians its loss will seriously affect the security of the town. The defence of Adrianople, and even more of Scutari, has been the only bright page in the history of the war on the Turkish side, and it seems to show that given bread, water, and ammunition, the Turk is still a fighter of renown.

THE TECHATALDJA LINES.

The difficulty of expressing any opinion about the defence an attack of the Tchataldja Lines is caused by our ignorance of the work done in the lines since the war began, of the armament available, and, most of all, of the number and quality of the defenders. From the *Reichspost* reports we seem to gather that, after the severe rearguard action on November 3 and 4, the Turkish centre, veering too far to its front, was practically cut to pieces, and that the two wings retreated, much disorganized, no doubt, but still in some military order. The right wing from before Istrandja would naturally have fallen back upon the right of the lines, and the left by the main road and railway upon the centre and left. How many fresh troops may have come up is the doubtful point, and on this hinges the decision whether a prolonged defence is practicable. The reports vary very much and no certain conclusions can be drawn from them except that the intentions of the Turks is to resist to the last.

The Bulgarian armies advanced as soon as they were able, the Third Army on the left, the First Army on the right, the latter probably strengthened by the Kustendil Second Army. On Thursday last the Third Army advanced guards were in the forests south of Derkös lake and in touch with the defenders along their front. How far the Bulgarians penetrated, and whether they captured any part of the lines, are open questions for the moment, but it does not seem certain that they have secured the successes first claimed for them. The First Army on the right, strengthened by part of the artillery of the Third Army, advanced simultaneously, and is now probably in possession of the heights which run from the town of Tchataldja to Kalikratia. No news has come in of the position of the Serbian divisions, but they may be in reserve.

It has been noticed previously that the right centre of the Tchataldja position is the weakest point, and here the Third Army struck, in hoping apparently to arrive before the defence was ready. If this first attack has been resisted the Third Army will have some trouble owing to the absence of good roads and the difficulty of finding artillery positions in this forest region. It was for this reason, no doubt, that the Third Army passed over some of its guns to the First Army, but General Demitrieff may be able to use howitzers in this part of the field. The Bulgarian Army is known to possess some 90 old-pattern howitzers, namely, 4.7in. Krupps and 5.9in. Schneider-Candés, and a proportion of these may be with the Third Army to co-operate in the attack.

The heights occupied by the First Bulgarian Army are too far distant from the Turkish right and centre across the valley for anything to be hoped from artillery fire. To support an attack on those parts of the position guns must be pushed forward and entrenched by night, and though this may be done for a certain distance, the dominating situation of the Turkish lines renders success uncertain. There is more hope of success by attacking the salient at Baghelish Tabia, but an advance on this side might mean prolonged fighting owing to the successive lines of Turkish works in rear. Another opening might be found at Büyük Tehekmedje, where the Turkish advanced works are exposed to fire from Bulgarian batteries on the hills round Playa and Arnankeui; but Turkish warships should

prevent an attack on this flank, and an advance across the causeway south of Büyük Tehekmedje lake would be a risky operation. On the whole, a general advance of the artillery to within effective range and a double attack on the right and on the left centre of the lines seems most probable, and success may be sought by a night attack on the left centre, or, more probably, by the assembly of a large force under cover of the forest against the Turkish right.

At the rate things have been going it is not legitimate to suppose that the morale of the Turkish troops will enable them to resist for long their impetuous and gallant foes, but the Turkish wrestler is often most dangerous when he is on his back, and if things do not go as fast as we expect it will be recalled that, so far as we know, the Bulgarians have not yet driven the Turks from an entrenched position adequately defended by troops not starved, and that the superior and well served Schneider-Creusot 7.5cm. Q. F. field guns of the Bulgarians will have made less opening at Tchataldja, than they had in the open field on the rolling downs of Thrace.

The Military Situation.

(BY THE "TIMES" MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.)

ENOUGH such details of the Salonica surrender as we are allowed to know it is apparently the case that the Turkish force was composed mainly of the troops which had fought against the Greeks. The forces commanded by Zekki Pasha appear, in the main, to have retreated westward after the defeat at Kumanovo, and to have marched from Uskub and Kuprinu upon Kritchevo and Perlepe, where they stood their ground for a time and caused the Serbians considerable losses. The subsequent concentration of these Turkish columns at Monastir may have been practicable, and in this event there is still a Turkish Army in being in Macedonia, possibly amounting to 50,000 men with about one-third of the guns with which Zekki Pasha opened his campaign. There is no question of changing the fortune of war on this side, and, indeed a report that the Monastir force has asked for terms has come in, but should this latter statement not be confirmed there is still work left for the Serbians and Greeks, and work which may prove difficult in view of the unusually early advent of the bad season and the terrible state of the roads.

At Scutari the Montenegrins appear to be in difficulties, and to depend for success upon the arrival of Serbian columns from the east, so that on the whole we may conclude that for the moment the war in Macedonia is kept alive, and this fact may turn out to be of some importance in the pending negotiations.

From reports in the foreign Press it appears that Papas Tepé, which the Bulgarians claim to have taken, is an outwork in the neighbourhood of Yurush, about six miles west of the junction of the Arda and Maritza. Kartal Tepé we must assume to be the hill of that name, marked on our general staff map, 4½ miles south of the main line of defence. It was not known, until the report of the capture of these outworks came in, that the Turkish lines had been pushed out so far from the permanent forts, and it is not by any means necessarily true that the fall of these outworks, supposing that the Bulgarians retain them, implies the early surrender of the fortress. The garrison is still full of vigour, as its constant sorties indicate, and even if the Serbians are bringing up their siege guns to help their friends, it may be that the garrison will stand firm and be a trump in the hand of the Turkish negotiators. It is no doubt evidence of the expected surrender that the Bulgarians, as our Sofia Correspondent informs us, should have given up the idea of making a loop line, outside the sphere of action of the fortress, in order to provide a continuous line of rail from Sofia to Tchataldja, but it is also possible that the engineering difficulties of such a loop line may have had something to do with its abandonment. We have been told so often that the surrender was expected hourly, and have been given so little proof of why it should be expected, that we begin to lose faith in some of the reporters, notably in the *Reichspost* correspondent, whose interesting messages during the last fortnight might conceivably have been written from Sofia by any intelligent soldier with a little imagination. We may be quite incorrectly informed, and Adrianople may fall, but on the evidence there is no reason why it should fall, and if it holds firm there is an additional reason why the Bulgarians should welcome peace.

All the wonderful battling which the *Reichspost* correspondent has hitherto been retailing for our benefit turns out to be imaginary so far as Tchataldja is concerned, but, on the other hand, the attack appears to have begun on November 12 and to have led to a Turkish counter-offensive which was repulsed. From a comparison of our reports from Sofia and Constantinople it appears that parts of the famous lines at least are well defended and strongly held. If the allies have 450 guns in position a Turkish counter-offensive across the valley would stand little chance of success.

but if there are even 70,000 men in the lines, and if they are fed and supplied with ammunition, they may give a lot of trouble. We have not hitherto been told whether the Turks retired on the lines in fair order, and we were led to believe by the *Reichspost* reports, that in a tremendous action on November 3 and 4, the losses in which were said to have exceeded those at Lüle Burgas, the Turks were routed. From a telegram from Constantinople which we published yesterday we learn that the *Reichspost* battle never took place, and we are consequently more disposed to believe that the Turks may be in a position to make a stand.

So far as the Bulgarians are concerned they apparently intend to bring up every man and to gamble for a final and a crushing victory. It is a masculine decision which does them honour. We need not, however, forget that their casualties have probably exceeded 50,000, or about a fifth of their field army; that the roads are detestable, and that supplies and ammunition will be difficult to bring up, even given the railway from Kirk Kilisseh and the four captured locomotives; that the bad season has returned unexpectedly early; and that while they are "all out" the Turks still possess reserves. The Bulgarians may win, and St. Sophia may witness a scene which will live in history, but prudent statesmanship might do worse than recall the advice which the *Times* has given and not risk a maximum upon the gaming table of war.

Reports of Battles Denied.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Nov. 13.

At the risk of repeating previous telegrams, may I point out that the statements made by the correspondent of the *Reichspost* with regard to the piercing of the Tchataldja lines, published in Vienna on November 8, are entirely inaccurate? With the exception of a few outpost encounters of no importance, no serious fighting has occurred in front of the Tchataldja lines since the Ottoman troops retired thither from Visa and Lüle Burgas. Equally inaccurate is the Bulgarian statement that Rodosto was captured on October 31. The town was only evacuated by the civil population on November 10, and although it is believed now to be in Bulgarian hands with certain other points on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora, its fate is a matter of but little importance.

At present the Bulgarian forces appear to be facing the Turkish lines from the western end of the Derkös lake to a point between Kallikratia and Kumburgas, south of Tchataldja.

As for the accounts of the second great battle on November 3 and 4, they appear to be based upon the harassing of Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha's rearguard by the Bulgarians during his retreat from Visa on November 2 and 3. Such, at least, is the information obtained from European witnesses who accompanied Mahmud Mukhtar's force both during its advance and retreat. They deny that any general action such as that described by the *Reichspost's* correspondent took place.

The City of Salonica.

THE capture of Salonica by the Greek army, the announcement of which appears on page 8, constitutes one of the most interesting reversals of fortune in the history of the East. The second greatest city in the Turkish Empire, it has been in recent years at once a great military centre and the headquarters of the Committee of Union and Progress, and its long and eventful history, its polyglot and cosmopolitan population, and the strong European and non-Turkish influences to which it is continually subjected, are all points of resemblance with the capital.

The most conspicuous element in the population are the Sephardic Jews, numbering some 60,000 to 80,000 out of a total 150,000 whose ancestors fled to Salonica in the 16th century in order to escape religious persecution in Spain and Portugal. Other writers on Macedonia and its problems have pointed out the extent to which interest and sympathy alike dictate to the Jews an alliance with the Turks. The reaction of this attitude of mind upon politics and the international Press has been manifest and notorious. In Salonica the Jews are everywhere. Mr. Brailsford in a book on "Macedonia" observes:—

"They monopolize the commerce, control the shipping, and eclipse the Greeks not only in business, but in 'society' as well. Their showy and hideous villas, designed in Rococo fashion to produce a maximum of display, give to Salonica's suburb an air of quite European vulgarity. Within the town the middle classes throng the narrow lanes and the forbidding and mysterious courtyards with their projecting upper storeys and protruding eaves. They patrol the streets in their long gabardines, and their women retain their mediæval costume,

garish and décolletée. They are conspicuous and at their ease. They dominate the town, managing Turks and overawing Christians. . . . This Jewish predominance makes Salonica unique among Levantine seaports, where it is usually the Greek element which impresses its character on the town.

"Salonica has the moral squalor of Europe with the physical squalor of the East. Picturesque it may be, with its beautiful Byzantine churches, its Roman triumphal arch, and its castles and bastions which recall the brief empire of the Crusaders. But the main impression is one of ugliness and materialism. The place seems oddly isolated, and when caged within its walls it becomes a sort of puzzle by what magic one reached a place so different from the idyllic Macedonian valleys to the north, or the fairy Gulf of Volo to the south. Olympus across the bay dwarfs and rebukes it and makes it trivial. It is a town of contradictions where men buy by telegraph in the costumes of the ghetto and turn the stately Castilian of the Middle Ages into a putois for nasty pleasures and petty gains."

The important part played by members of the Salonica Donmeh in recent Turkish politics recalls one of the most extraordinary movements of the 17th century. This sect owed its origin to the Hebrew Shabbethai Zebi, who for years was implicitly believed to be the Messiah. Born in Smyrna in 1626, Shabbethai was of Spanish-Jewish extraction. His father, Mordecai, was a wealthy and pious Jew, the trusted agent of a London firm of merchants. As was recalled in the *Times* on May 12, 1911, in a remarkable article on "The Origin of the Donmeh," Shabbethai, after wandering and proclaiming his doctrine throughout the East, suddenly adopted the Moslem faith. Many of his followers believed in him to the end of their lives, and from these faithful ones are descended the modern sect of the Donmeh, their Turkish title, which signifies "turncoats." A few of the sect are found in Adrianople; the majority, however, are settled in Salonica. They are sharply divided into three subjects, and not only do they forbid marriage with Jews or with Mahomedans, but each sub-sect marries only within itself.

Salonica lies on the west side of the Chalcidic peninsula, at the head of the Gulf of Salonica, on a fine bay, the southern edge of which is formed by the Calamarian Height, while its northern and western side is the broad alluvial plain created by the discharge of the Vardar and the Bistritza, the principal rivers of Western Macedonia. Built partly on the low ground along the edge of the bay, flanked by the Tower of Blood, and partly on the hill to the north, the city, with its white houses enclosed by white walls, runs up along natural ravines to the Castle of Heptapyrgion, or Seven Towers, and is rendered picturesque by numerous domes and minarets and the foliage of elms, cypresses, and mulberry trees. The commercial quarter of the town, lying to the north-west, towards the great valleys by which the inland traffic is conveyed, is pierced by broad and straight streets paved with lava. There are electric tramways and a good water-supply, but most of the older houses are fragile wooden structures coated with lime or mud, and the sanitation is defective. Apart from churches, mosques, and synagogues, there are a few noteworthy modern buildings, but the chief architectural interest of Salonica is centred in its Roman and Byzantine remains.

The history of a number of these memorials goes back to the fourth century B. C., when Thessalonika first became the capital of Macedonia. Founded in 315 B. C. on the site of the still more ancient Therma, the city was named by Cassander after his wife, a sister of Alexander the Great. It had reached its zenith long before the seat of Empire was transferred to Constantinople, and it was destined to become famous in connexion with the early history of Christianity by the two Epistles which St. Paul addressed to the local Christian community, which had become "an ensample to all that believe in Macedonia and in Achaia." Theodosius massacred 7,000 of its citizens; the Iconoclasts, the Macedonian Slavs, the Bulgarians, and the Normans of Sicily, each of them in turn took their toll of blood and destroyed the works of Constantine, who had endowed the city with many splendid buildings.

Throughout the ages the Via Egnatia of the Romans has traversed the city from east to west, and survives to this day as the Grand Rue de Vardar. Among the architectural glories of the city are the remains of the two Roman Imperial arches that have spanned this highway for over 1,500 years. Another example of Roman architecture, the remains of a white marble portico, supposed to have formed the entrance to the Hippodrome, is known by the Judæo-Spanish name of Las Incantades, from the eight Caryatides in the upper part of the structure. A baker has burrowed himself into the foundations of this Imperial relic, and the ruins of the old Venetian citadel have been turned into a prison and a slum.

The new harbour which was built ten years ago enables the port to do a trade of about 1,000,000 tons. Such manufacturing industries as there are show a tendency to become stationary. Nevertheless Salonica would, in any circumstances, be bound to maintain its commercial standing, if only because it is the principal Aegean port in the Balkan peninsula, the centre of the

import trade of all Macedonia and two-thirds of Albania, the natural port of shipment for the products of an even larger area, and the terminus of railway lines from Constantinople, Nish, Mitrovitza, and Monastir.

The Greeks, the Bulgars, and the Serbs can each of them put forward historic claims to the possession of Salonica. Ethnographically the city lies in debatable territory. Bulgarian influence has striven hard to assert itself over the Servian tendencies that have survived. But, as in the case of many other districts along the coast, Hellenism has remained strong. The rivalry between these contending forces will lend special interest to the impending settlement. The questions which will naturally be asked will be whether the Greeks, now that they have come as conquerors, will be welcomed by their brethren; and whether Greek and Serb together will have the courage to say to their confederate in the historic words of the Turkish Vali at Uskub to the local Bulgarian Bishop:—"O Bulgarian, sit upon the eggs you have, and do not burst your belly by trying to lay more."—*The Times*.

The Entry of the Greeks.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Nov. 9.

TO-DAY, after 470 years of Turkish domination, the Greek Army once more trod the streets of Salonica. It has been a great day for the Hellenes, their goal is reached, their dream realized. And no ancient army returning victorious to its native Athens ever received a more tumultuous welcome than Salonica accorded to the conquering hosts to-day. In the morning the camp of the Seventh Division under General Kleomenes was the rendezvous of all the Greek and half the Jewish population of the town. The General Commanding is himself installed in the railway station. Here he was joined by the Chief of Staff, Major Nigroponte, and we lived the recent battles over again. Our conversation was continually interrupted by the arrival of enthusiastic Greeks longing to kiss the commander's hand, and leaving personal objects of value as offerings to the idol of the hour, for, in the absence of the Crown Prince, the General is the darling of the populace.

To one who has practically lived in the Turkish lines during the past ten days, a visit to the Greek camp was refreshing, and did much to explain the speedy and overpowering advance of the invaders. From their appearance the troops might have left Athens yesterday. Here were batteries of artillery drawn up in orderly array, spick and span machine-gun companies, well-mounted cavalry, and 15,000 small wiry, well-cared-for, well-fed soldiers, whose unshaven faces had happiness and content written all over them, every man being warmly clad and completely equipped. The town is wearing gala aspect and the Greek flag is flying everywhere, the Turkish standard having disappeared as if by magic. Favours of the winning colours are as popular as at a North-country football match.

Not until the afternoon was it generally known that the occupation had really been accomplished; then, as headed by a detachment of cavalry a regiment of Evzones tramped down the central street, pandemonium ensued. Fair Hellenes on flower-bedecked balconies showered autumn roses on the heroes below, the air was rent by cries of *Zeto Zeto*, the wildly-cheering throng pressed upon the warriors until the troops had to fight their way through in single file.

I spent the evening observing exultant human nature from a point of vantage in the principal café, where a huge Greek flag had replaced the Turkish red and white. The appearance of officers in uniform was the signal for the crowd to rise and give vent to more *Zetos*. Then a priest, turned warrior, harangued the numerous auditors with the story of his battles. Excitement was rising fast when the famous Athenian street-poet Matsoukas mounted a table and discharged an endless flow of patriotic poetry until his compatriots shrieked themselves hoarse with delight. Greek blood was now up, orator after orator mounted the tribune, each carrying the enthusiasm to a higher pitch, until the crowd gave itself up to the wildest exultation. Meantime a recently suspended Greek journal reappeared with its front page smothered under a reproduction of the national flag and was sold at a premium.

This was not the return home of a victorious army, but its entry into the second city of the enemy's country. Surely no stranger sight has ever been seen. Thousands of the noisiest demonstrators were befuddled Ottoman subjects rejoicing at the downfall of the country to which they owe allegiance; hundreds more were Jews whom the Sultan overcounted among the most devoted of his vassals. It was all very strange and, very instructive, and like so many other things, possible only in Turkey. A Turkish opinion of this demonstration would have been very interesting.

but Moslems remained indoors. Some few soldiers walked aimlessly about, paying little heed to the jubilation of their enemies. Order is still being maintained in the streets by patrols of armed Turkish gendarmerie.

The Situation in Constantinople.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

Constantinople, Nov. 11.

THE situation in Turkey has taken a turn for the worse, and a grave internal crisis seems to be impending. On the one hand the position of the Government is gravely compromised because its proposals to submit to mediation have been repudiated by the army, while, on the other hand, the Committee of Union and Progress is giving evidence of renewed activity. At the same time Turkish feeling, both religious and national, is being worked up to fever pitch by the preaching in the mosques seconded by the impassioned language of press.

The most serious feature of the situation, of course, is the weakness of the Government. Having first appealed for intervention of the Powers to impose an armistice on all the Allies, the Government last Tuesday corrected its application, which it converted into a request for mediation pure and simple. On Wednesday, however, General Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha arrived from Hadem Köy bearing a message from the army refusing to entertain the idea of mediation while it was yet able to resist, and a council of principal officers remaining in Constantinople endorsed the message of the army. The Cabinet, therefore, is faced with a most serious situation.

It seems tolerably certain that even if the Powers should and by agreeing to undertake the task of mediation the Balkan States will refuse their good offices, so the Porte will not need to recall its application. Meanwhile, the activity of the Committee of Union and Progress has already been attracting attention. The Committee has taken up strongly the cry of "No surrender," and some quarters believe in the imminence of a Committee Government.

The outburst in the Turkish press calling on every Moslem to shed his last drop of blood in defence of capital, country, and faith, and the *fetva* issued later in the afternoon by the Sheikh-ul-Islam, referring to a holy war, are the subject of much comment. Both the *Tanin* and *Yeni Gazeta* were suspended on Saturday, apparently owing to the violence of Friday's articles, while none of the local papers on Saturday reproduced the Sheikh-ul-Islam's communication. The *fetva* seems to proclaim a holy war, but a careful study of it will reveal the fact that its object is to inspire the troops with religious fervour, for which purpose it invites the *ulema* to volunteer to go among them and, by exhortation and example, to stir up enthusiasm and contempt for death. The liability of the *fetva* to be misinterpreted is, to say the least, unfortunate. There is no question yet, however, of unfurling the green banner of Islam.

Death or Victory.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Constantinople, Nov. 12.

THE patriotic pamphlet of Prince Sabah-ed-Din, which in impassioned terms calls upon the Sultan and all the members of the family of Osman to go to the front, has produced an enormous impression. The words "Sire, go to the army. Join in the cry 'Victory or death' and God will reward you" are in everybody's mouth. The Sultan was from the first anxious to go to the front, but was dissuaded by his advisers, who were afraid that such action might have a disastrous effect on the health of the monarch.

The latest prophecy of the *Ikdam* is that if to-day the pretext of war lies in the ancient antagonism of the Cross and the Crescent to-morrow war will arise out of the racial hostility between Slav and German.

(REUTER'S CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Nov. 12.

An open letter from Prince Sabah-ed-Din, addressed to the Sultan and published in the form of a pamphlet, is being sold in the streets going to the funds of the Red Crescent Society. It is being eagerly bought. The Prince in substance says that the enemies of the country are not the Balkan States but the Turks themselves, who have proved incapable of governing the country. If they take a lesson from the errors of the past then there is hope for improvement.

Turkey's German Teachers.

In the presence of Marshal von der Goltz, the first formal "explanation" of the collapse of the Turkish German-taught army was made at a meeting of the German Society for the study of

Islamism. The speaker was Major-General Imhoff Pasha, the German officer who organized and instructed the Ottoman artillery under Marshal von der Goltz.

Major-General Imhoff asserted that the Turkish defeats were due on the one hand to the bulk of the army having been divided into comparatively small forces, and on the other hand to the impossibility of efficiently initiating the troops into the new army organisation of 1909. Turkey had had three years for a work on which the Bulgarian army had spent thirty years. Party politics, moreover, had undermined not only the army, but also the authority of the State and all its servants. Another fatal factor was the inclusion of Christians in the army.

Austria-Hungary's Demands.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Vienna, Nov. 11.

GREAT importance attaches to M. Danell's mission to Austria-Hungary. It is admittedly a mission of mediation undertaken at the instance of King Ferdinand, and deriving additional significance from M. Danell's conferences with M. Pashitch and other Serbian statesmen at Belgrade on his way to Budapest. M. Danell's primary object is to establish official contact between the Balkan League as such and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, whose special claims and interests he is anxious to ascertain as a basis for mediation between Serbia and the Monarchy. Whether this wish has been completely satisfied seems doubtful, but the general standpoint of Austria-Hungary has been defined to him roughly as follows:—

First.—Austria-Hungary has no expansionist tendencies nor territorial aspirations in the Balkans.

Second.—Austria-Hungary, who in this respect speaks in the name of the Triple Alliance, demands that Albania be organized as a separate Balkan polity in an autonomous if not absolutely independent form—possibly as an independent principality.

Third.—Austria-Hungary desires explanations concerning the Serbian demand for an Adriatic port, and would not necessarily accept any *fait accompli* that might be incompatible with the territorial rights of Albania. Austria-Hungary also wishes to know what the policy of the Balkan League may be in this respect.

Fourth.—Austria-Hungary demands the creation of a clear and durable economic relationship between herself and Serbia.

It is not known what reply, if any, M. Danell has been authorized to make to these communications. In Hungarian official quarters he is stated to have intimated that Bulgaria is not bound by the terms of the Balkan League unconditionally to support Serbian claims in controverted territorial questions, but he is alleged to have emphasized the desire of Bulgaria to mediate for a friendly settlement of such questions.

On the subject of Albania M. Danell is understood to have stated that Bulgaria desires the establishment of Albanian autonomy. With regard to the occupation of Constantinople by Bulgaria, M. Danell took up the well-known standpoint of the Balkan League that no armistice with Turkey can be concluded without binding guarantees that Turkey will not utilize the suspension of hostilities to bring further reinforcements from Asia Minor, or to erect fortifications.

An Interview with the Sultan.

MR. ALAN OWLER, the *Express* correspondent at Constantinople, wrote on November 11th:—I am permitted to-day to send you further details of my visit to the Sultan yesterday, when I described to His Majesty the fearful of the famine descending on hundreds of thousands of his people.

As I told you, I had impressed on Kiamal Pasha, the Grand Vizier, how I had seen the entire population of a countryside leaving burnt and wrecked homesteads, and pouring in an endless stream of famishing men, women, and children down every road to Constantinople. Kiamil Pasha took my story at once to the Sultan, and just before two o'clock a motor-car was conveying me at furious haste to the Dolmabahçe Palace.

Mr. Arthur Baker, a prominent English resident, who introduced me to Kiamil Pasha, accompanied me on my visit to the Palace. My attire was utterly unfitted to the occasion, for it was scarcely changed from the clothes in which I rode here from Lille Burgas.

I wanted time to borrow a frock coat and the other necessary embellishments; but when I pointed this out I was told that the

Sultan was too anxious to see me, and that no time could be wasted on clothes, which did not matter.

As we ascended the wide stairs of the Palace and passed through the silent corridors, Mr. Baker said to me "You had better make a few notes so that you will know clearly what you intend to say," and I, feeling lost in the endless vistas of thick carpets, wished I had time to act on his suggestion.

But Djenam Bey, the Master of the Ceremonies, insisted that no delay could be permitted, as His Majesty was waiting.

We suddenly emerged from the velvet-carpeted gloom into a room shining with gold, in which a lonely black coated figure sat in a little Byzantine chair, gazing with slumbrous eyes at the slender masts of the fishing-boats in the Bosphorus beneath the windows.

At our entry His Majesty sprang to his feet and hurried across the room. Without waiting for any formalities he shook hands with me and motioned me to a chair.

The Sultan leaned forward with his hands on his knees, and his eyes bright with impatience, and without further ado I plunged into my story.

For the first time I realised how perfectly the French tongue is adapted for such a recital as I had to make.

In English it would have been a bald catalogue of horrors or else a mere sentimental rhapsody. But in the vivid, dramatic language of France, I could tell what I had seen and how it had affected me without becoming self-conscious or sentimental.

Indeed carried away by the fervour of the alien tongue, I made a grave faux pas. I crossed one leg over another, leaned forward to emphasize my point, and had almost addressed His Majesty as "Mon cher monsieur," when a barely perceptible flicker of Djenam Bey's stony countenance and a very vigorous nudge from Mr. Baker restored me to a sense of the amenities of the palace.

The Sultan smiled broadly, said "Go on, Go on," and became immediately grave again.

His Majesty was visibly moved as he listened to my description of the plight of the fugitives, and he nodded his head emphatically when I urged on him the necessity for prompt measures to relieve the starving multitude.

When my story was finished the audience developed into an informal chat. The Sultan had heard that I had accompanied the mixed Turk and Arab force which had defied the Italians in Tripoli, and he was keenly interested in the exploits of the soldiers who fought for him there.

Then we drifted into politics and I was told astonishing things. Finally I felt that the room flashed with the magnitude of the story it would be in my power to tell.

But the chill hand of diplomacy descended on my shoulder, and my enthusiasm was damped as a suave precise voice murmured: "Monsieur is, of course, aware that His Majesty never receives correspondents. Monsieur was received in his capacity as a private gentleman—a gentleman who will respect private confidences and will respect the imperial confidences."

One thing I may say. That is to express the indignation both of His Majesty and the Turkish Government at the hysterical messages which have been wired from here regarding the dangers of the situation in Constantinople.

At present there is no indication whatever of any possibility of any thing in the nature of the massacre of Europeans so lightly talked about. Should any danger arise the measures taken by the Government, coupled with the presence of the foreign warships, will be perfectly adequate to deal with the situation.

The Virtues of the Turk.

UNDER the title "The Turks are massacring" (the cry of the newsboys on the Paris boulevards) M. Pierre Loti, the well-known novelist, publishes in the *Figaro* an eloquent article in defence of the Turks. After alluding to the slaughter of Arabs by the Italians in Tripoli, of the horrible deeds of Europe in China during the suppression of the Boxer rising, of the killing of Dervishes at Khartoum by the British, of the concentration camps in the Transvaal, of the "smoking" to death of women and children by the French in Algeria, he says:—

"Poor Turks! If it is true that here and there they have massacred in the course of this atrocious war, which is being made upon them simultaneously from all sides, how extenuating are the circumstances. I know many people who in their place and at such a terrible hour would be seized with a rage for massacring. They

are, it is true, more primitive people than ourselves, more violent, though better, kinder, and gentler by habit, more terrible and apt to fall into red-rage when they are too much angered by others—more primitive, especially those peasants from the depth of Anatolia and from the confines of the desert who are being hastily armed against the invaders, and have to handle with their rough hands our infernal arms of precision. How natural is their hatred towards all those people who bear the name of Christians! How can they help feeling that those people yonder, openly or secretly, are conspiring to suppress them? We, the French, have taken from them Algeria, Tunis, Morocco. The British have disloyally robbed them of Egypt. Persia is well-nigh subjugated. Italy has just covered Tripoli with blood, giving the signal for the merciless hunt. In all those conquered countries we, each of us after our individual manner, make them feel the weight of our contempt and our hand. The pettiest of our petty bureaucrats treats all Moslems like slaves. We take away from these believers little by little their prayers. We impose upon these dreamers enamoured of immobility our fruitless agitations, our rage for quickness, our alcohol, our scum and rubbish of humanity. Everywhere in our wake there follows instability, cupidity, and despair.

"Poor Turks, disavowed with such callousness by all those who in Europe seemed to support them, abandoned by the press which insults them, abandoned by diplomacy which had undertaken to defend them, abandoned by the Powers which once valued their friendship! Certainly we no longer recognise our former heroes, those of Plovna, those of the last war which nearly destroyed Greece, those even of yesterday who fought so valiantly, ten against a thousand. Let us first admit that they were not ready, that they were badly commanded, that through the negligence of their leaders they were dying from hunger. And then we must recognise that this degeneration of their army is our work, is due to us, the demoralisers of the East. With a stupendous rapidity they have been contaminated by the new pernicious Utopias, even the most puerile, which rage amongst us. Many among their soldiers have lost their faith, and most of their officers have neglected their profession in order to plunge into the most naive forms of politics. Our alcohol also has played its part, and certain great military chiefs responsible for the worst defeats are drunkards . . .

"And then after the constitution they committed the capital mistake of introducing Christians into their battle ranks. God forbid that I should disparage this name of Christian, but those of the Turkish army were Bulgars, Greeks, naturally disposed not to fight against their brethren.... If there had been in the army only Turks they would perhaps have been annihilated all the same, as the allies had cleverly made their plans of attack a long time ago. At least, however, they would have fallen maintaining their glorious aureole.

"What could be more exasperating than to see how the Turks are misconceived and libelled by all Westerners who have never set their foot in their country? There is not, I think, another race in the world so essentially good, brave, loyal, and gentle. I must make an exception in the case of some among those who have been brought up in our schools, and have caught the gangrene from our boulevards—those who afterwards become officials. I exclude them. But the real people, the small townsman, the peasant—who could be better? Let those among us who have lived in the East, even our priests and missionaries who are so much respected there—let them be asked whether they prefer, whether they like better, the Turks, or the Bulgars, the Serbs, all the Eastern Christians. I know in advance what their reply will be. Every one of them will say that these Bulgars—of admirable courage; I am prepared to be the first to recognise it—who are attacking under the chant of *Ta Deum* and at the ringing of their church bells are as a race infinitely more brutal and murderous than the Moslems.... Professional murderers indeed! I remember having seen in Spain those bulls which are led to the arena. They come peacefully, some not at all mischievous. It is only later, when harassed by the lance, tortured by the cruel arrow, that they become possessed of a thirst to kill everybody, and throw themselves upon men in a mad rage."

M. Loti goes on to describe and to illustrate the moral qualities of the Turks—their modesty, their kindness, their veracity, and concludes: "Without hope that my humble appeal will be heard I feel the need of crying out to Europe, 'Mercy for the Turks. Spare those who remain!' There among them, more than anywhere else, is uprightness and courage to be found. There, among them, is the last refuge of calm, respect, sobriety, silence, and prayer! I think there is not a single Frenchman who has lived among them and has a heart but will ardently join me in the homage which I render them here, at this moment of supreme distress—a useless homage I know well, and, alas! that will be like the sorrowful wreaths which are deposited upon the tomb."—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Bulgaria In Arms.

(FROM THE "TIMES" SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY WITH THE BULGARIAN ARMY.)

Philippopolis, Nov. 4.

ONE of the most remarkable features of this remarkable war is the secrecy with which it is being waged. No one except those actually engaged in it really knows anything about what has happened or is happening, except that the Balkan nations are winning. That is all that the people seem to care to know. Even those engaged in the fighting only know what has happened in their individual experience. No news except official news, or officially inspired news, comes from the front; and then only news of progress. It is amazing to the spectator from other lands that the people really seem not to want to know. They have sunk all individual and domestic interests; they only care about the national issue. No information as to losses, no lists of killed and wounded have been issued. Although practically every individual in Bulgaria has some near relative in the fighting line, no one asks for information or murmurs at the absence of news of relatives and friends. I know one of three brothers, all officers, and himself a near relative of a general of division, who does not know even where his brothers have gone or whether they are alive or dead.

Journeying through the length and breadth of Bulgaria, the fact that this is in very truth a nation in arms is borne in upon one in almost depressing fashion by the almost entire absence of visible human life, except along the least-like track of the armies. The fields are empty; the villages are empty; the towns themselves are almost empty. More than half the shops are closed, in the hotels and *cafés* there are few waiters—all foreigners—and often there is little food. Violins and other instruments hang on the walls or lie about the floor of the bandstands in the *cafés*; in the barbers' shops one youth presides over half a dozen empty chairs; a lone droschky stands at the street corner with a venerable driver sitting on the box; there are no porters at the railway stations; indeed, there are few trains except the apparently never ending procession of troop trains, forage trains and ammunition trains. The stations near the Turkish frontier are ever crowded with Palastian-looking armies of weirdly-dressed soldiers. The uniforms gave out long ago, and the later regiments wear peasants' sheepskins or townsmen's tweeds, while the Armenians and Macedonians now hurrying to the front will be armed with captured Turkish rifles. The railway station waiting rooms are bivouacs, and every passenger is armed. Every available Bulgarian man has been called out, and now the boys of 16 and 17 are on their way to the battlefields. Nobody knows where he is going and nobody knows where he has gone. Few letters come back from the front, and even they bear no date and no indication of the place of origin.

It is at the frontier points like Yomboll and Mustafa Pasha that one sees the whole life of the nation, drawn from every nook and corner of the land and pouring through the small end of the funnel into the war area. One is almost amazed to find that there are so many oxen and buffaloes in the world. All day and every day, in a slow, swaying, unending procession, they throng across the historic bridge at Mustafa Pasha; the bridge built by the Sultan Suleiman to be the Great Road to the West, but now become the Great Road to the East. Thousands and thousands of men and oxen and guns and supplies all disappear over the ridge of hills into the great silence.

All that one actually knows of the facts of commoner human interest in the war is from the smaller, by comparison almost tiny, stream of wounded trickling back from the stricken fields. And it is a sorrowful procession: for the field-hospital and ambulance facilities are far from being of the best. The base hospitals, once the wounded reach them, are quite good, many of them quite excellent, largely through the hard, untiring work and devotion of the foreign Red Cross contingents. The trained nurses are admirably aided by hundreds of Bulgarian women of every rank and station. Most of the wounded make the long journey from the front in ox-wagons, slow-moving and springless, jolting and reeling over roads that are unimaginable by stay-at-home English people. In wet weather they are seas of liquid mud, often axle-deep, which hide cruel hollows and hillocks in the track; in dry weather wide dusty paths broken by innumerable gullies and hummocks and deep-worn wheel tracks. I have seen miles of such so-called road that would have made an admirably sporting golf course—one long vista of bunkers. I jolted several miles over such a road in a Red Cross wagon a few days ago, and my bones have ached ever since. Very many of the men badly hurt, those with cuts and shrapnel wounds about the hands and arms, trudge along beside the wagons in which their sorely-wounded comrades lie on a bed of straw. One never hears a groan or a murmur. These peasants have much of the stoicism of the East. Only as the wagons come into the broad valley of the Maritsa the pained men,

seeming to smell the water, raise their heads, a light comes into their lustreless eyes, and a pathetic ejaculation brings to the wagon side some good Samaritan with a big pannikin of yellow water.

But the long jolting journey to the hospitals is, alas! not the worst part of their sufferings. After several battles the wounded have lain on the bare field where they fell through two and three hot days and bitterly cold nights; and the worst sights in the hospitals are the rows of poor fellows with swollen, gangrened limbs for whom there is no hope of recovery under the best of skill and care.

I saw in one hospital near the front—I wish I could forget the sight—a young Bulgarian officer whose body, head, arms, and leg were torn and gouged with 13 separate wounds, shrapnel and bullet, and he was dying of—exposure. He had lain thus wounded on the battlefield for three nights and two days, yet so strong was his physique that but for the exposure and the resulting gangrene and pneumonia, the doctors said, he surely would have recovered. And his mother sat at the foot of the bed, motionless and dry-eyed, dumb with grief, watching the nurses tenderly dressing her son's awful wounds. They told me that she was a widow, and that she had two other sons at the front.

That the fighting has been fierce was evident enough. Every imaginable kind of wound was under treatment; bullet and shell and bayonet thrust and sword hack. And not all the bullet wounds were of the clean kind made by the nickel bullet. I saw, under the X-rays, fractured shoulders in which a great splash of lead was still embedded, and limbs from which great pieces had been torn. But all was quiet, and even cheerful. I saw one great bearded Bulgarian, with a bullet in his head, lying on the floor between two beds in one of which was a Turk and in the other a Pomak. He beckoned to the doctor and muttered something, "He wants to know when he will be able to go back," said the doctor. "He has a wounded son in the next ward, but he does not ask about him." On an operating table I saw a young Serbian, half sitting up and watching curiously the surgeon, who was shaving his leg, a ghastly gangrened almost shapeless limb, before amputating it close up to the thigh. "Hopeless, I'm afraid," said the doctor; but the man only asked for a cigarette.

More than a third of the wounded men in this big hospital were Turks. They say that the Turks left most of their wounded on the field. They also say that they left few of the Bulgarians wounded. I heard horrid stories of mutilation and murder, but one hears so many tales of horror in a war that one should only tell of things seen. I saw a chubby little Bulgarian baby, scarcely three years of age, which the soldiers said they found in a village near Kirk Kilissch crying by the side of its murdered mother. One of the nurses, who lost a 17-year-old son at Kirk Kilissch, was going to adopt it.

No praise can be too high for the foreign doctors and nurses and for the Bulgarian women of all degrees who are working night and day, often in circumstances that must be trying beyond description. What must be the emotions of mothers and wives and daughters and sisters tending the terrible wreckage of friend and foe while ignorant as to the welfare or even the whereabouts of their own loved ones! And as I write this I hear from the street below the lusty singing of several thousand more Macedonian and Armenian men and Bulgarian boys on their way to the front.

The Division of the Spoil.

THE Sofia correspondent of the *Temps* gives the following details of the Balkan *Entente*. There is first the Bulgaro-Serbian Convention, at which Russian diplomacy had been working since 1909, and in the realisation of which M. Hertvig, formerly Russian Minister at Teheran and now Russian Minister at Belgrade, took an active part. It was, however, only signed in March of the present year. The chief point at issue between the two States was the question of Uskub, which Bulgaria finally decided to cede to Servia. The future Bulgaro-Serbian frontier was fixed as a line running from the Vardar by Lake Okhrida to the Adriatic, a narrow zone on the Vardar-Okhrida portion remaining in suspense till after the war. Should no agreement be reached on the subject by the two States the question will be submitted to the Tsar for arbitration.

The other convention is that between Bulgaria and Greece. The negotiations on the subject began in July, and Greece undertook to leave out Salonica from the zone which she claims as hers. The third, the Bulgaro-Montenegrin Convention, assures to Montenegro the execution of the Austro-Montenegrin secret agreement of 1910, by which Montenegro was promised part of the Sandjak of Novi-Bazar. With regard to Constantinople, the four Powers agreed to leave this question out, and undertook not to permit it to become in the hands of certain Powers a means of sowing discord between the Balkan States and Russia. They were even

prepared to enter into negotiations with Russia upon this subject, but the Russian Government left the matter in abeyance. In addition to these territorial conventions a military convention was concluded for a period of 25 years.

In view of their successes in the war negotiations are now being actively carried on between the Allies with a view to bringing the various frontiers into harmony with the results of the war.

Greeks' Jealousy.

(PRESS ASSOCIATION WAR SPECIAL.)

Athens, Nov. 12.

There is a great deal of bitter comment in the Greek press on the fact that much more prominence is given in the European newspapers to the victories of the allied armies than to those of the Greek army. This, they declare, is due to the fact that the Governments of the Balkan Allies organized a news service to facilitate the work of the journalists.

It would seem from articles in the Greek newspapers that no partition of the conquered territory was made among the allies before the declaration of war, and that each belligerent is now endeavouring to occupy as much territory as possible with a view to the final division of the spoils. The journal *Athenai* in an article to-day dwells on the essentially Greek character of certain districts the allocation of which might lead later to disputes.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND.

Through Mohamed Khan Sahib, Bulandshaher—			
Subscriptions collected in Idgah ...	104	0	0
Messrs. Ghafur Baksh, Hatiz Abdul Ali, Mohamed Khan, and Najib Khan, rupees fifty each ...	200	0	0
Subscription collected in Jum'a Musjid ...	47	12	0
Syed Ayub Ali Shah Sahib ...	40	0	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	33	4	0
Messrs. Mazharul Haq and Islam Ahmad Khan, rupees fifteen each ...	30	0	0
Messrs. Syed Mazhar Ali Shah, M. Abdul Latif, Mashiat Ali, and Dawar Ali, rupees ten each ...	40	0	0
Messrs. Ibrahim Hosen and Jivan Khan, rupees two each ...	4	0	0
Nawab Khan, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Through Haji Mohamed Musa Khan Sahib, Datali—			
Haji Mohamed Yunus Sahib ...	1,100	0	0
Haji Mohamed Isa Khan Sahib ...	50	0	0
Anonymous ...	100	0	0
Self ...	100	0	0
Bahaji Sahiba ...	135	0	0
Collections of Jum'a Musjid ...	49	3	3
Inhabitants of Baroura, through Abdus Salam Khan Sahib ...	86	0	3
Inhabitants of Oontgar, through Mohamed Fruhim Khan Sahib ...	42	13	0
Inhabitants of Balhausi, through Farahim Khan Sahib ...	34	3	6
Begum Sahiba Moulvi Mohamed Yunus Khan Sahib ...	100	0	0
Collections of Idgah at Datali ...	25	0	0
Nansha, through Mohamed Omar Khan Sahib ...	40	0	0
Collections through Khuerat Khan, Ziladar (name of village illegible) ...	19	1	3
Haji Abdul Wahid Khan Sahib and Shah Zaman Khan Sahib, rupees ten each ...	20	0	0
Begum Sahiba Haji Mohamed Esa Khan Sahib ...	12	0	0
Begum Sahiba Moulvi Mohamed Khan Sahib, sale-proceeds of skin ...	70	0	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	281	0	0
Through Zahur Hasan, Esq., Aligarh ...	195	0	0
Through K. B. Wali Mohamed Khan Sahib, Whajjar—			
Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan Sahib ...	50	0	0
Self ...	20	0	0
Hafiz Syed Hayat Ali Sahib, Barkat Ali Khan Sahib, and Mahfuz Khan, Esq., rupees ten each ...	30	0	0
Messrs. Saleman, Ali Ahmad Khan, Masud Hasan Khan, Mohamed Taqi Khan, Dost Mohamed Khan, Omda Khan, Hakim Asghar Husain, Zahir-ud-din, Munir-ud-din, Hemayat Ali Khan, Mahbub Khan, Ashiq Ali, Kazi Mohamed Hasan Khan, Amjad Ali, Rasool Bux, Mohamed Hasan, Hakim Mirza Ali Khan, Shams-ud-din, and Asad-ulla Khan, rupees five each ...	95	0	0

Moulvi Nizam-ud-din Sahib ...	7 0 0	Rabia Begum Sahiba ...	15 0 0
Messrs. Hayat Mohamed Khan, Shams-ud-din Khan, Ata Mohamed Khan, Mohamed Yaqub Khan, Mohamed Saff Khan, Akbar Ali, Ali Mohamed Khan, Yakub Khan, and Students Madrasa Tepri, rupees four each ...	36 0 0	Mother of Jamaluddin Sahib ...	5 0 0
Messrs. Siddiq Husain, Mohamed Yasin Hosain, Mohamed Yakub Khan, Ibrahim, and Nizam-ud-din, rupees three each ...	12 0 0	Wife of Jamaluddin Sahib ...	8 0 0
Abdur Rahim, Esq. ...	2 8 0	Mrs. Aslam Saifi ...	20 0 0
Messrs. Gholam Mohamed Khan, Musa Mistry, Yusuf Khan, Hafiz Wazir Ali, Husam-ud-din, Siddiq, Ala Deiya, Malik Mohamed Khan, Ibrahim, Haji Malik Mohamed Khan, Mubarak Ali, Shadi, Fayaz Ali Khan, and Abdul Hakim Khan, rupees two each ...	30 0 0	Mrs. Muzaffuruddin Sahiba ...	20 0 0
Messrs. Karim Baksh, Ali Ahmad, Sirbaland Khan, Hafiz Mahmud Hasan Khan, Fateh Mohamed Khan, Nayaz Mohamed Khan, Abdul Ghafur Khan, Shera, Mahmud Khan, Nazir Mohamed, Abdur Rahman, Mohamed Husain, Gholam Nabi Abdur Rashid Khan, Hafiz Abdul Ghafur, Sadiq Ali, Nanhe, Ali Baksh, Akbar Khan, Ali Sher Khan, Mazamul Khan, Pir Baksh, Abdulla, Saadu, Wahid, Maula Baksh, Mohamed Khan, Nazir Mohamed, Imdad Ali, Maula Baksh, Umda, Farzand Ali, Masita, Mohamed Shafi Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Ayub Khan, Shamsuddin, Mohamed Hasan, Ahmad Ali, Mumtaz Ali, Abdul Majid, Annon Jan, Mahmud Khan, Hakim Mumtaz Ali Khan Sahib, Wazir, Fayaz, Gholam Mohamed, Masum Ali, Abdur Rahman, Mahub Beg, Karamat Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Hamid Jan, Shujat Ali Khan, Faizul Hasan Khan, Anonymous, Abdus Shakur Khan, Abdul Aziz Khan, Malik Mohamed Khan, Luq, Abdul Ghani, Sattar Baksh, Alahdad, Abdul Aziz Khan, Barkat, Habib, Nathu, Mansub Beg, Sattar, Hosain Baksh, Kallan, Abdul Latif Khan, Meru, Amrit, Karyia, and Nanha, rupee one each ...	78 0 0	Petty collections ...	11 8 0
Twenty-seven persons, annas eight each ...	13 8 0	Through Chaudhri Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib, Rais, Sahawgr ...	632 12 0
Fifteen persons, annas four each ...	3 12 0	Through Abul-ola, Esq., Pertabgarh—	
Mohamed Shafi Khan, Esq. ...	2 4 0	Sheikh Kefayatulla Sahib ...	125 0 0
Mohamed Ali, Esq. ...	1 12 0	Collections at Idgah at Pertabgarh ...	90 2 0
Afghana, through Begum Sahiba, Dojana ...	16 11 0	Through Jamil Ahmad Sahib ...	70 14 0
Kazi Hamiduddin Sahib ...	5 4 0	A Mussulman ...	40 0 0
Abdulla, Esq. ...	1 3 0	Mehdi Hasan, Esq. ...	21 0 0
Inhabitants of Mohulla Nanoowara, through Karim Baksh, Esq. ...	70 8 0	A Mussulman ...	15 0 0
Inhabitants of Mahulla Kamla, through Uabi Baksh, Esq. ...	27 12 0	Petty collections in Jum'a Masjid ...	7 0 0
Rahim, son of Moula Baksh ...	45 0 0	Messrs. Sheikh Saeduddin Ahmad, Mohamed Ali Khan, Mohamed Azim and Barkat Ali, rupees ten each ...	40 0 0
Faizulla, Esq. ...	84 4 0	Sheikh Rajab Ali Sahib ...	7 0 0
Dhobi of Mahulla Mandi ...	4 4 0	Messrs. Mohamed Hasan, Shabbir Hasan, Rafiuddin, Mohamad Ali, Abdul Malik, Mohamed Shaeli, Fateh Manur Khan, and Habib Kebroya, rupees five each ...	40 0 0
Sale-proceeds of Kurbari skin ...	209 10 0	Sheikh Puddan Sahib ...	11 0 0
Miscellaneous ...	3 0 6	Mother of Sheikh Ghayasuddin Sahib ...	5 0 0
Through Habibuddin Sahib ...	91 8 0	Minor subscriptions ...	1 0 0
Mohamed Khan, Esq. ...	1 8 0	Collections at Idgah, Pertabgarh town ...	27 0 0
Sale-proceeds of ornaments presented by the ladies of Jhajjar ...	176 0 0	Through Messrs. Abdur Rashid, Mohammed Hosain, Moulvi Qiam-ud-din and Abu Bakar, Jaunpur ...	1,500 0 0
Cash from ladies of Jhajjar and the Begum Sahiba of the late Nawab Mumtaz Ali Khan Sahib of Dojana ...	186 11 6	Wife of Shamsul Ulama Moulvi Abdul Jalil Sahib, Benares ...	100 0 0
Through Nazar Mohamed Khan Sahib, Kekri ...	100 11 6	Through Kazi Syed Amir, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman Islamia, Muttra ...	560 0 0
Through Najmuddin Ahmad Sahib, Meerut—		Through Mohamed Hosein Sahib, Machhlisahar—	
Mussulmans of Meerut ...	244 7 0	Collected at Idgah ...	133 0 0
Haji Sheikh Mohamed Din Sahib ...	230 0 0	Price of blankets given by Moulvi Abu Bakr Sahib ...	15 0 0
Servants of Sheikh Mohamed Din Sahib ...	70 1 0	Price of ornaments given by two ladies of Kaziana ...	42 0 0
Begum Sahiba Nawab Mohamed Isak Khan Sahib ...	100 0 0	Other collections ...	10 0 0
Mother of K. B. Sheikh Wahiduddin Sahib ...	100 0 0	Through Fazle Hosein Khan, Esq., Ahmadpur—	
Wives of Mohamed Ismail Khan and Lieut. Mohamed Ibrahim Khan Sahib, rupees forty each ...	80 0 0	Mussulmans of Tahsil Ahmadpur, Bhawalpur State ...	500 0 0
Wife of Mohamed Husain Sahib, and Begum Sahiba Islamulla Khan Sahib, rupees fifty each ...	100 0 0	Through M. Nurul Hasan, Esq., Hardoi—	
Mohamed Haider Hasan Sahib ...	30 0 0	Hakim Mohammad Ali Khan Sahib ...	15 0 0
Haji Sheikh Nizamuddin Sahib ...	50 0 0	Hashmat Ali, Esq. ...	10 0 0
Family of Doctor Rahimulla Sahib ...	120 0 0	Messrs. Kudrat Ali and Hamid Ali, rupees five each ...	10 0 0
Mother of Ghulam Moineuddin Sahib ...	50 0 0	Abul Hasan, Esq. ...	3 0 0
Wife of Kazi Najmuddin Sahib ...	10 0 0	Messrs. Wazir Khan and Ali Ibno Usman, rupee one each ...	2 0 0
Wife of Syed Mushtaq Hasan Sahib ...	5 0 0	Kazi Nazir Ahmad, Esq. ...	4 0 0
Wife of Hamid Hosain Sahib ...	6 0 0	Collected in Idgah ...	81 0 0
		Syed Mohammad-ul-Haq, Esq. ...	100 0 0
		Through S. M. Abdul Qadir, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Simla—	
		Collected by the members of the Anjuman on Id day ...	1,000 0 0
		Through S. M. Hasan, Esq., Muzaffarpur—	
		Collected in the Muzaffarpur District in one day ...	3,007 8 0
		A Friend, Allahabad ...	20 0 0
		Through Syed Mahfuz Ali, Esq., Ghaziabad ...	364 11 6
		Through Abdul Qadir, Esq., Midnapur—	
		Collected by the ladies of the house and their friends on Id day ...	111 0 0
		Through Mohammad Jalil, Esq., Jalah—	
		Mussulmans of the village ...	335 0 0
		Ali Ahmad, Esq., Sylhet ...	15 0 0
		S. A. Kadir Badshah, Esq., Valum ...	5 0 0
		S. M. Abbas, Esq., Allahabad ...	2 0 0
		Begum Shams-ud-din Sahiba, Sikandra ...	10 0 0
		Through Ramzan Ali, Esq., Barha, Fatehpur ...	20 6 0
		Through Sheikh Bittu Ali, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman-i-Itikad, Rauchi—	
		Collections made on Id day ...	105 0 0
		Through M. A. Jalbar, Esq., Secretary, Bangsat Crescent Club, Dacca ...	245 0 0
		Through M. Fazul Akram, Esq.—	
		Contributed by the Mussulmans of the town ...	375 0 0
		Through A. R. Adhami, Esq., Allahabad—	
		Messrs. Amin-ud-din and Nusrat Ali, rupees five each ...	10 0 0
		Ataula (a butcher who supplies meat to M. B. house) ...	3 0 0
		M, Abdul Hamid, Esq. ...	3 0 0

Messrs. Mohammad Athar and Habib Ahmad, rupees two each ...	4 0 0	Through Safulla Khan, Esq., Kot, District Fatehpur...	100 0 0
Messrs. Ala-ud-din, Abdur Rahman, Mohammed Abbas, Wiqar Hosein, and Nurul Hasan, rupee one each ...	5 0 0	Through Abdul Jabbar, Esq., Secretary, Bangsal R.C. Club, Dacca ...	100 0 0
Sister of Hakim Ashraf Ali Sahib ...	5 0 0	Through Ashfaq Ali, Esq., Aligarh—	...
Syed Shujat Ali, Esq., Chatra ...	5 0 0	Collected on I'd day at Patiala ...	100 0 0
"Anonymous from Residency, Indore" ...	15 0 0	Mohammed Idris, Esq., Azamgarh—	...
Sahibzada Mushtaq Ali Khan, through Syed Ghulam Hosain, Esq., Indore ...	5 0 0	Collections made on I'd day ...	25 0 0
Through Moazzam Rasul Zafar, Esq., Calcutta—	...	A Sympathiser ...	10 0 0
Self ...	2 0 0	Alimuddin, Esq., Rajgarh ...	3 0 0
A. B., Jessore ...	3 0 0	Through Vilayat Ali, Esq., Shillong ...	160 0 0
Syed Shujat Ali, Esq., Chatra, on behalf of his neighbour	10 0 0	Through Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Esq., Nagina—	...
Mrs. Saghir Hosain, Aligarh ...	28 6 0	Sale-proceeds of Kurban skin ...	465 2 7
Through Ehtisham Ali, Esq., Kakori—	...	Syed Akbar Ali, Esq. ...	6 0 0
Pice collections after I'd prayers ...	3 10 0	Syed Altaf Ali, Esq. ...	8 0 0
Sale-proceeds of Kurban skin given by Mr. Mohamad Zaki ...	6 6 0	Hakim Irteza Ali Sahib ...	9 0 0
A. Delare, Esq., Lucknow ...	10 0 0	Shafiq Ahmad, Esq. ...	20 0 0
Samulla, Esq., Moradabad ...	17 3 0	Syed Hamid Hasan, Esq. ...	14 12 0
Husain Ali, Esq., Shahjahanpur ...	2 8 0	Syed Mohamed Ali, Esq. ...	11 0 0
Gholam Saundani, Esq., Karamganj ...	3 0 0	M. Ahmad Hosain, Esq. ...	12 0 0
S. A. Rahman, Esq., Amousi ...	2 0 0	Jewan Khan, Esq. ...	15 0 0
A Sympathiser, Dacca ...	15 0 0	Mohamed Ahmed, Esq. ...	10 0 0
Through Amir-ud-din Ahmad, Esq., Dacca—	...	Miscellaneous collections ...	429 1 5
Eqbal-un-Nisan Begam ...	10 0 0	Hira Khan, Esq., Agra ...	100 0 0
Hamida Begam ...	5 0 0	Through Altaf Husain, Esq., Etawah—	...
Self ...	25 0 0	Collection made by the students of Islamia School, Etawah ...	50 0 0
Khalid Ibne Ainnad, Esq. ...	5 0 0	Through Syed Raza Hyder Rizvi, Esq., Agra—	...
Petty collections ...	3 0 0	Collected by the ladies of his family ...	87 1 0
Through Ghulam Kuddus, Esq., Dacca—	...	Sale-proceeds of Kurban skin ...	47 7 0
Collections made on I'd day ...	45 0 0	Abdul Hasan, Esq. ...	...
Through Ibrahim Hasan Khan, Esq., Domoreaganj—	...	Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq. ...	...
Syed Lutf Hosain, B. A. (Alig.) ...	10 0 0	Petty collections ...	7 8 0
M. Mojibullah Khan ...	10 0 0	Through Nayaz Mohamed, Esq., Jalandhar—	...
M. Fasiullah Khan ...	10 0 0	Self ...	200 0 0
Miscellaneous in I'dgah ...	11 0 0	Self in lieu of Kurban ...	25 0 0
Abdul Mannan, Esq., Gotheal ...	12 9 0	Wife of Nyaz Mohamed Khan Sahib ...	47 8 0
Abdul Ghafur, Esq., Allahabad—	...	Fakhrud-din Ahmad Khan, Esq. ...	50 0 0
Sale-proceeds of Kurban skin ...	11 3 0	Widow of Ghulam Nabi Khan Sahib ...	25 6 0
Through Rafi Ahmad, Esq., Barabanki—	...	Wife of Abdul Jawwad Sahib ...	14 0 0
Sheikh Wazir Ali, Esq. ...	19 0 0	Wife of Ahmad Husain Khan Sahib ...	6 6 0
Sale-proceeds of skin through Abdul Aziz, Esq. ...	5 2 0	Wife of Abdul Kayyum Ahmad Khan Sahib ...	24 8 0
Sale-proceeds of skin through Abdul Ali, Esq. ...	5 0 0	Wife of Fakhrud-din Ahmad Khan Sahib ...	28 0 0
Hafiz Asghar Ali, Esq. ...	2 0 0	Miscellaneous collections ...	46 4 0
Ghafur (Kassab) ...	1 0 0	Through Mushir Husain Qidwai, Esq., Lucknow ...	100 0 0
Through Khalidur Rahman, Esq., Mymensing, as I'd collections ...	16 12 0	Through Said Ahmad Khan, Esq., Agra—	...
Through Sirajul Hasan, Tirmizi, Esq., Orai—	...	Moulvi Mohamed Shooab Sahib Tonki ...	23 0 0
Subscriptions collected at I'dgah ...	29 0 0	Subscription from Haveli Khaja ...	17 10 3
Messrs. Torab Khan, Elisan-ulla, Mahfuz-ur Rahman, Abrar Hosein, rupee one each ...	5 0 0	Mother of Doctor Mazhar Alam Sahib ...	15 0 0
Shuja-ud-din, Esq. ...	16 0 0	Sale-proceeds of Kurban skin ...	37 6 0
Pirzada family of Asiwan, through Sherifuzzaman, Esq. ...	65 0 0	Messrs. Abid Ali and Rahim Hasan, rupees five each ...	10 0 0
Ahmad Hosain, Esq., Gunna ...	50 0 0	Doctor Mohammad Ismail Sahib ...	10 0 0
"Anna of Satia" ...	50 0 0	Haji Mohammad Yusuf Sahib ...	8 0 0
Sheikh Subhan, Esq., on behalf of Mohammedan residents of Meja, District Allahabad ...	62 7 0	Miscellaneous collections from other Mohallas ...	67 1 9
Ali Ahmad, Esq., Patna ...	50 0 0	Syed Mohamed, Esq., Hyderabad ...	5 0 0
Habibur Rahman Khan, Esq., Charra, Aligarh ...	250 0 0	S. M. Ibrahim, Esq., Sitamarhi ...	5 0 0
Through M. Salam-ud-din Khan, Esq., Jalandhar—	...	Through M. Anjad Ali, Esq., Balurghat—	...
Mrs. Aslam ...	50 0 0	Moulvi A. M. Ahmed Sahib ...	100 0 0
Khadija Begum ...	10 0 0	Aziz-ul-Haq Choudri, Esq. ...	25 0 0
Anonymous ...	3 0 0	Bilkis Bano Begam ...	25 0 0
Manzur Ali, Esq., as Imamzamin money ...	14 6 0	A. M. Mohamed, Esq. ...	15 0 0
M. Vilayat Ali, Esq., Khakhrena, District Fatehpur—	...	Bashir-ud-din Mandal, Esq. ...	10 0 0
Sale-proceeds of Kurban skin ...	50 0 0	Miscellaneous collections ...	25 0 0
Syed Vall-ulla, Esq., Hyderabad ...	20 0 0	Through Shah Moin-ud-din Ahmad Sahib, Semri ...	100 0 0
Through Ali Asghar, Esq., Kati—	...	Through S. M. Tafur, Esq., Dacca—	...
Self ...	3 0 0	A Mussalman of Ghiar ...	103 3 0
Mohamed Hosain ...	3 0 0	Self ...	5 0 0
Through Inam Sahib, Jum'a Masjid, Cheria Kot, District Azamgarh—	...	Mussamat Kulsam Khatun of Ghiar ...	5 0 0
Messrs. Hedayat Hosen and Saghir Ahmad, rupees two each ...	4 0 0	Through Abdul Ghafur, Esq., Chapra ...	200 0 0
Messrs. Mohamed Ega and Raushan Dallal, rupees five each ...	10 0 0	Through Hafiz Abdul Majid, Esq., Hamirpur—	...
Through Hafiz Mohamed Siddiq Sahib ...	5 5 3	Nawab Mukhtar Mahal Sahiba ...	50 0 0
Through Messrs. Abdur Razzak and Mohamed Siddiq ...	4 3 9	Wife of Mohamed Zafar Ali Sahib ...	32 0 0
Through Hafiz Alim-ud-din Sahib ...	3 0 0	M. Zafar Ali, Esq. ...	15 0 0
Through Nazir Ahmad Sahib ...	9 9 0	Hafiz Abdul Wajid Sahib ...	10 0 0
Through Hafiz Saghir Ahmad Sahib ...	6 13 0	Wife of Mirza Inam-ul-la Beg, Esq. ...	7 0 0
Miscellaneous collections ...	9 7 0	Messrs. Rahat Ali, Ghafur Hosain, Badrul Hasan, Abdul Ghafur, Abdur Rahman, Babu Khan, and Syed Abdul Majid, rupees five each ...	35 0 0
Mohamed Inampilla, Esq., Bibipur—	...	Wives of M. Rahat Ali Sahib and Syed Abdur Rahman Sahib, rupees five each ...	10 0 0
Collections made on I'd day ...	10 0 0	Miscellaneous collections ...	31 0 0
		Through Haji Rashid-ud-din Ahmad Sahib, Agra ...	40 0 0
		Through Abdul Mannan, Esq., Dacca ...	275 0 0
		Through Amir Khan, Esq., Rangoon—	...
		A. M. Duply, Esq. ...	4 0 0

2nd Standard Teacher	2 0 0	Through A. Ghafur, Esq., Chairman, Y. M. Club,	
Ahmad Mohamed Bham, Esq.	2 0 0	Koilwar	100 0 0
Messrs. Surju Prasad, M. H. Khorasani, Mohamed		Saleh Mohamed Haji Ebrahim, Esq., Madras ...	50 0 0
Saddique, Azam Nakhoda, Hashim Azam,		Through Mohi-ud-din Ahmad, Esq., Hazaribag—	
Ismail Ebrahim Mansoor, Ahmad Hashim		From Police Training College	82 0 0
Mansoor, Husainji, Moolla Hashim, I. M.		Mudoo Mian Sahib	100 0 0
Akooji, S. M. Babani, and Moosa Ebrahim,		Khan Mohamed Khan, Esq.	98 0 0
rupees one each	12 0 0	Miscellaneous collections and sale-proceeds of	
Smaller donations	10 0 0	Kurbani skin	305 0 0
Through Razi-ud-din Hasan, Esq., Dig—		Through Mohamed Shafi, Esq., Pusa—	
Messrs. Kadir Ali Khan, Ahmad Husain, Moham-		Collections of Mowlanagar and Pusa ...	100 0 0
mad Husein, Sheikh Subhan, Sheikh Mohammad		Through Mohamed Amir, Esq., Balrampur ...	60 0 0
and Sheikh Musa, rupees five each ...	30 0 0	Through Abdul Majid, Esq., Hamirpur ...	21 0 0
Students of A.-V. School	8 10 6	Through Mohamed Omar, Nounani, Esq., Simla—	
Fruit-sellers	6 8 0	Sheikh Ghulam Rasul, Esq.	11 6 6
Banna, Esq.	8 0 0	M. Tamiz-ud-din, Esq.	4 0 0
Miscellaneous collections	51 13 6	A poor Mohammadan	0 2 6
Through Nurul Huda, Esq., Bagitpur ...	100 0 0	Through Shaikh Mohammad, Esq., Tohana—	
Through Azim-ud-din, Esq., Bagitpur ...	43 0 0	Self	50 0 0
Syed Ahmad, Esq., on behalf of a lady ...	20 0 0	Two Hindu gentlemen, rupees five each ...	10 0 0
Through Wazir Ali, Esq., Ichapur	22 0 0	Mussalmans of the place	660 0 0
Through Abdul Gafar Khan, Esq., Karinganj ...	600 0 0	Mohamed Ali Abbas, Esq., Mysore	10 0 0
Through Ahmad Hyas Adhauji, Esq., Bhadoi—		Through Ghulam Hosain, Esq., Indore—	
Sale-proceeds of ornaments given by ladies of the		S. Ghulam Jilani, Esq.	10 0 0
Qazi family	65 4 6	Bapamina Sahib	10 0 0
Shaikh Mohammad Ishaque, son of the late Khan		Sale-proceeds of Kurbani skin	2 0 0
Bahadur Abdus Salaam	50 0 0	Through Leqat Ali, Esq., Kanalspur—	
Shaikh Mohamed Ishaque	18 3 0	Poor Mussulmans of the town	25 0 0
Messrs. Qazi Abdul Mojib, Shaikh Aman-ullah,		Through Mohammad Ali, Esq., Hardoi—	
and Babu Jangi Lal Hakim, rupees 15 each ...	45 0 0	Some Mussulman ladies of Hardoi ...	80 0 0
Qazi Nurul Haque	14 0 0	Ahmad Raza, Esq., Dandha	30 0 0
Haji Idris	11 0 0	Mussulman students of X'ian College, Cawnpur	13 0 0
Messrs. Haji Mittoo, Vali Mohammad, Khan Sahib		Mohamed Amir, Esq., Agra	5 0 0
Syed Husain Ali, and a Sympathiser,		Through Mohamed Ismail, Esq., Gorakhpur ...	394 0 0
rupees 10 each	40 0 0	Through M. Abdul Ghaffar, Esq., Chhabra, Tenk	50 0 0
Mrs. Sulaiman, Qazi Mohamed Ishaq, Esq., Pir		Through S. M. Abbas, Esq., Aligarh—	
Mohamed Khan, Esq., Mrs. Rahman Khan,		Collected at his house on 1st day ...	25 0 0
Hafiz Mohamed Sharif and Shaikh Mohamed		Through Abdul Majid, Esq., Chapra—	
Husain, Esq., rupees 5 each	30 0 0	Collections from village Chiranda ...	40 13 0
Mrs. Musi Raza and Bint-i-Rahmat-ul-lah,		Through Nawab Ali, Esq., Neotni—	
rupees 4 each	8 0 0	Hakim Syed Amer Ali and his family ...	23 10 0
Shaikh Mohamed Basit	5 0 0	Mir Abid Husain, M. A., and family ...	13 0 0
Messrs. Ahmad Hyas, Qazi Mujtaba, Qazi Nabi		Self and family	14 1 0
Mohamed, Babban, Ainul Husain, Nasibau,		Syed Mohamed Raza, Wakil, and family ...	5 0 0
Mrs. Salim, Messrs. Rahmat-ul-lah, Mohamed		Sheikh Rasul Baksh, Merchant	10 0 0
Khan, Rahim Baksh, Qazi Jalal-ud-din,		Haji Azam Ali, Merchant	6 0 0
Mrs. Babban, Mrs. Mohamed Umar, Messrs.		Monvi Qamr-ud-din and family	3 0 0
Shaikh Mansab Ali, Shaikh Abdur Rabin,		Messrs. Mir Najabat Husain, Abdul Hai, and	
Shaikh Mohamed Yusuf, Khuda		Shaikh Fakir Baksh, rupees two each ...	6 0 0
Baksh, Sahadur, Shaikh Ali Hasan, Sar-		Mir Hafiz Ali	1 2 0
faraz Khan, Shaikh Jafar Husain, Shaikh		Messrs. Sajjad Ali, Zahid Ali, Moosi Raza,	
Indad Husain, Police men of the Thana, and		Mohamed Idris, Mohammad Husain, Niaz	
Syed Shabbir Husain, rupees 2 each ...	48 0 0	Husain, Yusuf Ali, Aynb Ali, Nazir-ul	
Mrs. Badr-ud-din	2 4 0	Hasan, Emadul Hasan, Hyder Husain,	
Um-i-Tafazzul Husain	2 10 0	Asghar Ali, Jamshed Ali, Anjad Ali, Amir	
Messrs. Qazi Mohamed Ismail, Qazi Syed Ahmad,		Hasan, Nadir Husain, and Musakib, rupees	
Khuda Baksh, Vali Mohamed, Salim, Shaikh		one each	18 0 0
Qasim, Mohamed Husain, Shaikh Hidayat-ul-lah,		Syed Murtza	0 8 0
Mirza Wajid, Vajid, Inayat, Rahim, Aziz Khan,		Through Abdul Bari Khan, Esq., Shahzadpur	12 0 0
Yusuf Khan, Sajjad Husain, Abdullah, Kasim,		Through Sharifuzzaman, Esq., Asiwani—	
Sabai, Din Mohamed, Haji Vazir, Khuda Baksh,		Poor Mussalmans of the town	40 0 0
Emadul Hasan, Ija, Jamshed, Jibon, Um-i-		Through Mohammad Wazir Khan, Esq., Dataganj	44 6 0
Uman, Banafsha, Hafiz Habi Baksh, M. Abdul		Through Maula Baksh, Esq., Etah	35 7 0
Ghafoor, Qazi Mohamed Adam, Shaikh Khalil		Through Hafiz Khan, Esq., Pusa	5 0 0
Ahmad, Shaikh Mohamed Sharif, Shaikh		Through M. Rahmat-ul-la, Esq., Mohammadabad,	
Mohamed Habib, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Shaikh		Azamgarh, collections made at Id'gah ...	122 10 0
Anjad Ali, Rahim Baksh, Maada, Abdul Ghafur,		M. Taribulla, Esq., Nandina	10 0 0
Musammam Talzani, Idarat, Hafiz Abdur Raz-		Mohammad Ismail, Esq., Meerut	5 0 0
zaque, Imam Bakshi, Bipul, Imaman, Syed		Through Abdul Bari Khan, Esq., Shahzadpur—	
Vajid Husain, Shaikh Habibul-lah, Shafi Moha-		Mr. A. Rab's family	5 8 0
med Khan, Hajira, Abdul Kasim, Syed Wahid		Mr. N. Ali's family	2 0 0
Ali, Rustam, Turqb, Ghansi, Ismail, Jamayyat,		Mr. A. Khan's first daughter	1 0 0
Mrs. Mansab Ali, Fandan, Shaikh Habib-ul-lah,		Mr. A. B. Khan's family	4 0 0
and Ishaque	58 0 0	Other families of the place	9 15 0
Collection in the Id'gah	29 0 0	Ghulam Shahabuddin, Esq., Nowgong ...	10 0 0
Petty collections	38 10 6	Through Fazole Hasan, Esq., Ahmadpur—	
Through Mohammed Ali Ahmad, Esq., Amroha—		Mussulmans of the place	500 0 0
Collections made by Hafiz Abdur Rahman		Through Ismail Adhami, Esq., Ghazipur—	
Sahib	600 0 0	Mohammad Mokim, Esq.	9 4 0
Through A. Ghafur, Esq., vice-Chairman, the Moham-		Mohammad Ismail Khan, Esq.	8 10 0
madan Young Men's Club, Koilwar ...	100 0 0	Mohammad Nazir Khan, Esq.	3 0 0
Through Ahmadulla Khan, Esq., Aligarh ...	415 0 0	Hasan Khan, Esq.	2 0 0
Abdul Ghafur, Esq., on behalf of Anjuman Islam,		A maid servant	1 4 0
Karinganj	100 0 0	Salam Aham, Esq.	1 8 0
Through Mohamed Sarail, Esq., Bagitpur ...	100 0 0	J. N. K. Sahib	16 6 0
Through Qazi Abdul Haq Esq., Nowgong, Assam ...	120 0 0		

Messrs. Abdul Ahad, Majid, Hamid, Sulaiman, Nasrulla, Haji Bashir Khan, and a girl ...	8	0	0
Abdul Kayyum Khan, Esq., Ambala ...	5	0	0
Tahawwar Ali, Esq., Aligarh, on behalf of his deceased aunt ...	7	0	0
Sheikh Mohsin, Esq., Nowgong ...	22	0	0
Through Ghulam Ambia, Esq., Sirajganj ...	8	0	0
Through the Principal, M. A.-O. College, Aligarh—			
Collections from the M. A.-O. College students and staff ...	6,000	0	0
Through Jafar Husain, Esq., Jhansi—			
Mussalmans of the station ...	632	3	6
Through Mohammad Fazle Haq Khan, Esq., Bassi—			
Mussulmans of the station ...	750	0	0
Through Syed Md. Hosain, Esq., Machhlisahar—			
Savings from the midday meals of all the Mussalmans of the town ...	93	3	9
Miscellaneous collections ...	106	12	3
Through Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq, Esq., Secretary, Anjuman Mauaina, Allahabad ...	200	0	0
Through Q. M. Ariff, Esq.—			
Mohamad Akbar, Esq., Nagpur ...	30	0	0
Through Wahidul Hasan, Esq., Aswan ...	59	0	0
Through Sheikh Abdur Rauf, Esq., Syed Sarawan, Dist. Allahabad—			
Sale-proceeds of Kurbani skin, cash collections and sale-proceeds of the ornaments given by some ladies ...	150	0	0
Through Mohamad Mobin, Esq., Maureshwar—			
Sale-proceeds of Kurbani skin ...	100	0	0
Through Asghar Hosain, Esq., Munipar—			
Sale-proceeds of Kurbani skin and cash collections ...	251	11	0
Through Messrs. Abdur Rahman and Mohamed Yaqub, Ahrowra, District Mirzapur ...	337	13	0
Through Messrs. Mukhtar Ahmad and Bashir-uddin, Sandila—			
Collected at Idgah ...	51	0	0
Sale-proceeds of Kurbani skin ...	47	12	9
Hafiz Mohamed, Esq. ...	2	8	0
Messrs. Habib Husan and Ali Ajmal ...	3	8	9
Miscellaneous collections ...	7	0	3
Through S. M. Hasan, Esq., Secretary, Red Crescent Society, Kascara—			
Messrs. Wajid Hosain and Aulad Husain, rupees 25 each ...	50	0	0
S. Iqbal Husain, Esq. ...	6	0	0
Mir Mohamed, Esq. ...	11	12	0
Khaderan, Esq. ...	3	8	0
Imamin Mean Sahib ...	7	8	0
Syed Amir-ud-din, Esq. ...	13	0	0
Messrs. Shujaat Husain and A. Karim ...	8	0	0
Messrs. Gonhar Khan, Abdul Hamid and Jitu, rupees five each ...	15	0	0
Mohamed Ismail, Esq. ...	4	0	0
Hajam of Husainhat ...	4	0	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	102	4	0
Abdul Majid, Esq., Agra ...	11	0	0
Through Moulayi Abdul Karim Sahib, Poshnamaz of Uska Bazar ...	15	6	0
Kazi Abdul Haq, Esq., Nowgong ...	5	0	0
Through Mohamed Shafi, Esq., Deoband ...	10	13	0
Kabir Ahmad, Esq., Majahedpur ...	15	0	0
Muhammad Ali Ahmad, Esq., Saluadi, Mymensingh ...	35	0	0
Through Syed Shujaat Ali, Esq., Chatra ...	10	0	0
Muslim Khan, Esq., Fuldi ...	9	0	0
Through Reazul Mustafa, Esq., Hoshangabad—			
Self ...	14	9	0
Syed Iqbal Hasan, Esq. ...	9	0	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	24	9	0
A. J. Asiff, Esq., Bombay ...	3	0	0
S. M. Hasan, Esq., Madhopur ...	10	0	0
Abdur Rahman Khan, Esq., Akola ...	5	0	0
Through Mr. Ahmad Razvi, Esq., Samdhi—			
Nabi and Kudrat-ulla Sahib ...	9	5	0
Husain and others ...	4	0	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	1	11	0
Mirza Abid Hosain, Esq., Udaipur ...	10	0	0
S. Bunyad Husain, Esq., Gonda ...	10	0	0
S. M. Ahsan, Esq., Arrah ...	1	10	0
Munirul Haq, Esq., Basti ...	10	0	0
Through Sheikh Hyder, Esq., Katal—			
Self ...	5	0	0
Sheikh Jumman, Esq. ...	4	0	0
Mohamed Zamirul Haq, Esq., Sadulpur ...	38	13	0
Through Mushir Hosain Qidwai, Esq., Gadia—			
Mussalmans of Gadia ...	75	0	0
Through Mohamed Asghar Ali Khan, Esq., Fatehgarh, ...	78	7	0
Through Haji Mohamed Salem, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Madrasa Istamia, Baghowni ...	31	3	0
Through Latafat Hosain, Esq., Treasurer, Red Crescent Society, Basti ...	150	0	0
Through Mohammed Jan, Esq., Sandila—			
Self ...	27	4	0
Chaudhri Nusrat Ali Sahib ...	22	0	0
Chaudhri Rafat Ali Sahib ...	3	8	0
Through Manzur Ahmad, Esq., Arrah ...	50	0	0
Through Mohsin Ali, Esq., Seoni, Malwa ...	110	0	0
Anonymous ...	2	0	0
Through Zikrur Rahman, Esq., Delhi—			
Ikram Mohamed Khan, Esq., Sirar ...	3	8	0
Karim Baksh, Esq., Jhalu ...	10	0	0
Azizul Hasain, Esq., Goryam ...	100	0	0
Mohamed Zahir-ud-din, Esq., Kath ...	66	6	0
Messrs. Sakawat Ali and Khalil-ud-din, Gwalior ...	75	0	0
Through Messrs. Sheikh Mohamed Yasin and Mohamed Sajjad, Bankipore ...	82	0	0
Sheikh Abdulla, Esq., Firozpur ...	7	6	0
Anonymous ...	0	12	0
Through Ghulam Mohamed Khan, Esq., Delhi—			
Self ...	10	0	0
A Sympathiser ...	20	0	0
Through Mohamed Omar Khan, Esq., Basti—			
Messrs. Mohamad Hosein, and self, rupees fifty each ...	100	0	0
Messrs. Maqbul Hasan and Babu Kailashpati, rupees twenty-five each ...	50	0	0
M. Saifulla Khan, Esq. ...	100	0	0
M. Ali Mohamed, Esq. ...	20	0	0
M. Lutf Husain, Esq. ...	30	0	0
Post-Master Sahib, Sadar ...	13	0	0
Messrs. Shakur Ali, Abdul Alim, Unirao Ali and Waqil Ahmad, rupees ten each ...	40	0	0
Peers of Basti Tahsil ...	13	0	0
Messrs. Syed Ahmad and Abdur Rahman, rupees six each ...	12	0	0
Messrs. Bande Hasan, Mujtaba Hasan, Hafiz Nur-uddin, and Abdul Hakim, rupees five each ...	20	0	0
Mohamed Amin, Esq. ...	3	4	0
Messrs. Abdul Hamid, Alla-uddin, Tahawwar Hussain, and Abul Hasan, rupees two each ...	8	0	0
Messrs. Ghasite, Ikram-ullah, Saadat, Abdul Ghani, Maula Baksh, Abdul Mannan, Sajid Ali, Said Khan, and Amir Khan, rupee one each ...	5	0	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	75	14	0
Chotto, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Contribution from the ladies and sale-proceeds of ornaments ...	226	6	0
A Constable ...	1	0	0
Sadiq Ali, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Hafiz Musa, Esq. ...	4	0	0
Moula, Esq. ...	5	8	0
Through Hafiz Mohammed Kayyum Sahib, Arrah—			
Mussalmans of the station ...	1,000	0	0
A. Delare, Esq., Lucknow ...	50	0	0
Through Ghousi Mohi-uddin, Esq., Hospet ...	150	0	0
Through Mohammad Ali, Esq., Qadian—			
Contribution of the Ahmadiya community ...	150	0	0
Through Messrs. Amir Khan and Munir-uddin on behalf of the Mussalmans of Banda ...	55	0	0
Through Syed Amir Husain, Esq., President, Anjuman Istamia, Hassan ...	80	0	0
Akbar Ali, Esq., Aligarh ...	10	0	0
Through Seth Ali Bhai, Esq., Katal—			
Self ...	15	0	0
Seth Kasem Bhai Saheb ...	25	0	0
Chaudhri Zahid Nabi, Esq., Burdwan ...	4	0	0
Mrs. Hasan, Jal Tamli ...	10	0	0
Through Chaudhri Nabi Baksh and Abdul Hamid Khan Saheb, Shikohabad, District Mainpuri ...	37	0	0
Through Sheikh Ramzan Ali, Esq., Nihalgarh, District Saharapur—			
Maula Baksh, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Messrs. Bachu, Faizulla, Syed Hasan, Alhu, Ramzan Khan, Nanhe Khan, Majid, Daroga Tajamul, and Wazir Ali, rupee one each ...	9	0	0
Ghorai, Esq. ...	1	2	0
Musammam Najful ...	2	0	0
Musammam Hafizan ...	1	0	0

Petty collections ...	11 14 0
M. Abdul Moghni, Esq., and his family, Bolandshaher	79 0 0
Dr. Khalil-ur-Rahman, Saheb Bakarganj, Bankipur	7 4 0
Through Khusim-uddin Ahmad, Esq., Secretary, Mohammadan Students' Association, Malda—	
Members of the Association ...	20 0 0
Members of the Moslem Hostel ...	4 0 0
Through M. Aziz-ulla, Esq., Bikanir—	
Collections from the Mussalmans of the place ...	25 0 0
Through Pir Mohammad Zaki-uddin, Esq., Mirzabad—	
Some Mussalmans of Amroha ...	5 4 0
Sharaf-uzzaman Savi, Esq., Asiwan, Contributions of the Peerzada family and petty collections ...	30 0 0
Mohamed Zaki, Esq., Gorakhpur ...	15 0 0
Through Mohammedan Students, Veterinary College, Calcutta—	
Savings from the General Mess in November 1912 by Mohamed Hosain, Esq., Monitor ...	17 12 0
Messrs. M. A. Khan and R. Ahmad, rupees two each, Z. Haq, Esq. ...	4 0 0
Messrs. A. Latif, K. M. Husain, Y. A. Ahmad, M.A. Ali, S. Ahmad, A.H. Khan, M. Husain, S. I. H. Akbari, S. M. J. Ahmad and M. Kasim, rupee one each ...	1 4 0
Petty collections ...	2 0 0
Through M. Azim-uddin, Esq., Sehora—	
Rai Bahadur, Pundit Bisun Dat Sahib ...	10 0 0
Messrs. Munir Khan, and Seraj-uddin, rupees Eleven each ...	22 0 0
Shaikh Idu, and Nabi Baksh ...	16 0 0
Messrs. Abdur Rahman, and Alaf Beg, rupees three each ...	6 0 0
Messrs. Omaid Khan, Wazir, Sheikh Nur, and Maula Baksh, rupees two each ...	8 0 0
Miscellaneous collections ...	38 0 0
Through M. Zahir-uddin, Esq., Khandarpur—	
Mussalmans of the place ...	42 0 0
Through Saifulla Khan, Esq., Kot, District Fatehpur ...	100 0 0
Through Sheikh Wazir, Esq., Bilaspur ...	240 0 0
Through K. B. Barkat Ali Saheb, Unao—	
T. A. C. Forbes, Esq. ...	25 0 0
Babu Pragmarain, Esq. ...	500 0 0
M. Ahmad Hasan, Esq. ...	500 0 0
Messrs. Bishambar Nath, and M. Abdul Hamid, rupees twenty-five each ...	50 0 0
Babu Pearce Lal Saheb and K. B. Barkat-ulla Saheb, rupees fifty each ...	100 0 0
Bismillah Begam Sahiba ...	200 0 0
Three Mussalman Gentlemen, rupees fifty each	150 0 0
A Mussalman ...	20 0 0
A Mussalman ...	15 0 0
Another Mussalman ...	11 0 0
Messrs. Ruh-ulla, Mohammed Ahmed and Ala Din, rupees ten each ...	30 0 0
A Mussalman ...	200 0 0
Minor subscriptions ...	399 0 0
Through Mir Habibulla, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Anjuman Islamia, Amritsar ...	500 0 0
Syed Mohammad Ali, Esq., Moradabad ...	50 0 0
Through Abdul Qadir, Esq., Farukhabad—	
Collected by the Mussalmans on Id day ...	180 0 0
A Sympathiser, Delhi ...	271 0 0
Syed Wajid Ali, Esq., Calcutta ...	16 0 0
Through Abul Mohammad, Esq., Shahzadpur—	
Self ...	25 0 0
Mrs. Abul Mohammad ...	15 0 0
Molvi Mazam Ali Khan Sahib ...	50 0 0
Mrs. Mazam Ali Khan ...	10 0 0
Nasir Uddin Ahmad, Esq. ...	76 0 0
M. Karim Nawaz Khan, Esq. ...	9 0 0
M. Osman Gani, Esq. ...	29 8 0
Dr. Rais Uddin Ahmad ...	15 0 0
Maulvi Mohammad Shah Sahib ...	6 8 0
Purnima Bibi and Taleem Bepari ...	8 6 0
Miscellaneous collections ...	505 10 0
Through Mohammad Saidulla Khan, Esq., Jaipur ...	720 0 0
Through Syed Khalil Ahmad Sahib, Pesh Imam	
Sawai Bala, Shemoga ...	370 0 0
Mohammad Israil, Esq., Bajitpur ...	25 0 0
Through Dr. Sardar Khan and Allanoor Khan Sahebs, Ajmer—	
Fruit-sellers, Madar Gate, through Messrs. Neor Mohamed and Maji Moola Baksh ...	100 0 0
Messrs. Sheikh Meer-ulla and Abdulla, Contractors	132 0 0

Mohammadan Staff, Loco. Shop, *through Mistry Shams-ud-din...	240 7 6
Collections in Idgah, Jum'a Masjid, and sale-proceeds of skin ...	516 5 1
Momenan, Multani, through Chowdries Abdul Hamid, Rahmat-ulla, Ebrahim, Shams-uddin, Khwaja Bux, Mohamed Hosain, Jamal, Abdul Rahim, Chotoo and Ahmed Bux ...	284 0 0
Churwey, Ghaseetee Bazar, through Messrs. Haji Kasim, Karim Baksh, Emam Baksh and Mohammad Fayaz ...	150 0 0
Kharadians, Ajmer, through Messrs. Azeem Bux, Mahmud, Noor Ali, and Mowla Buksh ...	50 10 0
Mohammadan Staff, Loco Shop, Department 8/A, through Mistries Abdul Rahman, Kareem Bux, Habibulla Khan, Barkat Ali, and Mahar Ali ...	50 11 0
Mohammadan staff, Loco. Shop, Department 11, through Mistry Ali Ramzanee, Kassam, and Ameer Ali ...	94 5 0
Silawat Mohalla, through Mistry Kareem Bux, Nunnay Khan, and Zafar Mohamed ...	64 12 0
Rangrezan, Sheikh Marwari, through Karim Baksh, Abdul Karim, Lal Mohammad and Pir Mohammad ...	67 0 0
Bhisties, Agra, through Jamadars Manglee, Haji Karim Bux, Ellahi Bux, Laloo and Janwa Mahmud Khan, Esq., Merchant ...	60 0 0
Mussalmans of Abu Nadi, through Haji Dawad, Abdulla and Kadir Baksh ...	75 0 0
Silawatan, Lakin Kothri, Upper Hatai, through Messrs. Husein Baksh, Allabaili, Hafiz Ebrahim, Kaloojee, and Mowla Baksh ...	81 9 0
Silawatan, Lakin Kothri, Lower Hatai, through Khuda Bux, Nusruddin and Allabaili ...	95 11 9
Mother and family of Syed Abdul Jabbar Sahib...	50 0 0
Babu Alladia of Anwa ...	86 0 0
Dhobies, Inderkote, through Chowdries Ahmed, Karim, Ghusa and Feroo ...	50 0 0
Mohammadan staff, C. and W. Shop, Dept. No. 30, through Abdul Rahim ...	50 1 0
Messrs. Wilayat Hosain, Ghaffar Hosain and Nazir Mohamed, rupees 20 each ...	48 0 0
Milad subscriptions Rangrezans, through Karim Baksh, Abdul Karim, Lal Mohamed, and Pir Mohamed ...	60 0 0
Fund, Rangrez Mahboob Poonawala, through Karim Baksh, Abdul Karim, Lal Mohammad and Pir Mohammad ...	24 8 0
Ahmad Hosain, Sub P. W. I. ...	40 0 0
Mohammadan staff, Loco Shop, Dept No. 10, through Mistries Dululla Beg and Mahboob, ...	30 0 0
Babu Kifayatullah ...	42 0 0
Naboo Khan ...	25 0 0
Hajjaman, Lakin Kothri and Madar Gate, through Peer Bux ...	26 0 0
Mussalmans Khari Ko'a, through Sikander Khan and Ashraf Khan ...	21 0 0
Through Mistry Shamsuddin ...	21 8 0
Mussalmans, Mohalla Sodagaran, through Mr. Mustajab Khan ...	29 8 6
Mussalmans Choti Hatai, Mohalla Shorgran, through Messrs. Abdul Gafoor Khan, Ahmed Noor Khan, Karim Bux and Rahim Bux...	33 4 0
Huqqani Baksh ...	39 15 0
Messrs. Sirajul Haq and Abdul Hai, rupees 14 each, Marriage Fund, Sheikh and Syed Rangrezan, through Messrs. Karim Baksh, Abdul Karim, Lal Mohamed and Peer Mohammad ...	24 2 0
Mohammadan staff, Loco. Shop, Dept No. 5, through Mistries Syed Ali, Alla Baksh and Imam Baksh ...	28 0 0
Mr. Wilayatulla Khan ...	17 8 0
Mohammad Esmail, Syed Imtiaz Ali, Fateh Khan and Moulvi Mo-in-ud-deen, rupees 10 each ...	10 4 0
Messrs. Shaik Ali and Azam Khan, rupees 10 each	15 0 0
Mrs. Naboo Khan ...	40 0 0
Molvi Karim Bakash Saheb ...	20 0 0
Messrs. Rahim Baksh, Altaf Ahmad Khan, Mohamed Akbar, Nasr-ud-din Khan, Wilayat Ali, Abdul Latif Khan, Nizam-ud-din, Alla-baksh, Niaz Mohamed, Syed Budhi, Gul Mohamed, Zain-ud-din, Rahmatullah, Abdul Rahman Khan, Mohamed Hosain, Adamjee and Nazir Mohamed, rupees 5 each ...	6 0 0
Mussammatt Dhore ...	5 9 6
	85 0 0
	4 8 0

Messrs. Barkatulla and Mahar Ali ...	4	8	0	Through Mohammad Fasih, Esq., Kunda			
Haji Beg, Esq. ...	4	7	0	Employes of Kunda Tahsil ...	28	0	0
Messrs. Sibte Ali, Mohamed Zarif Khan, Shams- ud-din Mallan Khan, Abdul Latif Khan and Mohamed Khairate, rupees 4 each ...	24	0	0	Mohammad Iqbal, Esq., Hyderabad (Deccan) ...	15	0	0
Ahmad Ali, Esq. ...	3	10	0	Mohammad students of M. E. School, Malda ...	0	15	0
Akbar Khan, Esq. ...	3	5	0	Through Mushir Hosain Kidwai Esq., Lucknow.			
Messrs. Mowla Baksh, Abdul Gafoor, Mehtab Khan, Faiz Bux, and Karim Baksh, rupees 3 each, ...	15	0	0	Collected by Messrs. Sheikh Sultan Hosen and Sheikh Fazal Hosen from the Mussalmans of Rasauli, Barabanki, on P'd-day. ...	810	15	0
Mr. Yusuf Beg ...	2	4	0	The Hon. Nawab Bahadur Sir Khaje Salimulla, G.C. S.I., of Dacca, on behalf of the Mussalmans of the place ...	5,000	0	0
Salam-uddin, Esq. ...	2	6	0	Through Ahmad Mulla Daod, Esq., of the Red Crescent Society, Rangoon—			
Messrs. Khairulla Beg, Qadir Bux, Abdulla, Nannay, Abdul Qadir, Kallay Khan, Abdul Rahman Khan, Asghar Ali, Jamaluddin, Akhtar Hosain, Dorabjee, Syed Mohammad, Karim Baksh, Mohammad Hosain, Nasir Ali, Mohammad Bux, Jagannath, Israr Ahmad, Jama Baksh, Mohammad Baksh, Siddiqua Begam, Ishaq Ali, and Jamal Khan, rupees 2 each, ...	46	0	0	Balance of collections by Messrs. Mulla Daod and Sons, ...	325	0	0
Families of Rahim Bux and Suleman, rupee 1 each, ...	2	0	0	Abu Bakar, Esq., Zigon ...	80	0	0
Messrs. Nazir Mohamed, Abdul Gaffar, Samiullah, Jaffar Hosain, Karim Baksh, Abdul Ali, Imtiaz Ali, Mohammad Said Khan, Aman Khan, Sifdar Khan, Gulzar Ali, Pir Baksh, Budhoo, Amin Baksh, Fazl-ud-din, Wali Beg, Mohamed Sharif, Abdul Rahman, Hafiz-ul-Ja Khan, Lewis, Ardeshir, Sahaskran, Kalloo, Abdul Rahim Khan, Rahmat Alli. Alladia, Mohammad Bux, Ebrahim, Aboo- Khan, Daood, Kadir Bux, Ahsan Ali, Zahoor ud-din, Servant of Seth Esmad, Alla- baili Khan, Ebadulla Beg, Abdul Gani, Sagbani, Mohammad Ali, Abdul Majid, Kul- loo Khan, Mir Mohamed, Abul Hassan, Kutb-ud-din, and Rahim Bux, rupee 1 each ...	45	0	0	Mohammad Omar, Esq., Zigon ...	75	0	0
Families of Mahboob Ali Shah and Keroo Beg ...	2	0	0	Messrs. Mohammad Ismail and Akbar Khan, of Zigon, rupees fifty each ...	100	0	0
Shamshad Jehan Begam and Musannat Chanda, ...	2	0	0	Abdul Ghani, Esq., Zigon ...	35	0	0
Widow of Ruknuddin Sahib ...	1	0	0	Abdul Qadir, Esq., Zigon ...	30	0	0
A Few women ...	1	8	0	Messrs. Mohammad Hashim and Mohammad Hosain of Zigon, rupees twenty-five each ...	50	0	0
Goolam Nabi, Nur Mohamed, Goolam Mohiuddin, Khuda Bux and Amir Bux, rupee 1 and annas 4 each, ...	6	4	0	Messrs. Panch Kanir and Mohiuddin Bawa, of Zigon, rupees twenty each ...	40	0	0
Mohamed Bux, Esq. ...	1	3	0	Abdus Subhan, Esq. ...	15	0	0
Rahim Bux, Esq. ...	1	8	0	Miscellaneous collections of Rs. 5 and under ...	250	0	0
Dr. Abdul Razak ...	1	10	0	Through Abdur Rahman, Esq., Barwa, Lakhimpur North ...	116	0	0
Hasham Ali Khan, Esq. ...	2	0	0	Through Jhore Mohammad and Doctor Arjun Ali, Beshapjan ...	130	0	0
Fayaz Ali, Esq. ...	5	0	0	Through Amir Mohamed, Esq., Badhni Kalan—			
Gafoor Khan of Kikru ...	11	0	0	Messrs. Gulab, Buta, Maula Baksh, Omar Din Raba, Baggir, Khairate, Hinar, Wali Moha- med, Tara, Maunon, Gul Mohamed, Omar Din, Jitu, Moulvi, Omra, Maragal, Rahman Beg and Ahsan Mohammad, Rupees one each ...	20	0	0
Minor subscriptions ...	13	7	2	Jiwa, Esq. ...	1	4	0
Mohamed Ismail, Esq., Bajitpur ...	25	0	0	Petty collections ...	6	0	9
Through Hedayat Hussain, Esq., Cawnpur—				Abdus-Samad Khan, Esq., Bhopal ...	50	0	0
Sheikh Sajjad Hosain, Esq., Bara, District Cawnpur, ...	150	0	0	Through S. Kadir Badha, Esq., Killa—			
Through Haji Mohammad Abdulla, Secretary, Red Crescent Society, Nander ...	800	0	0	Mussalmans of the place ...	35	0	0
Through T. Ahmad, Esq., Dacca—				Through Hashmat Ali, Esq., Dhebrauna—			
Mohammad students of Dacca Malrassa ...	50	0	0	Staff of the Police Station, Dhebrauna ...	8	0	0
Through Mohammad Fasih, Esq., Kunda—				Wajid Ali, Esq., Aligarh ...	5	0	0
Employes of Kunda Tahsil ...	85	0	0	Through Abdul Wahid, Esq., Calcutta—			
Through Messrs. Haji Abdul Hakim and Son, Treasurer Red Crescent Society, Dehra Dun ...	1,500	0	0	Collection of Mosque on P'dday ...	27	2	0
Through Hakim Alfaz Ahmad, Esq., Secunderabad...	50	0	0	Through M. Azmat-ull, Esq., Meanganj—			
Syed Bashir-ud-Jin, Esq., Aurangabad ...	143	9	0	Collections from the village ...	30	0	0
Through Dr. Nabi Baksh Sahib, Neemuch—				Through Wahid Ali Esq. Secretary, Laban Crescent Sporting Club, Shillong ...	27	4	0
Amount collected on P'd day ...	53	1	6	Through Abdul Majid, Esq., Hamirpur ...	12	0	0
Sale-proceeds Kurbani skin ...	136	9	0	S. M. Hasan, Esq., Nurhat ...	4	14	0
Haji Putto Sahib ...	10	0	0	Wazir Ahmad, Esq., Gulzarbagh ...	10	4	0
Chaudhri Nana Sahib ...	6	0	0	Khan Mohammad, Esq., Bhea ...	7	9	0
Sister of Rahim Baksh and Rahimulla Sahib, rupees five each ...	10	0	0	Said Hyder, Esq., Ghazipur ...	5	0	0
M. Abbul Ghani, Esq. ...	8	0	0	A. H. Mohamed Karim, Esq., Basti ...	3	4	0
Syed Yusuf Ali, Esq. ...	10	0	0	Mohamed Ismail Khan, Esq., Fatehgarh ...	1	15	0
Abdul Majid, Esq. ...	27	8	0	Through Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq., Sandila—			
Petty collections ...	0	13	6	Messrs. Amer Hosain and Diwan Lala Pershad, rupees five each ...	10	0	0
Sahim-un Nisan Bibi and Jammi Bibi, Kot ...	300	0	0	Some Sympathisers ...	8	6	0
Qazi Reaz-uddin and Mir Madad Ali Sahibs, Taura, ...	50	0	0	Masjid Chowraha ...	4	9	0
Through Sirajul Haq, Esq., Orai—				Messrs. Nabi Ahmad, Farrukh Husain, Mohamed Husain, Ghulam Murtaza, Sati Ahmad, Amir Hyder, Haji Ashiq Ali, and Mohammad Kazim, rupee one each ...	7	0	0
Syed Ismail Husain, Esq. ...	15	0	0	Mothers of Ali Afzal, Ali Hyder, Mahmud Ahmad and Mohammad Ali, rupee one each ...	4	0	0
M. Mohammad Hauf, Esq. ...	14	0	0	Wife of Asghar Ali, daughter of Asghar Ali, Sister of Mohammad Ahmad, daughter of Mahmud Ahmad, and wife of Chandhri Mohammad Ali, rupees one each ...	5	0	0
Syed Abdul Majid, Esq. ...	6	0	0	Wife of Yaqub Ali, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Sale-proceeds of Kurbani skin ...	12	0	0	Miscellaneous collections ...	7	1	0
Mr. "A." ...	3	0	0	Shaiikh Maqbul Ali, Esq., Maureshwar ...	17	12	0
Neamat Hussain, Esq., Katal ...	3	0	0	Haji Shaikh Osman Sahib, Kalal ...	5	0	0
Abdul Qadir, Esq., Kuti ...	38	1	0	Mohammad Sahib, Esq., Madras ...	5	0	0
Syed Karamat Ali, Esq. ...	15	0	0	Haji Rashed Ahmad Sahib, Agra ...	22	0	0
Mohammad Inam-ulla, Esq., Bibipur ...	3	0	0	Syed Ibrahim Albeez, Esq., and his wife, Cambum,...	20	0	0
Alla Baksh, Esq., Dharawar ...	5	0	0				
Zahid Hosain, Esq., Allahabad ...	10	0	0				
				Amount received from 25th November to Midday of 2nd December ...	58,749	8	0
				Amount previously acknowledged ...	74,553	4	0
				Total, Announced ...	1,33,302	12	0
				Total amount received upto 9th December...	1,78,353	5	6

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The State Entry.

THE State entry into Delhi on 28th December was marked by an atrocious attempt on the life of the Viceroy, a bomb being thrown and exploding in the *howdah* in which Lord and Lady Hardinge were sitting. His Excellency received some wounds on the shoulders and on the thigh, while of two Indian attendants sitting on the back part of the *howdah* one was killed outright while the other was wounded. The outrage occurred in the crowded park of the Chandni Chowk in the heart of the city where large crowds had gathered to view the elephant procession. The streets were lined with troops and the King's Royal Rifles were on duty in this particular section of the route.

The Viceregal train reached Delhi main station punctually at eleven o'clock and the Viceregal party were received according to the official programme. Their Excellencies were greeted among others by their daughter, the Hon. Diamond, who was on the platform. The Viceroy received and replied to a municipal address of welcome read by Major Beadon, Deputy Commissioner. The elephant procession was formed outside the station and took its way through the Queen's Gardens. All went well in passing through Queen's Gardens and the head of the procession was well clear off the Chandni Chowk when an attempt on the Viceroy's life was made. The spot was about 400 yards from the gate of the Gardens, the Chowk at this point being crowded with spectators standing behind the

troops lining the front. The road is a broad one and on it runs the tram line and there is a footpath running down the middle. The windows and roofs of houses were filled with sightseers and many thousands of persons must have been present in the Chowk itself.

Bomb thrown at the Viceroy.

As the Viceregal elephant passed along three-storeyed block on the left, a bomb was thrown, it is believed from the roof. The first intimation of this dastardly act was a loud explosion and then a cloud of smoke. Only those in the immediate vicinity knew for some little time that an outrage had been committed. The bomb exploded with terrific force. Of the Viceregal attendants, a Balrampur jemadar of elephants, who was seated immediately behind Lord Hardinge, was killed instantaneously, his body being mangled. The other, a jemadar named Ghangaru of the Viceroy's household, was wounded but was able to keep his seat. Some of the missiles with which the bomb was filled had struck the Viceroy in the back, but His Excellency did not at first realize that he was severely hurt and he did not know that one of his attendants had been killed behind him, so the procession did not at once come to a halt but proceeded on some forty or fifty yards. Then Ghangaru managed to inform His Excellency of what had occurred and the elephant was stopped but remained standing with its ghastly burden in the back part of the *howdah*. Lady Hardinge dismounted and the body of the dead jemadar was removed. Their Excellencies had shown marvellous coolness and self-possession though the shock from the explosion must have been severe. Lord Hardinge, however, by this time had begun to feel faint and he could no longer remain with safety in the *howdah*. Some members of his staff, including Colonel Roberts, his surgeon, had meanwhile dismounted from the elephants in front and hurried back fearing only too justly that something serious had happened. His Excellency was lifted down with some difficulty from the high *howdah* and a hasty examination was made to ascertain the nature of the injuries he had received. They were considered to be not very serious, but still were such as to incapacitate him from any further participation in the day's programme.

A motor car was then summoned from the front and the Viceroy was placed in one of these while Lady Hardinge and her daughter were driven in the other, the most direct route being taken to Viceregal Lodge beyond the Ridge. His Excellency before leaving directed that the ceremonials should proceed in due course and that Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson should read the two speeches prepared, one in reply to the address from non-official members of the Legislative Council and the other at the Durbar in the Divan-i-Am. The procession was accordingly re-formed and took its way to the fort.

The house from which the bomb was thrown is a three-storey one and is a large block with a flat roof. The ground floor contains business offices, one being an East Indian booking office and another occupied by the Punjab National Bank. The other stories are used as Indian residential quarters. It was packed in every part with Indian spectators and there were probably

150 men, women and children on the premises, as a good view could be got of the procession. The large crowd in the street below scattered in all directions when the bomb exploded and there was a certain amount of confusion. Two Indian spectators were slightly hurt by the flying fragments while a few men of the King's Royal Rifles had their helmets dented. The police surrounded the house, but it cannot be said whether any of the occupants had escaped before this was done and those remaining were detained.

THE CEREMONIES AT THE FORT.

There had been much surprise felt after the first squadron of the Inniskilling Dragoons and Horse Artillery Battery had arrived at the Fort and some anxiety began to be felt later. Then rumour spread that a bomb had been thrown, but this news was really known to only a few officials for some time. Eventually the elephant procession arrived and it was seen that the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge had not come.

Address from the Legislative Council.

The address from the non-official members of the Legislative Council was read by Nawab Saiyed Muhammad to Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson at the Naubat Khana.

Sir G. F. Wilson read the following speech on behalf of the Viceroy:—

"It is to me a source of very great pleasure to receive the address on this memorable occasion from the non-official members of my Legislative Council, who have assembled here to-day from every part of India to give me a hearty welcome to the new capital. I thank you warmly for the cordial expression of your good wishes to me and to the Government of India and I can only assure you of my firm belief that the new epoch of progress and advancement upon which we have entered and to which you have referred will be an era of happiness and prosperity to India and her people. You have alluded to the King-Emperor's message of hope. May I add one of faith. I have faith in India, I have faith in her future and have faith in her people. It is the solemn duty of Government to promote the best interests of India and her people and under Divine guidance we shall not falter in this course again. I thank you for your good wishes and your presence here to-day."

Darbar in the Diwan-i-am.

Meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab with the Punjab chiefs and sirdars had moved in procession to the Diwan-i-Am which was filled with those sharing in the Darbar. Sir Louis and Lady Dane took their seats on the dais a little in the left rear of the two golden thrones intended for the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge. Later came a second procession headed by the Imperial Cadets. This included the Commander-in-Chief and staff, members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Legislative Council, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Sir James Willecocks, commanding the Northern Army, and the Foreign Secretary. The absence of the Viceroy and Lady Hardinge was only too marked as the thrones remained empty until Sir G. F. Wilson occupied one as representing His Excellency. A fanfare of trumpets was blown, but an air of depression hung over the whole assembly and the ceremonial seemed ineffective. But the Viceroy's desire that a darbar should take place was paramount and Sir Henry McMahon went through the customary procedure of obtaining permission to open it.

This Sir G. F. Wilson gave and then Sir Louis Dane advanced and facing the dais prepared to deliver his speech as the Lieutenant-Governor handing over Delhi to the Government of India. He was plainly very much affected and he prefaced his address with the following words:—

"I feel that before proceeding with the business of to-day I must refer to the dastardly attempt that has been made upon His Imperial Majesty's representative in this his Imperial Capital. By the grace of God His Excellency's life has been preserved and I am glad to say his injuries are slight, but poor men doing their honourable duty of service to the Crown have been killed and maimed by the assassin. I am sure that the voice of the loyal Punjab, loyal Delhi, and loyal India, Indians and Europeans, will condemn this atrocious crime on a day such as this. God grant that this may be the last of these outrages. It ought to appeal to all loyalists as amounting to a sacrilege on such an occasion and I hope that everyone of them here will make it their duty to their countrymen that such an attempt checks all progress. It puts the clock back it may be for fifty years and remember what happened here fifty years ago. Thanks to Almighty God the attempt has failed."

Sir Louis Dane then read his speech which had of course been intended for delivery before the Viceroy in person.

Reply delivered by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson on His Excellency's behalf.

YOUR HONOUR, YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Twelve months ago, His Majesty the King-Emperor announced his decision "to transfer the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient Capital of India." The entry of the Government of India into Delhi to-day is in accordance with, and gives effect to, His Majesty's decision. The new Delhi, which is to form a permanent memorial of His Majesty's visit, still remains to be constructed; but from to-day Delhi is definitely, and in fact, the seat of the Government of India and the Capital of the Indian Empire. It was right that this occasion, an occasion which I am convinced will have its own significance in the evolution of Indian history, should be marked by a ceremony of a formal character. Nor could a more fitting place be found for that ceremony than this Hall, where we are brought at once into direct connection with the memorials and traditions of India's great past and are able to offer to the Indian people the clearest proof of our desire to maintain in our present Administration the spirit of what is best in Indian history. It was for this reason that I considered it appropriate that our first official act should take place amid these memorials of an historic past, in the Hall where the builder of our present Delhi held his Court, and where the Emperor Aurangzeb must have heard the daring voice of the Sikh prophet proclaim the advent of an Empire greater than the Great Moguls.

But the ceremony to-day has a second purpose. Fifty-four years ago the Government of India handed over Delhi to the care of the Punjab; to-day we resume that charge, and Delhi will pass from the Province, with which it has been so long and so honourably connected, into the direct charge of the Government of India. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has told us in glowing language how the Punjab and some of the Ruling Chiefs came to the rescue at Delhi—and perhaps you will all forgive me a little tinge of personal pride in the reflection that Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who is among those who have received honourable mention from Sir Louis Dane's lips, was the son of that Gulab Singh whom my grandfather placed upon the throne of Kashmir, while besides the present Maharaja of Kashmir I number many personal friends among the descendants of those other Chiefs who did such loyal service, not a few of whom it is a great pleasure to me to welcome and to see around me here to-day.

Lord Lawrence, who did so much for England, in England's darkest day, in his farewell speech when leaving the Punjab said—"In the quality of the Civil and Military officers under my control, in the excellence of the Punjab force which has been raised, trained and disciplined under the Civil Government, in the general loyalty of the Chiefs and peoples, as much as in the valour of our British troops, did I find the means of securing public tranquillity and of rendering assistance in Hindustan. The Punjab was found to be a tower of strength to the Empire;" and again in after years when leaving India for good almost his last exhortation to British officials was to be just and kind to the people of this country. Such language shows what manner of man he was, and doubtless my grandfather had a shrewd idea of his transcendent qualities when he selected him as the first Commissioner of the Jullundur-Doab upon its annexation after the First Sikh War.

Sir Louis Dane went on to recount how the Punjab has acquitted itself of its stewardship, and it may well be proud of the message of gratitude which Delhi has sent it at the moment of parting company. His Honour at the same time gave expression to a very natural regret at the severance of Delhi from his own administration, but I confess that I look at the transaction from an entirely different point of view. The question at issue is not who should have the honour of administering Delhi and its surroundings—it is rather a question of the restoration to India of one of her ancient traditions, as a symbol of the community of interests and sentiment between Great Britain and India, and that the ancient Capital of the Emperors of India is once more the seat of a Government that serves a dynasty which has Indian interests at heart as closely as those of any other part of the British Empire. We may comprehend the note of pathos which now and again made itself heard in His Honour's speech; we may sympathise with the note of pardonable pride in the achievements of his Government, and we may hold the note of satisfaction to be justified; but to my ear these notes are drowned in the triumphant chorus of a great city come to its own once more, but now the Capital of an Indian Empire far more extensive, progressive and prosperous than the India ruled by any of its former conquerors.

We may indeed sympathise with the Government of the Punjab on their loss of Delhi, but it would have been inconsistent with the destiny proclaimed for Delhi by the King-Emperor himself that it should at once and the same time become the seat of the Imperial Government of India, and yet in its own province lack the status and dignity even of a provincial capital.

The province of the Punjab still remains a goodly Province, which any man may well be proud of the task of administering. Thanks to the peace that has prevailed for many years, and to the magnificent canal system that has been introduced, the Punjab has a future of prosperity before it that can hardly be rivalled by any Province of India. The services to Delhi and the Empire of the great succession of Punjab administrators will continue to be numbered among the Punjab's proudest traditions; and so long as the sturdy and manly races of that great Province constitute, as they have constituted in the past, the backbone of the defence of the Indian Empire, whether against internal disorder or against foreign aggression, there can be no fear, that the character of the Punjab administration should lose in the future any of those high qualities of manly sympathy with a manly people, nerve, endurance, and vigour to which in the past its long and honourable record has given its just and abiding claim.

On the other hand, I am sure that Delhi will not suffer from the change—she will now be under the fostering care of the Imperial Government in a way that no other city of India has ever been—and while I can foresee her progress in education, in sanitation, in prosperity and in beauty, I hope that, by the careful selection that I have made of officers of the Punjab to carry on the work of administration, continuity of knowledge and of sympathy with the people entrusted to their care, which are so vital to a peaceful, happy, and progressive administration, will be firmly secured.

There are some who deny that there is any real justification for the selection of Delhi as the seat of the Government of India, and maintain that such ancient names as Kanauj, Lohkot, Taxila, Patna, not to speak of Agra or Calcutta, possess far stronger title to such Imperial honour. Far be it from me to attempt the task of arbiter amid these varying claims; but as we turn over the dusty pages of the much mutilated volume of history, some of them well preserved and clearly written and some obliterated and almost illegible—as we turn these pages over—we note among the places that find recurring mention, now under one name and now under another, few that fill more chapters in mediæval and modern times than Delhi, and fewer still that can trace their annals further back into dim antiquity than this same Delhi and the country round her.

At Indraprastha was founded the capital of the Pandu Kingdom by Yudhisthira, that great monarch of olden story, and it was here that, firmly seated on his throne, he determined to signalise his paramount sovereignty by the solemn ceremony of the Aswamedha; and it was not far from here that a few years later was fought on the field of Kurukshetra that mighty warfare that fills the pages of the grand old epic, the Mahabharata. The two stone-pillars of Asoka brought hither by Firoz Shah stand as a record of one of the greatest and wisest rulers India ever produced; but the annals of Delhi are lost in oblivion for many a long century until we find it once more repopled and rebuilt by Anangapal, whom tradition asserts to have been a direct descendant of his great forerunner Yudhisthira, and the name of Delhi first appears under the auspices of this dynasty, whose representatives still hold high place among the aristocracy of Rajputana.

As we turn further pages over, we come to clearer writing and find another great Rajput clan—the Chauhan—succeeding to the Thars, and the name of Prithviraj throwing a parting ray of splendour over the disappearance of the last Hindu Rulers of Delhi. Under the name of Rai Pithura his fame still lives among the people, the theme of many a popular ballad, the hero of countless feats of arms and gallantry. To this day may be seen the Lal Kot or citadel of the fortress he built as a protection against those Muhammadan invaders who finally brought about his fall; and there is an iron pillar set up there which bears inscriptions by both Chauhan and Tuar Kings, though it really belongs to a much older period, and is one of the most interesting memorials of Hindu supremacy in India.

Next we find near by writ large in the famous Kutub Minar and other stately buildings the record of the dynasty founded by Kutub-ud-din Aibak; and not long afterwards another dynasty produced that fine old fighting frontiersman Ghias-ud-din Tughlak, who gave Delhi new birth in the mighty fortress of Tughlukabad; and Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlak, who not only left behind him another Delhi in Firozabad; but to quote from his own diary of 500 years ago—"by the guidance of God was led to rebuild and repair the edifices and structures of former Kings which had fallen into decay."

The next great landmark of the story is Purana Killa, begun by Sher Shah—a mighty man of valour as well as a wise and benevolent Ruler—and finished by Humayun, the father of the famous Akbar.

And later still, built by Akbar's grandson, comes modern Delhi or Shahjahanabad, whose beauties lie around me as I speak.

I have lightly dipped into page after page of the story, and made no attempts to follow it out in detail, but I think I have said enough

to show that, through the ages as far back as tradition goes, the glamour of a great and Imperial city has illuminated the neighbourhood of Imperial Delhi. But I need hardly remind you that to us the greatest and most memorable event of all is the historic pronouncement made by His Imperial Majesty in Durbar last year, when he proclaimed Delhi to be for ever the permanent Capital of the Indian Empire under the benign rule of our great and good King-Emperor and his successors. Of this landmark in the history of India the monument has yet to be built.

I have dwelt thus upon the noble monuments of a few of the great Rulers who have held their Court in the different Delhis, but there are many other pages which tell a different story. I need not remind you that the field of Panipat hard by, in three of the most decisive battles of Asia—twice crowned the Mogul arms with victory, and a third time shattered the Mahratta power; nor need I tell of the victory of Lord Lake on the other side of the river, which gave to England her Indian Empire. That Empire was strengthened and consolidated after the great siege, to which you, Sir, have referred at length, but the city has stood many another siege and watched many another scenes of battle, as well as of civil strife. Many times has she been spoiled, and more than once the whim of an Emperor has transferred her inhabitants in their thousands to new and distant Capitals.

As we look around us on the mighty relics of the olden time, we may think with pride of the past glories of half-forgotten dynasties, but let us not forget that this glory was often dearly purchased with the tears of the people.

You, Sir, have recounted with satisfaction the administrative achievements of the Government of the Punjab, in the discharge of its duties towards the city and people of Delhi, and your story is not a narrative of sanguinary victories won, of massive fortresses or noble palaces built, but a plain unvarnished tale of material improvements and increasing trade and prosperity. In this there is little romance, but the contrast is one of which England may well be proud; and though I greatly hope that the new city soon destined to arise may prove not altogether unworthy of the great and ancient monuments with which it will be surrounded, yet it is not to such things as these that England will point in the days to come as the beauty of one of the brightest jewels which adorn her Crown, but rather to the peace, happiness and contentment of the millions over whom her King-Emperor exercises sway: to the trust and confidence which she has been able to repose on their loyalty, and perhaps most proudly of all to the generous share which she has been able to give and to give with gladness, to the sons of India in sharing her Councils and in shaping the destiny of this great and wonderful country, of which this city of Delhi, recreated as it is under different and happier auspices, may, we trust with God's grace, continue to be for long future ages the noble capital: the capital of a great Empire of ever-increasing happiness and prosperity. May the blessing of the Almighty for ever guide and direct those who, in future from this Imperial City, shall govern this great Empire for the good of the people and their steady advancement on the path of progress and civilisation under the protecting ægis of the British Crown.

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address of the Delhi Municipality.

GENTLEMEN,—

I have listened with much pleasure to the expression of the gratification felt by you and the citizens of Delhi whom you represent at our arrival here to-day, and I thank you very warmly for the kind words of the welcome which you have given to Lady Hardinge and myself.

As you have rightly stated in your Address, the formal entry of the Viceroy and his Council into your city definitely marks its position as the Capital of the Indian Empire; it is a dignity which you view with legitimate pride, and which I am confident that you will make every effort to justify.

In the course of ages your ancient city has seen many changes. It is here that a devout tradition has placed the site of the city of the Pandavas whose glories are celebrated in the great religious epic of the Hindus. At the dawn of Indian History it was the seat of a powerful Hindu dynasty. In the ebb and flow of Muhammadan conquest its possession became the symbol and the proof of Sovereignty in Northern India; and when the Moguls consolidated their rule, it was Delhi which they chose as the Capital of the greatest Empire which the Eastern World had hitherto known. Since the fall of that Empire your city has undergone many vicissitudes; there is hardly a generation in which its fortunes have not formed the turning point of Indian History. It is now once again the Capital of a great Empire. There is an Indian saying that a city is made either by a river, or by a rain-fall or by a King. Your city has many natural advantages, and these advantages have, no doubt, determined its history in the past. But it is not to them that Delhi owes the

position which it is now called upon to occupy. It owes it to the express desire of the King-Emperor that the Capital City of his Indian Empire should be associated with the great traditions of Indian History; and that the administration of the present should have its centre in a spot hallowed to Indian sentiment by the memories of India's glory in the past.

You recognise in your Address that the dignity which now falls on Delhi has its responsibilities, and I am glad to note that you have determined to accept those responsibilities, to the full. I must warn you that they will not be light. Yours must become a Capital City, not only in name, but in fact; you must make your town a model of Municipal administration; your institutions, your public buildings, your sanitation must be an example to the rest of India. To attain these results will demand on your part much sustained effort, and the cultivation of a high sense of public duty. I can promise you that the Government of India will be prepared to sustain you in those efforts by every means in its power. We shall not forget, when building a New Delhi outside your walls, that there exists an Old Delhi beside us which claims our interest and our assistance. For my own part, I shall rejoice in every evidence of the increased prosperity which I confidently believe that our advent will bring to you, and I can assure you of my fullest sympathy in every effort which tends to advance the welfare of your city and its inhabitants.

Feeling in India.

The following resolutions were passed at a crowded mass meeting of the Mussalmans held in the Jam'i Masjid, Delhi, on the 24th instant:—

1. Resolved that this public meeting of the Mussalmans held in the Jam'i Masjid views the dastardly attempt on the life of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, on the suspicious occasion of His State Entry into Delhi with the utmost abhorrence and expresses its deep sense of horror and indignation at the outrage.

2. Resolved that the Mussalmans present at this meeting should offer prayers to the Almighty for His Excellency's speedy restoration to full health and that the Imam Sahib of the Jam'i Masjid be requested to lead the prayers again on the next Friday after the Jum'a prayers beneath the central dome of the Mosque.

3. Resolved that all the Mussalmans should help the Government collectively and individually, as circumstances may require, in the detection and arrest of the perpetrator of this detestable crime.

4. Resolved that the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy be requested to supply a copy of the bulletins issued from time to time about the health of His Excellency the Viceroy to be put up at the main gate of the Jam'i Masjid for the information of the Moslem public which eagerly awaits His Excellency's progress towards recovery.

5. Resolved that a deputation composed of the Secretaries of all the Moslem Public Bodies of Delhi should wait on the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy for the expression of their feelings of deep distress at the dastardly outrage.

6. Resolved that copies of the above resolutions be forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, to the Hon. the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and to the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi and to the Indian and English Presses in India and a brief message be cabled to the London Times.

We have received copies of resolutions from the following Moslem bodies expressing horror and indignation at the dastardly attempt made on the life of H. E. the Viceroy and conveying deep sympathy both to His Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Hardinge in their trying ordeal:—(1) Anjuman-i-Islamia, Montgomery; (2) the Muhammadans of Ferozepore (city); (3) Anjuman-i-Khudamul-Islam, Lahore; (4) the Muhammadans of Aligarh; (5) the District Moslem League, Gya; (6) the Muhammadans of Moradabad; and (7) the citizens of Batala.

The latest Bulletins about the Viceroy's Health.

The following Bulletin was issued on the morning of the 27th inst. at the Viceregal Lodge:—

The Viceroy's progress is good and natural sleep is returning. He is fairly free from pain except on movement. The large lacerated wounds of the back are doing well, but there is some trouble beneath the punctured wound in the neck. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Her Excellency Lady Hardinge has not broken down under the strain of the past few days, but has been able to transact all her business which is very considerable as telegrams have been arriving from all parts of the world.

The following Bulletin was issued at 8 A. M. on the 28th instant:—His Excellency's general condition is satisfactory. The deafness of the right ear is very much better this morning. He passed a fair night. The wounds are not causing so much discomfort.

TETE À TETE



THE Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali has sent us the following facts in connection with the British Red Crescent Mission which, we are sure, will be read with interest:—“(1) We have now two hospitals in Constantinople; one is stationed at Scutari under the immediate supervision

of the Director, where a large number of Turkish sick and wounded are under treatment. The other has been opened at San Stefano for the treatment of cholera patients with the generous and sympathetic co-operation of Mrs. Rockhill, the wife of the American Ambassador. If hostilities are resumed, a field-hospital will be sent at once to the front. In consultation with His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha it is proposed to open another hospital in Stambul itself. (2) The hospital sent to Sofia to tend the large number of sick and wounded, who appear to have received little or no attention until the arrival of our contingent, is doing admirable work, as you will see from the Surgeon's report. (3) But the crying need of the moment is the relief of the homeless and foodless refugees. We propose to start at once relief operations to save their lives in the bitter winter months. In consultation with His Highness Damad Ferid Pasha and other Turkish notables and the co-operation of the Turkish Government we propose to build wooden huts for their housing in the several places in Asia Minor where the Muhajerin are flocking and to supply them, so far as our funds will permit, with food and fuel. The Director, assisted by some of the Doctors and Turkish assistants, will visit the places personally and, as he speaks Turkish, his presence would be most welcome to the miserable sufferers driven from their homes in Europe. For the help of these refugees we propose to devote £2,000 a month. Considering that they number more than 100,000 souls this is a mere drop in the ocean, but we cannot undertake more with the funds we possess at present. (4) In Salonica there are 50,000 Moslem refugees whose condition is most pitiable; the picture drawn by eye-witnesses of their suffering and distress is heartrending. For their relief I have sent £100 to His Majesty's Consul-General through the Foreign Office and propose to move for sanction at to-day's meeting of the Committee a weekly contribution of £100 for the next five weeks. I have also sent a considerable quantity of rice. These poor victims of racial and religious hatred dare not return to their desolated homes as they would to a certainty be massacred (see Col. Delme-Redcliffe's telegram in the Times of the 4th December) and the only hope of saving their lives is to provide them with the means of going across to Asia or Egypt (if the Egyptian Government would permit it). I am trying to invoke the assistance of the Foreign Office in concert with the Turkish Government. In the meantime I am appealing to the humanity of the British nation to come to our assistance. Whatever may be the outcome of this appeal here, I feel sure that it will evoke a noble response from our co-religionists in India. My words will reach you on a day which in the annals of Islam is regarded as sacred; and is associated with a most mournful chapter in the history of Islam. I venture to hope no Musselman who loves his Faith will hear of the afflictions of his fellow-religionists unmoved or refuse his help and sympathy in relieving the afflicted people of Turkey.”

It is hardly a fortnight since the Peace Conference opened in London, but the respective standpoints of the belligerents are fast developing lines of cleavage. The first hitch occurred regarding the question of re-victualling the besieged fortresses by the Turks. The question is reported to have been settled according to the demands of the Allies. Another point of various difference arose about the status of the Greek delegates.

the Turks refusing to negotiate with them inasmuch as the latter had refused to sign the Armistice. This point too is declared to have been settled and the Turkish objections to negotiating with the Greeks have been withdrawn. These were, however, comparatively minor matters and bound to be settled amicably if the Conference was to initiate discussion on vital points. The main question of finding out a mutually satisfactory basis of peace has been taken up by the Conference and the Allies have formulated their terms of settlement for the consideration of the Turks. Reuter understands that the Allies' conditions include the cession of all territory west of a line from a point to the east of Rodosto on the Sea of Marmora to the Bay of Malatra on the Black Sea, excluding the Peninsula of Gallipoli, the cession of the islands in the Aegean, and the abandonment of all Turkish rights in Crete. The question of Albania is to be left for the Powers to settle. The islands near the mouth of the Dardanelles will be dealt with specially. These terms reduce Turkey in Europe to a strip of territory not much larger in extent than that covered by the Tchataldja lines. They deprive the Turks of Adrianople, their first seat of empire in Europe, and even take away their command of the Straits. They amount in effect to an absolute demand for complete surrender. Unless Turkey is reduced to utter impotence and has lost all hopes of being able to offer further resistance, she cannot accept such humiliating terms of peace. Feeling in Constantinople makes it manifest that no such terms can for a moment be entertained by the Turkish Government. If the Allies maintain an uncompromising attitude the Conference would soon reach a deadlock and hostilities may be resumed. It is, however, not unlikely that the attitude of the Allies has been framed with studied exaggeration in order to leave a wide margin for the "give and take" of a diplomatic bargain. The Turkish counter-proposals have not yet been made public, but we may be sure they will among other things insist on the retention of Adrianople as an integral part of the Turkish territory in Europe. Indeed, it may be safely assumed that the fate of the Conference will ultimately turn on the fate of Adrianople. The Constantinople correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* recently described Turkey's attitude on the question of the terms of peace as most decided and confident. According to him, Turkey insists upon her undiminished position as the Straits Power. Bulgaria's compensations could therefore begin only on the other side of the Dardanelles. The Porte likewise demands the retention of the fortress of Adrianople in Turkish hands, as well as Bulgaria's abandonment of the plan of marching into Constantinople. The Porte will absolutely decline to keep Adrianople on condition that the forts should be razed. In such a case Turkey is firmly determined to continue the war. "There is new Turkish plan in course of elaboration," he adds. "Should the enemy, contrary to expectation, break through the Tchataldja lines, the defence might be withdrawn to the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus. There along the entire extent of the Bosphorus, from Scutari to Anadolu Kavak, extensive military preparations have been taken in hand and numerous guns are being mounted on the heights." When the negotiations for the Armistice were going on, the Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Chronicle* had stated "on excellent authority that Bulgaria was inclined to adopt a less firm attitude regarding Adrianople, hitherto the great stumbling block." The Turks had demanded that the new frontier should be a line drawn from Kirk Kilisseh to the neighbourhood of Salonica, Adrianople remaining Turkish. The Bulgarian delegates pressed for the frontier to take the line from Mustafa Pasha to Dedegatch, along the river Maritsa, the port of Kavala becoming Bulgarian. If this is a correct estimate of the Bulgarian attitude during the discussion of the terms for the Armistice, the stiffer attitude now shown at the Conference requires some explanation. The tall demand of the Allies is presumably a bluff. Otherwise, the only possible clue to the grasping spirit they are revealing at the Conference may be sought for in the diplomatic atmosphere of London. Mr. A. Beaumont, writing to the *Daily Telegraph* from Sofia, says:—"I have inquired why London particularly was chosen for the meeting of the peace delegates. I was told from a very high source, which I am not allowed to mention, that one reason is the great friendliness which the British Government has shown to Bulgaria since the latter proved her ability and valour by the victorious march of her armies. England also, it is asserted, was the first to declare that she had no objection to the settlement of the Dardanelles question as proposed by Bulgaria, but here another Power took a different stand, and positively demanded, for the present, the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Dardanelles, either by Turkey or Bulgaria, separately or jointly. Bulgaria did not wish to be saddled with the fortifications on the Dardanelles and all the ensuing worries bringing her into disagreeable touch with the interests of other European Powers. Therefore, she dropped her ambition regarding both the Dardanelles and Constantinople,

but she has not forgotten England's favourable stand on those points. Hence, she also expects more sympathy from England than from any other Power." The moral support that the Allies have received from the Triple Entente leaves no room for doubt as to the character of the diplomatic pressure the Turks may have to face. We, however, trust they will not submit to any terms that are damaging to their dignity and their interests alike. If the Conference fails to arrive at a satisfactory solution, the resumption of hostilities need have no terrors for the Turks. As things stand, they have almost reached the limits of their loss. By a supreme effort they may yet turn the scale. But even if they fail, the loss of a meagre strip of territory is not too large a price for their national honour and dignity.

REUTER informs us that Enver Bey visited the officers at Tchataldja and made a stirring appeal to their patriotism to sink petty differences in defence of the fatherland. We are sure the appeal of the pure-souled patriot, whose deeds of

The Return of Enver Bey.

selfless devotion and heroism shed lustre on the brief but glorious record of the Young Turk movement, will evoke enthusiastic response. Hearing of the death-struggle in which his country is involved he reluctantly left Tripoli to the defence of which he had dedicated his life and hurried back to where a far greater and more urgent duty called, to share with his people the travail of the hour and the heat and burden of the day. How he contrived to reach Constantinople is an interesting story. According to an account published in *Al-Muayyad*, Enver Bey arrived in Alexandria in disguise and stopped at the Safwai Hotel. He wore German dress and had adopted a German name. A certain Egyptian officer who had met and helped Enver Bey on his way to Tripoli saw him in the drawing room of the Hotel. The officer instantly recognised him, but with a view to remove all doubt he went close to Enver Bey and took his seat on the same table. Enver Bey seemed also to have recognised the officer and wishing to avoid public recognition he turned aside and left the table. The man who accompanied him to Egypt states that Enver Bey did not inform anyone of his intended return to Constantinople. He had made a solemn pledge with the Arabs that he would never leave them, and that he would never cease fighting for their common religion. After Mustafa Kamal had left, Enver Bey spoke publicly to the Shaikhs and other Arab leaders and declared that he would never give up fighting against the Italians—not even though there were only half a dozen soldiers left by his side. He then proceeded on a visit to Sayed Ahmad Sharif. There, placing his hand on the Holy Quran, he pledged his word to fight till he had annihilated the enemy or died himself in the attempt. The Sayed gave him his blessings and he departed with a firm determination to push on the war. Immediately on his return, however, he learnt of the change of the Ministry at Constantinople and he was naturally upset by the turn the events were taking there. He blamed Kiamil Pasha and Nazim Pasha for having brought about a crisis in national affairs and passed every moment of his life in restless anxiety. The last despatches he received from Turkey left him no alternative but to return to Constantinople as fast as he could. Pleading urgent business he left the same day by motor, accompanied by three men. On the third day he was in Alexandria. He had his chin and moustaches shaved, leaving only small whiskers. Disguised as a German he left Alexandria in a German vessel and appears to have safely reached his destination.

PROFESSOR EDWARD G. BROWNE in a recent letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, while protesting against Sir Edward Grey's action in forcing upon the Persian people (doubtless at Russia's instigation) Saad-ed-Dowleh, recalls the fact that the latter was one of the four or five Reactionaries who were excluded from the general amnesty of August 1909, on account of the special distrust with which the nation generally regarded them. Speaking of the character of Saad, Professor Browne states that in a remarkable poem entitled "Muhammad Ali's Dream," which appeared about that time in the Persian newspaper *Iran-i-Naw* ("The New Persia"), the following verse occurred:—

خواب می بینم که سعدالدوله آن خود خواه محض

مژده ها بخشد ز مرامی روسانم هنوز

(I see in my dream that Sa'du'd-Dawla, that pure eggist, Still gives me good news of help from the Russians.)

Professor Browne remarks that, thanks to Sir Edward Grey, that dream seems only too likely to come true—a fear which the learned Professor had expressed in the *Contemporary Review* a month ago. He, however, takes no credit for this forecast, since

unhappily, in order to make such forecasts it is only necessary to ascertain the alternatives and to select that most distasteful, most distressing, and most damaging to the Persians as the one which is certain to be forced upon them by their "powerful neighbours." Of the four names suggested for the Regency, in case of Nasirul-Mulk's resignation, the most unacceptable to all patriotic Persians was unanimously held to be Saad-ed-Dowleh, so that his selection for the highest available post in Persia by Russia (supported, as a matter of course, by Sir Edward Grey), was almost a foregone conclusion. "If, in spite of the disclaimers of Lord Morley and Sir Edward Grey, Saad ed-Dowleh, supported by his Russian patrons, does not succeed in restoring the ex-Shah to the throne of Persia within the next year," says Professor Brown, "I for one shall be very agreeably surprised. 'Demonstrations' in his favour, organised on the lines with which Shuja-ed-Dowleh has familiarised us at Tabriz, will take place; and we shall be told, as Saad-ed-Dowleh has already told the Russian journalists, that Persia would welcome his restoration, and that England, has no right to resist the 'almost unanimous desire' (Heaven save the mark!) of the Persian people." And once again Sir Edward Grey will gracefully give way to the wishes, not of the Persian people, but of his Russian friends.

We have received from the President of the British Red Crescent Society a list of the subscriptions which the Society received from the 18th November to the 20th November. They amount to £5,526-1-10. The amount acknowledged in previous list was £2,866-18-9, the total amount received up to the 20th November being £8,393-0-7. Besides these donations the President has received from the Red Crescent Society at Peshawar £4,000 and £800 from the Red Crescent Society at Lucknow, to remit direct to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society at Constantinople, which is being done. The contributions to the British Red Crescent Society include many donations from the British public.

TURKISH RELIEF FUND EXPENDITURE.

I.

Rs. AN. P. Rs. AN. P.

DATE.	To Remittances to Grand Vizier, Constantinople				
18-1-'12	By Draft from Calcutta	6,000	0	0	
1-5-'12	" " " " ...	3,000	0	0	
21-12-'12	" " " Delhi ...	15,000	0	0	
25-12-'12	" " " " ...	15,000	0	0	
26-12-'12	" " " " (received from Hajj Karam Mahi Sahib and Hafiz Abdur Rab Sahib)	1,850	0	0	
		46,850	0	0	46,850 0 0
	To Remittances to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, London, as advance				
18-11-'12	For initial equipment of the Field-Hospital of the All-India Medical Mission	30,000	0	0	
14-12-'12	For supplementary Medical Stores and Provisions for the same to be sent fortnightly, and for passage of three doctors from Edinburgh	18,500	0	0	
		48,500	0	0	48,500 0 0
14-12-'12	To Reserve Fund for the Mission placed at the disposal of Dr. Ansari at Constantinople with Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son	.....		5,000	0 0
	To Dr. Ansari for current expenses of the Mission in Delhi, Bombay, on the voyage and on arrival in Turkey				
19-11-'12	Cash in Delhi	100	0	0	
27-11-'12	" " "	100	0	0	
30-11-'12	" " "	100	0	0	
4-12-'12	" " "	200	0	0	
9-12-'12	" " the train to Bombay	500	0	0	
18-12-'12	" " Bombay	400	0	0	
14-12-'12	" " "	200	0	0	
		1,600	0	0	1,600 0 0

To personal outfit and expenses of some members of the Mission at the request of the contributors.

7-12-'12	To Dr. Ansari for Mr. Abdul Waheed Khan (Mirzapore) ...	150	0	0
9-12-'12	To Mr. Husain Raza Beg (Ghaziabad) at the request of Mussalmans of Meerut (Rs. 86) and Mr. Shahzad Hussain (Rs. 30) ...	116	0	0
	To Dr. Ansari for Mr. Ismail Husain Shirazi (after deducting Rs. 545-6-0 for return passage second class and Railway fare to Bombay out of Rs. 600 received from Mussalmans of Sirajgunj) ...	54	10	0
	To Dr. Ansari for Mr. Husain Raza Beg (after deducting Rs. 378-6-0 for return passage—partly second, partly third—and Railway fare to Bombay out of Rs. 364-11-6 received from Mussalmans of Ghaziabad and Rs. 85 from Mr. Husain Raza Beg) ...	21	5	6
		341	15	6
				341 15 6

To Equipment for the Mission purchased in India

19-12-'12	To Messrs. Parke Davies & Co. (Bombay), for Cholera treatment outfit and medicines	340	1	0
14-12-'12	To Messrs. N. Powell & Co. (Bombay), for 25 Thermos flasks, 10 glass refill bottles and 25 shoulder straps and 1 Gooch's Splinting	175	0	0
14-12-'12	To Messrs. Thomson and Taylor (Bombay) for Medicine Chest and medicines	50	0	0
14-12-'12	To Messrs. Sutor & Co. (Bombay) for 1 Bag, 25 Haversacks, and 16 Belts (for Dressers and Ambulance Bearers)	90	12	0
		655	13	0
15-12-'12	To Messrs. Haji Ebrahim Brothers for altering uniforms of the members of the Mission	.....		40 0 0
9-12-'12	To Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Delhi, for passage (PAID BY THE MISSION) Four Doctors @ Rs. 541 each. Second class throughout	2,164	0	0

Details.

Return Steamer Ticket Bombay—Suez	Rs. 315
Single rail ticket from Suez to Alexandria	Rs. 15
Single Steamer ticket from Alexandria to Constantinople	Rs. 90
Embarkation at Alexandria and landing at Constantinople	Rs. 8
	Rs. 428

Tickets Purchased

* Dr. Naim Ansari has paid for his passage out of funds subscribed at Jaunpore and paid to him.

Steamship Deposit for Return Journey.	Steamer Ticket from Constantinople to Alexandria ...	Rs. 90		
	Rail Ticket from Alexandria to Suez	15		
	Embarkation at Constantinople and landing at Alexandria ...	Rs. 8		
			Rs. 118	
	Total	Rs. 541		
	† Five Dressers @ 374 each. Third class between Suez and Bombay and Second class beyond ...	1,870	0	0

Details.

Tickets Purchased.	Return Steamer Ticket Bombay—Suez	Rs. 118		
	Supplement for better food than provided to crew	Rs. 15		
	Single rail ticket from Suez to Alexandria ...	Rs. 15		
	Single Steamer Ticket from Alexandria to Constantinople	Rs. 90		
	Embarkation at Alexandria and landing at Constantinople	Rs. 8		

Rs. 246

Steamship Deposit for Return Journey.	Steamer Ticket from Constantinople to Alexandria	Rs. 90		
	Rail Ticket from Alexandria to Suez ...	Rs. 15		
	Embarkation at Constantinople and landing at Alexandria ...	Rs. 8		
	Supplement for better food than provided to crew (Suez to Bombay)	15		

Rs. 128

	Total	Rs. 374		
† The Manager of the Mission (Mr. Abdur-Rahman Siddiqi, formerly Manager of the Comrade) Second Class throughout ...		541	0	0
(PAID OUT OF THE TURKISH RELIEF FUND AT THE CONTRIBUTORS' REQUEST)				
For the passage of Mr. Husain Raza Beg (as for Dressers) ...		374	0	0
For Mr. Ismail Husain Shirazi (as for Doctors)		541	0	0

5,490 0 0 5,490 0 0

3-12-12 To Railway fare to Bombay third class concession rate @ Rs. 4-6-0.

(PAID BY THE MISSION)

† Three Doctors and five Dressers ...	85	0	0
† One Manager of the Mission ...	4	6	0

† Mr. Nurul Hasan has himself paid for his passage. Mr. Husain Raza Beg's passage has been paid out of the contributions of Ghaziabad at the donors' request.

† Half the passage money for Mr. Abdur-Rahman Siddiqi is paid by the Mission and the other half by the Comrade.

† Dr. Fysee had proceeded to Bombay at his own expense earlier.

† Half the fare is paid by the Mission and the other half by the Comrade.

(PAID OUT OF THE T. R. F. AT THE CONTRIBUTORS' REQUEST).

For Messrs. Husain Raza Beg and Ismail Husain Shirazi ...

8 12 0

To † Telegrams and cables	.....	48	2	0	48	2	0
To † Rebate to Bank on Notes and Chèques received in the Turkish Relief Fund ...	.....				125	2	3
To Miscellaneous (Mostly carriage hire on work of the Mission or the T. R. F.) ...	.....				51	8	9
GRAND TOTAL ...	.....				1,08,769	12	6

† This amount is for expenditure since December 1912. The Comrade had borne all expenditure under this head before that date except what Dr. Ansari may have incurred.

The All-India Medical Mission.

The following are the Members of the All-India Medical Mission sent to Turkey :—

DOCTORS.

1. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, E. S. (Edin.), M. D. (Edin.), M. R. C. S. (Eng.), L. R. C. P. (London), Director. } Delhi.
2. Dr. Ali Azhar Ali Fysee, M. R. C. S. (Eng.), L. R. C. P. (London), Assistant Director. } Bombay.
3. Dr. S. Muhammad Naim Ansari, L. M. & S. (Lahore). } Jaunpore.
4. Dr. Mahmud-ullah, L. C. P. & S. (Cal.) } Calcutta.
5. Dr. Shamsul-Barry, L. C. P. & S. (Cal.) } Gya, Behar.

DRESSERS.

1. Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Khan, B. S. C., Head Dresser. } Lahore.
2. Mr. M. Nurul Hasan ... } Meerut.
3. Mr. Mohammed Chiraguddin ... } Delhi.
4. Mr. Syed Tawangar Husain ... } Pundri, Dt. Karnal.
5. Mr. Hamid Rasale (formerly of Aligarh) ... } Chhupra, Behar.
6. Mr. Abdul Waheed Khan ... } Mirzapore.
7. Mr. Husain Raza Beg ... } Ghaziabad.

MALE-NURSES AND AMBULANCE-BEARERS.

1. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, B. A. (Alig.), Manager of the Mission. } Surat.
2. Mr. Qazi Bashir-uddin Ahmed, B. A., L. L. B. (formerly of Aligarh). } Meerut.
3. Mr. Shuaib Quraishi, B. A. (Alig.) } Aligarh.
4. Mr. Mohammed Abdul Aziz Ansari, B. A. (formerly of Aligarh) } Yusufpore, Dist. Ghazipore.
5. Mr. Khaliq-Zaman (formerly of Aligarh) } Lucknow.
6. Mr. Manzoor Ali (formerly of Aligarh.) } Amethi, Dist. Lucknow.
7. Mr. Yusuf Ansari } Gangoh, Dist. Saharanpore.
8. Mr. Abdur Rahman (formerly of Aligarh) ... } Peshawar.
9. Mr. Syed Ismail Husain Shirazi ... } Sirajganj, Bengal.
10. Mr. Tafazzul Husain ... } Delhi.

The Comrade.

The Delhi Outrage.

THE assassin who wields the secret dagger and the bomb and destroys human life in cold blood has ever been a perplexing horror to mankind. In the mad, impersonal character of his motives, in the choice of the occasion, the instrument and the victim he differs entirely from the wretches whom some strong personal passion of hate, envy or revenge moves to crime. Armed with death, he moves ghostlike in the mystery of the crowd to fling the black and dismal shadow of his soul across some joyous scene of public felicity or the ritual of a public act. Delhi has her heavy load of tragedies and has often sapped full of horrors; but she had never before in her life of strange vicissitudes known the horror that convulsed her on the 23rd December and struck her dumb with grief. She was just rising out of her dreams of tradition and history and preparing to look up to new horizons with a new sense of hope, wonder and joy. She had decked herself gaily; her citizens had come forth in eager throngs to greet the man who had helped to restore their city to its old imperial dignity and who is full of energy to make it once more the nerve-centre of India. They were full of delight to acclaim him as the new Lord of Delhi. The whole atmosphere was alive with expectancy and eager enthusiasm. But as the solemn pageant moved through the crowded thoroughfare, symbolical of the majesty of the New Order and bearing the message of new hope, the delight and enthusiasm of the people were shattered by the deadly missile that the assassin hurled from his place of hiding at the central figure of the pageant. An attempt made on the life of Lord Hardinge would in any circumstances have aroused the utmost horror and indignation in India. The enormity of the Delhi outrage is unutterable. The place, the occasion and the personality of the intended victim alike render the crime the most detestable that has ever disfigured the pages of Indian history.

The Royal visit had by its unique historical significance, its splendour, its beneficence and its intimate appeal to the emotions of the people opened a new and fruitful era in the government of this country. The Durbar was the symbol of a new policy of trust and sympathy. The changes announced by the King-Emperor had no doubt caused not a little umbrage to some sections of the people, but no one could mistake behind those changes the willingness of his representatives in India to wipe off the old grudges and to bring the administration more into touch with what they understood to be Indian needs. The virulence of political unrest had considerably died down and it was generally considered, before the King-Emperor had expressed his desire to visit his Eastern Dominions, that the introduction of Council reforms tempered by stern measures to repress sedition had effectually stopped the growth of anarchism. King George, through a rare instinct, conceived the idea of visiting India, and even those who had doubted the wisdom of such a step extolled its wonderful results when it came to a successful termination. India for the first time rose to a sense of Imperial unity. The voice of political controversy was hushed. The people felt the stirrings of a new life in the presence of their sovereign and realised the beneficence of his rule. In such an atmosphere of graciousness and sympathy the political assassin and his ghastly cult might well have appeared to be the nightmare of a hideous dream. The Viceroy who was mainly responsible for the shaping of the new policy was full of hope, energy and enthusiasm for his task. The famous despatch of the Government of India outlining the changes announced at Delhi contains some passages destined to play an important part in the political evolution of the country which breathe noble sentiments and in which Lord Hardinge struck the keynote of his mission as India's ruler. There were, of course, some differences of opinion about the policy underlying the Delhi changes as well as about the first fruits of that policy, but no doubt could ever enter the public mind as to the earnest sincerity of the Viceroy or his frank and genuine sympathy with the aspirations of the people. The reversal of the partition of Bengal has been justified on grounds that may well be questioned. But surely the Viceroy who had the courage to face considerable odium and even harsh criticism in removing what he conceived to be a legitimate grievance of a section of the people, could scarcely be supposed to have incurred the wrath of political nihilists.

It is needless to estimate here the full significance of the ceremonies in connection with the formal entry of the Viceroy into Delhi. The occasion will live as a landmark in the history of this country. The transfer of the seat of Indian Government

from Calcutta to Delhi has not been effected in response to an empty sentiment. It is due to a clear recognition of the value of historical unity, of the continuity of tradition and, above all, of the duty of India's rulers to recast their administrative efforts in simpler mould and truer proportions. The *amour propre* of Calcutta and Bengal was bound to be hurt by the change, but the Imperial announcement at the Durbar was acclaimed with unmixed enthusiasm by the rest of India. The Bengalee opinion was also conciliated by the removal of its pet grievance. The glamour of historic occasion clung round the personality of the Viceroy and he soon rose in popular esteem and affection. His deep interest in the educational advancement of the people, his ready sympathy with their desire to take active and more responsible part in the conduct of public affairs, and his prompt energy in initiating frank discussion and inquiry with a view to administrative reform had made people look forward to his formal entry into the new seat of his Government as a peculiarly auspicious event. That event has been marred by the political assassin, and all India feels paralysed with horror and shame.

The attempt on the life of the Viceroy who has done not a little to deserve the respect and gratitude of the Indian people has a significance all its own. It is impossible to conceive that the culprit was moved by some fierce personal passion of revenge against Lord Hardinge. So far as one can judge under the circumstances, the motive of the crime was purely impersonal, cold-blooded and political. Those who talk of the crime as an isolated act of a fanatic merely play with words. A political fanatic who aims at the life of the highest representative of Government established by law is a creature of a distinct political climate. It requires a large and powerful organisation of thought and energy of a certain character to produce the forces that feed anarchism and evolve the cult of the bomb. The "fanatic" who attempted to assassinate Lord Hardinge was, in all probability, a mere instrument of a secret organisation of terrorists whose one aim is to render British Rule impossible under the strain of constant moral shocks. The first signs of anarchical development manifested themselves in the country when the unrest immediately following the partition of Bengal was at its height. Both conciliation and repression failed to eradicate them. Anarchical plots were unearthed here and there and a few of the anarchists were hunted to their doom. But anarchism was never killed. Recent outrages in Dacca and Midnapur indicate only too clearly that the "fanatic" who strikes with cool deliberation at the responsible agents and officers of the State is still abroad in the land. The "fanatic" of the Delhi outrage is, in all likelihood, one of the tribes that produced the murderers of Sir Curzon-Wylle, of Shamsul-Alam and of several others who have fallen victims to the political assassin while doing their duty.

As long as the culprit is at large it would be futile to speculate on his individuality, his class and on the organisation that produced him. The stain of his crime will continue to besmirch every Indian until the miscreant is brought to book. Unfortunately the chances of his detection seem to be remote. Very scanty evidence is at present available that may furnish an adequate clue leading up to his arrest. The only sure and certain fact so far known is that the outrage was committed in front of a large block of three-storeyed building in which the offices of the E. I. R. and the Punjab National Bank are situated, and it may consequently be inferred that the assassin was somewhere in that building when he threw the bomb. Sufficient time elapsed after the occurrence before the cordon of soldiers and police could be drawn round the place, at any rate quite sufficient for the culprit to make good his escape. However, no stone will, we are sure, be left unturned to track him down. No Indian jealous of his country's honour and of the good name of his race will rest comfortably under a heavy load of shame till the criminal has been caught and punished. The feeling of the country has been expressed in terms of utmost grief and pain, and enormous sums have been spontaneously offered by public bodies and individuals as rewards to the person who may furnish information leading up to the detection of the assassin. The responsibility of Delhi is, however, particularly heavy in the matter. The atrocious crime that was perpetrated in Chandi Chowk is alien to the spirit of its traditions and every one of its citizens has viewed the outrage with detestation and loathing. They, however, owe it to themselves no less than to the fair name of their city and its glorious traditions of fidelity to strain every nerve in helping the authorities to find out the author of the outrage. In no other way can they wipe off the stain. We know there exists general reluctance on the part of the people in this country to actively help the administration of justice owing, partly, to the methods of the police subordinates. But now that the honour of Delhi is involved and a fearful crime has occurred within its gates in which the life of the

representative of the King-Emperor was attempted, the responsibility of its citizens can be discharged in no other way than by their active and whole-hearted co-operation in the detection of the culprit. The investigation of the case is in the hands of the highest authorities of the Criminal Investigation Department and we are sure all those willing to give useful information will be subjected to no unnecessary harassment. But in a matter such as this no amount of inconvenience and trouble should stand in our way. Every bit of information likely to be useful should be promptly and unreservedly placed at the disposal of the authorities. The citizens of Delhi are on their trial. We are sure they will emerge out of it with credit and with their reputation and good name unscathed.

In conclusion, we would only express our respectful sympathy with Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge for the terrible ordeal through which they have passed and our admiration for the noble courage with which they have borne themselves. The heart of all India is sore with affliction and the pain of humiliation. On the afternoon of the 23rd instant, when lying wounded from the bomb, Lord Hardinge said that this attempt upon his life had not made any change in his feelings towards India and the people of India, nor would it cause any change in his attitude or policy. He was only filled with sympathy at the shame and horror with which India must be filled, and depressed by that thought. These are gracious words and will act on the lacerated heart of India like a healing balm. May we assure His Excellency that these words will be remembered by the people with everlasting gratitude. His order, directing those about him, immediately after the occurrence, that the ceremonies should be proceeded with as if nothing had happened has brought home to every one in India that British Rule is inevitable. His noble words for India and her people have revealed, as nothing else could have done, how immensely that Rule is necessary and beneficent. The citizens of Delhi who witnessed the occurrence from close quarters or heard of it from afar must have had their minds filled with strange echoes from history. Not far from the place of occurrence is a mosque associated with one of the bloodiest pages in the annals of Delhi. There it was that Nadir Shah, on hearing of the assassination of a few soldiers of his bodyguard, unsheathed the sword and gave the order for indiscriminate massacre. The streets of Delhi were drenched in the blood of thousands of innocent victims. None could have lifted a finger of reproach if in consequence of the outrage on the Viceroy the British troops had turned their guns on the block of buildings from which the bomb was hurled and rased it to the ground. The majesty of the law has, however, triumphed; and in this triumph we have a supreme lesson for India. The cool courage of the Viceroy, the discipline and humanity of the Rule of which he is the visible symbol and the nobility of the mood in which he has faced the vile deed have made a deep and lasting impression in the country. His magnanimity and devotion to duty have drawn the hearts of the Indian people to him still closer and have added still stronger links in the chain of mutual sympathy, good-will and helpfulness that binds India to England.

Sir James Meston at Aligarh.

II.

He who would discuss the problems of Aligarh must examine whether its difficulties are congenital or merely adventitious. The fact is that Aligarh was growing normally enough as an institution, but the equipoise that Syed Ahmed Khan had established required delicate treatment and his successors were unequal to the task imposed upon them. The strike of the students, the rapid succession of the resignations of the European Professors, and the ever-present threat of the strike of the entire European Staff are but so many indications that the delicate equipoise that Syed Ahmed Khan had established has been disturbed and requires restoration. If another despot like the Founder of Aligarh could restore that equipoise the community would readily sign the bond of slavery to him and fa at his feet. But if the days of despotism are over, as they appear only too certainly to be, the only possible course is to broad-base Aligarh, as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan designed it to be, on the united efforts and the united wishes of the whole community. This consummation has been steadfastly advocated by us but equally steadfastly opposed from several quarters, and as hitherto all power has been centred in the latter, we were bound to hear of dissensions among the Trustees, and differences between the Trustees and the European Staff on the one hand and the

European Staff and the Indian Staff on the other. This has no doubt an unfortunate effect on the youths that live and work at Aligarh, but if these dissensions and differences are to disappear, the oligarchy of the first decade after Sir Syed's death must also disappear finally, and the era of true democracy must be ushered in Aligarh. To our mind the snake is now not only scotched but almost killed, and if despotism can no more reign at Aligarh there is no greater chance of oligarchic cabals and cliques retaining an ascendancy which had been won by intrigue and maintained in the past through the indifference and neglect of the Trustees. The heresies of yesterday have become part of the orthodox creed of the community to-day, and he who would ignore the united wishes of a whole community and carry on the work at Aligarh without its united efforts, would find that the task is wholly impossible, and that a community in the truest sense of the word—expressing united wishes and setting forth united efforts—has, thanks to Syed Ahmed Khan himself, at last come into being.

It is admitted on all hands that all is not well with Aligarh, but before we set out to cure the disease let us pause and consider what Aligarh was designed to be. A physician must know the anatomy and physiological functions of the various members of the human body in health before he can deal effectively with its pathological condition. And it is because this obvious fact is ignored that three-fourths of the nostrums are prescribed for the ailments of Aligarh. To begin with, Aligarh is the outcome of a two-fold revolt. It was a revolt, on the one hand, against the sterility of Eastern lore, and on the other, against the complete divorce of the Western education imparted in India by Government from the culture and creed of Islam. No fidelity to British rule could be greater than that of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and none could challenge his appreciation of all that is best in the aims and ideals of Western education. But he was in sufficient sympathy with the political rebels to have grasped their point of view and to have explained it in his memorable brochure on the "Causes of the Indian Revolt." Similarly, he was near enough to the educational rebels to have refused to offer his allegiance, to the educational policy of the Indian Universities. One of the earliest advocates of the representation of the ruled in the councils of the rulers, he was positively the first to demand an educational Swarajya. This is the essential truth that must soak in the minds of all who are really interested in the progress of Aligarh, and without a thorough assimilation of this it would be as easy for one to suggest improvements at Aligarh as for a doctor to diagnose the diseases of mankind and prescribe the remedies without understanding the circulation of blood and knowing the functions of the heart.

Aligarh was and has always been the symbol of revolt in the foregoing respect, and any attempt to lay down for its guidance maxims of educational orthodoxy culled from a purely English experience or impose on it the educational policy of the Indian Government would be to court failure. But the educational Swarajya of Aligarh was not the outcome of the hatred of outlandish ideals. Its advocates, far from preaching a boycott of European methods and European workers, went far in search of the best men in the West in order to combine the best in the West with the best in the East, and thus to remove the stagnation which the peninsularity of India, so to speak, for several centuries had imposed upon it.

In order to form a correct judgment about Aligarh it is essential to understand that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan considered it most desirable to have a number of European Professors to assist the Mussalmans in the national regeneration, but that nevertheless he laid it down definitely enough that all the Trustees should be Mussalmans and none but a Mussalman could be entrusted with the shaping of its educational policy. The aim of education is to make a perfect man, and the ideals of perfection differ according to the spiritual conceptions and social politics of different communities. It, therefore, follows that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who was dissatisfied with the educational methods and ideals of Government and Missionary Colleges, could never approve of an arrangement in which the ideals of perfection to be pursued in Aligarh could be those of men who had spiritual conceptions and a social polity very much at variance with those of Indian Mussalmans. This settles for ever the question of making any but a Muhammadan an educational despot at Aligarh, if that despotism is to have within its jurisdiction the laying down of Aligarh's educational policy. But once that policy is formed, whether by a Moslem despot or by a Moslem democracy, it is not only permitted but at times most necessary to utilise every instrument for its execution whether it bears the hall-mark of Islam or of other creeds and communities. The deliberative body at Aligarh was, therefore, rigidly kept Moslem, and whosoever endeavours to encroach upon the realm of the Moslem Trustees, whether openly or in disguise, departs in the most clear manner from the very ideals of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the principles of the Aligarh movement to which doctor and quack all turn for a remedy. If there are

dissensions among the Trustees themselves they are mostly due to the complaint of some—and they are now clearly in a majority—that such departure from the ideals of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the principles of the Aligarh movement has too long been permitted by a small minority of the Trustees who had, for a considerable space of time, monopolised all power after the death of the Founder. It is not necessary to discuss the motives of such men, and we shall not enter into the question whether they wish to serve their own ends by their complacency or are too weak to oppose the masterfulness of others.

The Constitution of the Trustees is still the same, but the position has undergone a considerable change since some of the younger men, combined with some of the oldest, fought heroically against the masterfulness of the encroachers and the complacency of those who have not guarded their trust more jealously. But, although the Constitution is at present nearly the same as laid down in 1889, the community has clearly declared for its radical modification. The Committee selected out of the best elements in the Moslem community for drafting a Constitution for the Moslem University, has declared itself by a clear majority in favour of the changes which we have been advocating for a number of years, and it must be said for those who clung to their own conservatism that they have acknowledged their defeat with sufficient candour, if not also with perfect cheerfulness. The Trustees too have accepted these changes for the future, but some of them would like that exception should be made in the cases of the present Life-Trustees whose tenure of office they would like to remain permanent. This is, after all, a comparatively small matter, but we have every hope that the Life-Trustees would set an example of self-denial and show their confidence in the good sense of the community by retiring gracefully in course of time and seeking like the rest the suffrage of their co-religionists. But this is not the end of all opposition to the liberalising principles which we have strenuously and steadfastly advocated. The Education Member of the Government of India is certainly not in love with the "rabble of young men," though he knows well enough that it is mostly these men who are devoting their time and energies to the work of their community, and that for the most part it is these men who are qualified, by the education they have received at Aligarh itself, to be entrusted with the shaping of the educational policy of the Indian Mussalmans. A disparagement of these men, coupled with a persistent advocacy of the claims of so-called "experts," would only create the suspicion that Government is anxious to oppose the ideals of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the principles of the Aligarh movement by supporting the encroachments of the European Staff on the domain of the Moslem Trustees, and that Government is striving to make these encroachments possible by prolonging the era of complacent Trustees who through ignorance, selfishness or indifference have not been as vigilant as they should have been in guarding the powers of the Trustees from the hands of the encroachers. We shall deal subsequently with Sir James Meston's description of the two schools of thought among the Trustees, the Young and the Old, but we may state here at the very outset that, if there are dissensions among the Young and the Old, it is only because the Young and the educated do not wish to tolerate any longer the encroachments of the English Staff on the powers of the Trustees and are bent on pursuing the ideals of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and carrying on the principles of the Aligarh movement with steadfast determination and unswerving fidelity.

But it must also be borne in mind that although we still cling to the schemes which we have advocated for many years for the reform of the Trustees, we are not oblivious of the fact that even under the old system an improvement has taken place in the work of the Trustees. The publicity given to Aligarh affairs—whatever its effect on the discipline of students—has certainly made the Trustees more careful of that trust, and we have noticed in recent years time after time Trustees' meetings held with an attendance twice and thrice as large as the average attendance of the previous decade. Since 1907 we do not know of a single meeting of the Trustees which had to be postponed for want of a quorum of seven, and even those who cannot attend now devote more time than they or their predecessors devoted before to the work which they had undertaken. So much has criticism done; but it cannot do more unless the composition of the Trustees improves as well, and although criticism has reacted on the composition also, the only lasting improvement will be effected when the Constitution framed by the Moslem University Constitution Committee is adopted for the Board of Trustees. We had a great hope that we would have a Moslem University in working order at Aligarh in 1913, but, thanks to the Secretary of State and the India Council, that hope has been deferred and is making the Moslem heart sick as the proverb must have warned the powers that be. Not waiting any longer for the fulfilment of that hope—though that hope shall be fulfilled before long—we intend to take steps within the year to have the regulations of the Aligarh College modified in accordance with the draft of the Moslem University

Constitution. Once that is done, we may have differences among the Trustees as differences exist in any other body composed of a hundred or more men of different ages, qualifications, and temperaments, but we trust there would be no dissensions to which reference could be made by the Official Patron of the College in a composite assembly in which there are not only ordinary strangers but also the Staff of the college and school and the students of both departments. We are sure that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, who is himself keenly alive to the need of maintaining the authority of the Staff over the students, never intended to weaken the authority of the Trustees over the Staff or the students when he referred to the dissensions of the Trustees and asked them if the decay of Aligarh was the price which should be paid for their dissensions. But there is no doubt that the Trustees were to some extent lowered in public estimation by the reference, and the only way in which it could in future be avoided would be to have no dissensions at all. To do this it would not be necessary to crush the Young or to kill the Old. All that is required is to have a constitution in which the true representatives of every class of workers for the national good in the Muhammadan community could combine to work with the sole object of making Aligarh flourish and prosper. That consummation is, we believe, in sight, and till then we hope all dissentients would agree to continue their dissensions only in the way of honour and dignity.

We now come to His Honour's description of the two schools of thought at Aligarh, the Young and the Old, and here we must beg to differ with His Honour. Once before this, when the Secretary of State's decision with regard to the Moslem University was discussed at Lucknow last August, we requested the Government and especially the Member for Education to scrutinise carefully the ages of those who had differed from the Secretary of State and his Council. Although there is not the same unanimity among the Trustees as exists in the Constitution Committee of the Moslem University, we would invite His Honour to institute an enquiry into the ages of the dissentients. We dislike personalities as much as anybody else, but when we are talking of men on this earth it is not easy to use very general terms equally applicable to men in Mars and the Man in the Moon. We would, therefore, take leave to refer to some of the most prominent personalities among the workers at Aligarh. In what category, we ask, are we to place Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and His Highness the Aga Khan, Maulana Hali and the Raja of Mahmudabad? Shall we class Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah among the Young or Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan among the Old, and if we come to the counting of wrinkles and gray hair, how do Mr. Sheikh Abdullah and the Hon. Mr. Shafi compare with Mr. Justice Sharafuddin and Khan Bahadur Syed Jafer Hussain? We do not know whether Nawab Abdul Majid is older or the Hon. M. Abdur Rauf. But we are certain that Nawab Muzammil-ullah Khan is almost as far off from the farthest limit of the psalmist's span of life as his cousin Haji Moosa Khan, and we could name a dozen more men of the same age who often differ in their views with each other. Were it only a question of youth and age the Young would have at least had the same consolation as Sweet Seventeen in the verse of Kipling who was always "cut out in the affairs of the heart by her senior of forty-nine: her senior would be 81 when she would be 49. Time is always on the side of the Young, and a little patience is all that youth needs in order to secure all that comes with wrinkles and gray hair. But we have already indicated sufficiently clearly that the dissensions of the Trustees are in no way due to these fleeting and unreal distinctions. The real difference lies in two directions. In the first place, one faction, whether through selfishness, indifference or an exaggerated notion of the expediency of the moment, is too complacent when encroachments are made on the powers of the Trustees and readily throws the ideals of Sir Syed Ahmed and the principles of the Aligarh movement overboard. The other has a stiffer backbone and would not so easily bend for the educational leap-frog that is being played at Aligarh by some men most of whom are far too old even for a more dignified game. In the second place, even with the best of intentions, one school of thought has little faith in the masses of its own community, while the other believes that a public institution prospers best in the open air and in full view of the sun, and would like to associate in the work at Aligarh as many men as could be attracted towards the nerve-centre of 70 millions of Mussalmans. As regards the former cause of dissension we have already said that it is likely to disappear when a reform in the Constitution of the Trustees insures a better composition of the Board. As regards the second, there is no power on earth except the force of circumstances which can enlarge the views of mankind, and if differences continue to exist among the Trustees because some have aristocratic tendencies and others are inclined towards a more socialistic polity, let us hope that the Trustees would differ among themselves with no less dignity than was shown recently in the most representative assembly in London when the gentlemen of England fell out with British rodents!

CORRESPONDENCE



Distress in Turkey.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Will you kindly publish the following translation of some notices in the advertisement columns of *Sabah*? What a world of misery and desolation is concealed behind these bare, bald advertisements.

S. H.

A REQUEST TO THE INHABITANTS OF TEHORLU.

I beg that those who know will be so kind and merciful as to let me know where Ayesha Khanum, widow of the late Haji Khalil Effendi, the Mufti of Tehorlu, is at present.

*Apartments of Mulhtar Bey
in Haidar Pasha.*

SUCKRIA, THE DAUGHTER
OF HAJI KHALIL EFFENDI.

MISSING.

The whereabouts of Arab Muhammad, his wife and their son Saib, all of Kirk-Kiliseh, are unknown. Will anyone who knows where they are, or where they have been driven to, communicate for the sake of humanity with Zia Bey in Shahzade Pashi.

Shahin Hasan Bey, the Mudir of Eladi School of Kirk-Kiliseh, begs for information about the whereabouts of the families of the Secretary and Accountant of the School, who left Kirk-Kiliseh about 15 or 20 days ago.

To Jamil Effendi of Hyder Medressah. Two families without any male member are searching for you. Kindly make inquiries from the Police Commissaire of Sirkeci and meet them.

Kindly and mercifully communicate with Ferhad Mustafa, C/o Post-Master, Mekri-Kyi, about the whereabouts of his daughters Zenab, Nasifa, and Ayesha aged 21, 18 and 4, respectively. Ferhad Mustafa belonged to Teherkess Keuy.

Information is requested by the Municipality of Keva about Hanifa, wife of and, Muhammad, son of Wali Khwaja who are missing. Wali Khwaja is at present in Keva. He belonged to the village Agatch in Kirk-Kiliseh.

When I went to the war, I left my wife and my mother-in-law and my two sons *احيا* and *باقي* and my daughter *عدالت* in Tehorlu, the headquarters of my Brigade. From the 19th Tishrin-i-awwal I am lying wounded in the Gulhane Hospital. According to the inquiries so far made by me about my family, I find that they came on the 20th Tishrin-i-awwal with other people of Tehorlu to Constantinople, and searched for me. Not finding me they joined the party going to Ball-Kesra, our native place; and took the steamer bound for Bandarma. I am most anxious about them. Will they communicate with me or will anyone, knowing their whereabouts, kindly communicate with me in the hospital.

The Punjab Legislative Council Elections.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMRADE."

SIR,—Now that the elections to the Punjab Legislative Council are over and the Muhammadan candidates who could truly re-

present Muhammadan claims and Muhammadan interests have been miserably worsted in the open combat,—a combat, be it remembered, in which under the rules and regulations in force all the odds of numbers, resources and materials were obviously against them—it is time that the attention of the Government were drawn to the apparent injustice involved in the current arrangements and to the inadequacy of representation allowed to the most important community of the province. The Punjab Moslem League, if it is not already a defunct institution, and other Muhammadan Associations which claim to voice Muhammadan grievances should take up the matter in right earnest and by means of facts and figures conclusively establish before the bar of the executive authorities that the representations allowed in the Council Chambers of the province to a community whose loyalty to the British Raj stands beyond all impeachment and whose services to and sacrifices in the interests of the community are matters too well known to need any mention, is quite meagre and out of all proportion to the numerical strength and political importance of its members. The Mussalman Press of the Punjab also owes it as a bounden and sacred duty to discuss the situation and lay its fingers on the weak spots with a view to open the eyes of the powers that be to the serious disabilities under which its constituents labour in this age of liberal tendencies and progressive movements when increasing trust and confidence is being placed by the officers of Government in the capabilities of subject races and old-world prejudices are being washed off before the current of modern ideas and modern sanctions.

In the compass of this brief letter it is impossible for me to tackle the problem that confronts the Muhammadan community in regard to its adequate representation on the board of the Provincial Legislative Council, and I can do no more beyond advertising to the seriousness of the issues involved and drawing the attention of the talented members of the community to the great handicap of our movement in the race of progress and advancement. My most immediate object at present is to bring to the notice of the Government the worst result of the recent elections so far as my community is concerned and to request that the disproportionate inadequacy of our representation, which is the outcome of the open, unrestricted franchise granted to the District and Municipal Boards of the Province, should be redressed and remedied by the nomination of such capable and talented Muhammadans as will truly represent Muhammadan interests in the deliberations of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. We have to our bad luck amongst us a plethora of such as will cringe and fawn to serve their private ends. But instances are not wanting of those who will above all be true and never betray the trust of the community and, while trying to help the administration to the level best of their powers, will not hesitate fearlessly to express the sentiments and feelings of their community in regard to important measures that may be under the contemplation of the Government. Khan Sahib Abdul Haq of Multan, whose services to the cause of civic progress and enlightenment are already known to Government, Dr. Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore whose scholastic attainments ripened in the schools and galleries of the distant West tower so high and whose sincere interest in the affairs of his community has already won him a warm place in the affections of his co-religionists, Mirza Hujaz Husain of Umbala whose soundness and ability are sure to prove assets of no mean value to the Legislative Council, are already the leading lights of the Province and their nomination to the Legislative Council will win for Government the undying gratitude of the Muhammadan community. It is worse than useless to summon to the Council board loadies of mean capacity and average calibre. They can never be of permanent and enduring help to the Executive. On the contrary, their unhesitating yeas will be a positive mischief to the cause of an enlightened administration. They can never summon courage enough to utter unpalatable truths and, by thus keeping authorities in the dark as to the aspirations and true needs of the people, do double harm both to the Government as well as to their community. A fearless and enlightened exponent of public wishes and public grievances will be an acquisition to any legislative assembly in the world, but more so in the Punjab where the path of administration is beset with numerous difficulties of an insuperable character born of the gulf of language that keeps permanently apart the rulers and the ruled and where the Robin Hoods of myth and fiction abound so much, ever eager to catch at the crumbs of official favour and the loaves and fishes offered by a benign Government for the sustenance of its poor subject races.

QARI ABDUR KASHID,

B. A., LL. B.,

Pleader, Jhelum.

The War Supplement.

News of the Week.

London, Dec. 18.

The Ottoman delegates repudiate the suggestion that they are endeavouring to gain time by their refusal to meet the Greeks. They explain that they were only officially aware yesterday of the intention of the Hellenic Government and they were bound therefore to ask Constantinople for the necessary instructions and authority. They affirm that the desire of their Government is to conclude peace as speedily as possible.

Reuter learns that in spite of adverse reports the attitude of the Serbians at the Conference was entirely moderate. While naturally desiring a port on the Adriatic, they have intimated their willingness to leave the matter in the hands of the Powers. M. Jevanovitch, the new Serbian Minister in Vienna, is expected to begin negotiations for the removal of misunderstandings.

The recurrence of pessimism in regard to the position between Serbia and Austria is described in well-informed circles in London as unwarranted, but despatches from Belgrade are somewhat alarming. The Government organ in Belgrade complains of provocative Austrian military movements. It says that searchlights are thrown on Belgrade and that monitors are cruising on the Danube and Save close to the frontier, and that they have even collided with the pier at Belgrade. It also states that Serbians visiting the frontier towns on business have been arrested. The fact that Austrian ships on the Danube between Belgrade and Turnu-Severin have been ordered to Galatz, and that Roumanian ships have been ordered to concentrate in the harbour at Macin, is believed in Bukharest to be due to the dispute between Austria and Serbia.

A St. Petersburg wire states that General Sukhomalinoff, Minister for War, and M. Sazonoff, Foreign Minister, are being received in audience daily by the Tsar, who yesterday also received the Chief of the General Staff.

Sir Edward Grey was present at yesterday's meeting of Ambassadors. It is understood that the future status of Albania was discussed.

M. Kokovizoff, Premier, speaking in the Duma, said that Russia as a great Slavonic Power, could not be indifferent whether the Balkan States obtained conditions of existence consonant with their achievement and bloodshed, and were thereby saved from dangerous complications in the future, nor could the Government underrate Russia's historic interests. The Government had no reason to change its calm attitude of confident support of its friends, and it hoped that the Powers would arrive at a settlement reconciling their interests with the just demands of the Balkan States. For this reason the Russian Government sincerely welcomed British initiative in raising the discussion.

An Athens wire states that the bombardment by the Greeks all day silenced the Turkish guns in the fort at Bizani and exploded the artillery magazine. It is expected that the fort will be captured immediately and the road to Janina will then be open.

London, Dec. 19.

A Constantinople wire states that the Council of Ministers has issued further instructions to the delegates in London regarding their attitude towards the Greek delegates.

To-day's meeting of the Peace Conference was awaited with considerable apprehension, feeling among the Balkan Allies running very high in view of the belief that the Turks were deliberately delaying. The Balkan delegates would not listen to any Turkish proposal suggestive of the retention of Adrianople, such as re-victualling it. A momentary sensation was caused by the Turkish delegates hurrying alone from the Conference after it had lasted only an hour, but it was quickly announced that the Conference had adjourned until Saturday because the Turkish instructions had not been received. They are coming by special courier.

A Constantinople wire says it is stated that the Porte has instructed the delegates to agree to negotiate with the Greeks without the latter signing the armistice.

A Rome wire states that, replying in the Chamber to-day to an interpellation regarding renewal of the Triple Alliance, the Marquis Di San Giuliano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that the long duration of peace for which the Triple Alliance had been

responsible had facilitated the splendid progress of Italy. "The Treaty can only bear its full fruits provided full reciprocal confidence exists between the Allies, making all feel that it is no question of a transitory combination, but a solid lasting bond. Hence it was to the equal interest of the three Powers to renew the Alliance some time before its expiration. On this solid basis Italy and Austria, whose reciprocal relations were to-day most intimate and cordial, are able to agree to the fundamental lines of solution of the Albanian problem, ensuring a neutralised Albania which shall live its own life, open to the free trade of the whole world, and shall be a factor in the political equilibrium of the Balkan Peninsula and the Adriatic. The Triple Alliance in its present form provides completely for our safety, hence there is no motive for modifying it. None of the Allies has asked for modifications throughout the situation arising from the events in the Balkans.

"Our cordial friendship with Russia has been a factor for good. Moreover, the possession of Libya has created a bond of sentiment and interest between Italy, Great Britain and France in the lofty mission on behalf of the natives of Africa. But the Triple Alliance must remain the fundamental pivot of Italy's foreign policy."

The Turkish official version of the fighting near Janina states that the Greeks were defeated after a battle lasting for six hours, in which they lost four hundred killed and one hundred and twenty-six wounded. They abandoned three quick-firing guns.

A Sofia wire states that the Chamber has passed the first reading of the Bill providing an extraordinary credit of fifty millions francs on behalf of the army. The Minister of Finance declared that the reports that Bulgaria was in financial difficulties were unfounded. Bulgaria was able to continue the war for six months, if necessary.

London, Dec. 20.

Reuter's Agency understands that the peace terms have been carefully drawn up by the Allies. They were not prepared with a view to bargaining, but must be accepted or rejected as they stand. The delegates of the Allies are working in perfect harmony. There is a certain amount of pessimism regarding the question of Adrianople, the Allies insisting on the possession of it.

Feeling in regard to the European situation is more optimistic. There are already good results from the conversations between the Ambassadors, though there will be cause for apprehension if the peace conference proves unsuccessful. The chief anxiety of the diplomats is in connexion with Adrianople, on which question both Turkey and the Allies are equally firm.

The Serving Premier, in an interview, said: "We have attempted in vain to reach an understanding with Austria with regard to the port on the Adriatic, and we now leave it to the decision of the Powers."

A Vienna wire says that the Reichsrath has just concluded a sitting lasting fifty-five hours which was marked by continuous obstruction on the part of Czech Radicals. The Reichsrath has adopted a bill providing that transport services shall be rendered in the case of war by private individuals and communes. Austrian mobilisation is now complete. There are four army corps on the Serbian frontier and two in Bosnia.

It is officially announced that Ambassadors have recommended to the Governments of the Great Powers that Albania be granted autonomy with a provision guaranteeing Serbia commercial access to the Adriatic. It is added that the Governments are agreed in principle on both points.

An Athens wire says it is stated that the Turkish Admiral Halil Pasha and four officers were killed on board the flagship in the fight off the Dardanelles on the 16th. The battleship was practically destroyed and three other Turkish ships severely damaged.

A Lloyd's telegram from Port Said states that part of the Turkish fleet was forced to run ashore near the Dardanelles owing to the damage sustained during the fight with the Greek fleet.

King Ferdinand is touring Thrace and Macedonia. He arrived at Salonica yesterday and was photographed with the King of Greece. King Ferdinand said the visit was merely that of a tourist.

The Turks have massacred Christians of Mitylene and the Greeks are pursuing the Turks after a battle at the village of Petros.

London, Dec. 21

The Lord Mayor gave a luncheon in honour of the Peace Delegates at the Mansion House, and a brilliant assemblage was present. Mr. Asquith emphasized that he was not ashamed to call himself an optimist, and to declare that the Peace of London in time to come would be considered one of the proudest leaves in London's laurel crown. The various delegates delivered complimentary speeches and were hopeful of the success of the mission.

The unity of Powers, as set forth last night in an official communiqué, contrasts with the situation at the Peace Conference, where trouble is apparently brewing, the latest Turkish instructions including a demand for the re-victualling of Adrianople.

The King received the Peace Delegates at Buckingham Palace to-day and conversed with them for half an hour.

The Peace Conference adjourned to-night, after sitting for two hours. The questions of the Greek armistice and the re-victualling of Adrianople were discussed, and will be again discussed when the Conference resumes on Monday afternoon. According to an official account of the Conference, the Turks asked for the re-victualling of Adrianople as a condition of negotiating with Greece, but the Allies considered the question already settled by the armistice and therefore outside the scope of the Conference. The Turks replied that they must therefore refer the matter to Constantinople. Reuter learns that the Turks, in the interests of humanity, have asked for the re-victualling of besieged towns.

London, Dec. 22.

The delegates of the Allies yesterday plainly intimated to the Turkish delegates that delays must end, but optimism prevailed when the Conference adjourned.

A Vienna wire says that much satisfaction is expressed there at the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors which is regarded as endorsing the Austrian standpoint.

M. Poincaré, in a speech in the French Chamber yesterday, dwelt on the closeness of agreement between the Entente Powers with regard to the Balkan trouble. He praised the initiative of Great Britain in arranging the Conference of Ambassadors, who had succeeded in eliminating one of the principal cause of European discord, and he believed that Serbia would adopt the Ambassadors' point of view. He understood that Albanian autonomy would be constituted under the suzerainty of the Sultan and would be controlled by all the Powers. The port for Serbia would be free and neutral. It would be served by the international railway, also controlled by Europe, with free transit for all goods, including war stores.

M. Poincaré continued: "There remained the delicate questions of the limits of Albania and many others. The solution depended on the result of the negotiations between the belligerents, of which it was unfortunately impossible to forecast the issue. If, unhappily, a rupture occurred, Europe could not remain impassive. France was devoted to peace and was resolved to work for peace, but she was determined to defend unhesitatingly her interest and rights and to maintain the great traditions of France in the Near East, to safeguard above all her sacred national honour. (Cheers.)"

The Socialist, M. Vaillant, said the result of a war would be a Communist rising in France. M. Deschanel retorted that in the event of a European war all France would do its duty.

M. Poincaré also delivered a speech in the Senate yesterday, in which he said that the Balkans for the Balkan peoples was an equitable solution, affording the surest guarantee for permanence. When peace was signed it would rest on solid bases. Turkey would retain a considerable Empire, and she would act wisely in listening to the wishes of subject populations. France was determined to ensure respect for her interests in Lebanon and Syria. There was no foundation for the insinuation that discord had arisen between England and France in that connexion, and Britain has been assured that as she has no political aspiration in those regions France is determined to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in Asia.

A Vienna wire states that the Serbian Premier yesterday called on the Austrian Minister at Belgrade and expressed the regret of the Government at the blunders of individual military officers over the affair of M. Prochaska, the Consul at Prizrend.

M. Poincaré's speech is regarded as evidence of the amelioration of the general European situation while indicating the possibility of mediation by France in the event of a rupture at the Peace Conference.

A Paris wire says it is semi-officially announced that the cause of peace has made great strides during the last forty-eight hours, Austria having decided to come into line with the other Powers in urging moderation on the part of Turkey.

An Athens wire states that the Turkish army on Mitylene has surrendered. The Greeks in the Epirus have captured Goritzal, after forcing the fortified passes.

A Constantinople wire states that strong anti-Government feeling exists in military circles owing to the acceptance of the armistice without provision for the re-victualling of Adrianople. The instructions to the delegates in London to demand re-victualling were due to the attitude of army officers. Officials, however, realise there are small prospects of the Allies yielding on the point. Officers are strongly in favour of continuing hostilities in preference to surrendering Adrianople and military preparations are most active, with a view to the breakdown of the Peace Conference. Reinforcements arrive daily from Syria and Kurdistan and important orders for guns and stores have been placed abroad. Sober-minded people do not share the Chauvinistic optimism of military circles.

A Sofia wire says that in the Sobranje yesterday the Minister of Finance, in requesting a three months' vote on account said that thanks to the favourable placing of Treasury Bonds abroad the army was well supplied with arms and ammunition and would be able to continue the war for six months. King Ferdinand has issued an army order praising the troops for their memorable exploits and exhorting them to profit by the respite and prepare for fresh efforts.

An Athens wire states that the Minister of War announces that three Turkish attacks have been repulsed in the Epirus since Thursday. The Greek army has been considerably reinforced to enable the capture of Janina without delay.

London, Dec. 23.

The Peace Conference sat for an hour and a half to-day. The Turks did not insist on the re-victualling of Adrianople. The Servian delegates, presiding, set forth the conditions of Peace, which the Turkish delegates required time to consider. The Conference adjourned till Saturday.

The *Times* correspondent at Constantinople telegraphs that David Pasha, commanding the remnants of the Monastir forces, has been killed with his Chief of Staff in an action in the vicinity of Janina in which the Turks were finally victorious.

An Athens wire states that the Turkish battleship *Torgut Resi*, the cruiser *Mefjideh* and three destroyers made a sortie from the Dardanelles yesterday towards Tenedos. The destroyers approached the town and fired twenty shells without doing harm. The Turkish inhabitants cheered and hoisted the Turkish flag. A company of Greek bluejackets on the island fired at the latter, killing and wounding seven. The Turkish vessels then returned to the Dardanelles.

The Greek squadron off Lemnos was informed of the sortie by wireless and is pursuing the Turks. The Greek Admiral considers that the absence of the three best Turkish battleships is a proof that they were disabled in the last engagement.

A Belgrade wire states that the Turks on Friday attacked the Servians near Scentari. They were repulsed after a fierce engagement suffering considerable loss.

London, Dec. 24.

At the Peace Conference on Monday the Turks finally withdrew their objections to negotiating with the Greeks.

Reuter understands that Allies' conditions include the cession of all territory west of lines from a point to the east of Rodosto on the Sea of Marmora to the Bay of Malatra on the Black Sea excluding the Peninsula of Gallipoli, the cession of the islands in the Aegean and the abandonment of all Turkish rights in Crete; the question of Albania to be left for the powers to settle.

A Sofia message states that at a meeting of the Chamber the utmost enthusiasm was displayed. All parties approved the Government's policy and urged that the terms of peace must be compatible with Bulgaria's great sacrifices.

A Belgrade message states that eighteen Turkish officers and 247 men whose retreat has been cut off by Greeks have surrendered to the Servians near Ochrida.

Under the terms of peace proposed by the Allies islands near the mouth of the Dardanelles will be dealt with specially.

A Constantinople wire states that a Council of Ministers discussed the situation to-day and it is probable that the delegates in London will be instructed to submit counter-proposals on Saturday.

The Turkish Press unanimously declares that the conditions of the Allies are not acceptable. No Turkish Government would subscribe to terms not preserving Adrianople to the Empire. The delegates want to conclude peace not to commit suicide and unless honourable peace is possible the Turks will draw the sword.

Enver Bey visited the officers at Tchataldja yesterday and made a stirring appeal to their patriotism, urging them to abandon party factions.

A Constantinople wire states that all officers on leave from Tchataldja have been recalled to their regiments within twenty-four hours.

Turkish Relief Fund Collections.

Dilduar.

A MONSTER open air mass meeting in aid of the Turkish Relief Fund was held at Dilduar. More than two thousand Mussulmans and Hindus of all classes attended. Great enthusiasm prevailed. The Hon'ble M. Ghuznavi's stirring appeal proved successful, and more than Rs. 1,000 was collected on the spot. Shawls, umbrellas, sticks, watches, rings, etc., were freely given and were put up to auction. Resolutions were passed expressing indignation at the attitude of the Balkan Confederacy, and thanking the Government for its sympathy with Indian Mussulmans. It was resolved to send half of the amount collected to the Comrade towards the Fund of Dr. Ansari's Medical Mission.

Dhanbaid.

The Muhammadan Railway employees of Jheriah, District Dhanbaid, have forwarded an amount of Rs. 250 to the Ottoman Consulate, Bombay, toward the Turkish Relief Fund.

Shillong.

A sum of Rs. 9,620 has been collected by the Shillong Moslem Union in aid of the Lady Lowther's Turkish Relief Fund and remitted by telegraphic money order to Captain Tod, Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency the Viceroy, Delhi. The subscription is headed by Sir Archdale Earle, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, with a donation of Rs. 300.

Karachi.

At a meeting in the Khalik Dina Hall, presided over by Mr. Gulamali G. Chagla, a resolution was passed earnestly appealing to the public to subscribe generously for wounded soldiers heroically defending their country. A further sum of £1,700 was remitted on the 5th instant to the Red Crescent Society, Turkey. The receipts of the week amount to Rs. 18,951 and the total collections in all exceed rupees seventy-one thousand.

Sind.

At a public meeting of the Mussulmans of Sind Mr. Hajee Abdulla Haroon appealed to his brethren on behalf of the Red Crescent Society. Rs. 30,000 were promised of which Rs. 12,000 were duly paid on the spot.

Banars.

Banars Muslims assembled yesterday, the 13th inst., in thousands at Latkinsajid and at Gyanball Mosque. Untold enthusiasm prevailed. Over a thousand collected on the spot besides jewellery and clothes. Resolutions were passed to buy shares of the Ottoman Treasury Bond and to open a branch of the Orient Bank, Lahore, for the same purpose.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

A meeting of the staff and the students of the Mizam College was held on the 26th November under the presidency of Mr. Burnet, M. A., the vice-Principal. A sum of over Rs. 1,300 was collected from the staff and the students.

Azamgarh.

A mass meeting of the Mussulmans of Azamgarh was held on the 8th December, 1912, to collect money for the sufferers in the Balkan war. The meeting was attended by the Hindus as well. The third instalment of Rs. 3,000 has been sent to the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali for the relief of the sufferers.

The Armistice.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Sofia, Dec. 4.

THE Protocol of Armistice was signed at Tchataldja at 8 o'clock last night in the form in which it had been drafted by Dr. Danell. The conditions are as follows:—

- (a) The belligerent armies remain in their present positions.
- (b) The besieged fortresses shall not be reprovioned.
- (c) The transport provisions for the Bulgarian Army shall be carried out by way of the Black Sea and Adrianople commencing ten days after the signing of the Armistice Protocol.
- (d) The negotiations for peace shall begin in London on December 18.

It will be understood from my previous telegrams that the Turks have made considerable concessions both as regards the restoration of railway communication and the raising of the blockade in the Black Sea, while accepting the Bulgarian proposal that London should be the seat of the Peace Conference. The information that the Armistice had been signed only reached the Bulgarian Government early this morning.

The official announcement issued this morning only states that a protocol of armistice was signed in accordance with the text proposed by Dr. Danell and that the Peace Conference would be held in London. No mention is made of the dissident attitude of the Greek delegates, and no information on this head had apparently reached the Greek Legation here this afternoon. It appears, however, that the Greek delegates refused to sign the protocol, inasmuch as they were instructed not to consent to an armistice unless Turkey surrendered Yanina to the Greek troops and recognized the permanent possession by Greece of the islands occupied by her fleet.

The concession of the first of these demands would have placed Greece in a favoured position compared with her allies, whose troops were engaged in the siege of Adrianople and Scutari, while the question of the ultimate possession of the islands as of all territory occupied by the allies during the war was regarded by the other delegates on both sides as reserved for the Peace Conference. The Turkish delegates declined to accept the Greek terms, and the Greek delegates, in the absence of further instruction, withheld their signature of the protocol. As the Greek delegates complained that telegrams from Athens reached them after long delay, it was agreed to extend the time for their signature by 24 hours. The protocol was then signed by the Turkish delegates and the Bulgarians, representing also their Serbian and Montenegrin allies, and it was agreed that plenipotentiaries should be chosen to attend the Peace Congress in London on the 18th instant.

The Greek attitude is involved in some mystery, but explanations will, doubtless, be issued from Athens. The sieges of Adrianople and Scutari have been pressed with great energy for many weeks with considerable loss to the besiegers, while the operations before Yanina are still in the incipient stage. Conceivably some apprehension prevailed in Athens that the town would be included in the proposed Albanian State.

The concession with regard to the suspension of hostilities at Scutari involved far greater sacrifice on the part of King Nicholas, who has just taken command of the investing army and has brought up new heavy artillery. His Majesty, who is stated to have informed from Athens that the Bulgarian delegates had agreed to the Turkish demand for the provisioning of besieged towns, was at first inclined to demur to the suspension, but concurred when he was assured that the Bulgarian delegates had rejected the demand. The King was naturally alarmed at the prospect of having to feed the Scutari garrison, and complained to the Bulgarian Minister at Cettinge, but agreed on learning that the proposal was never entertained and no expression of dissent on his part has been received here.

It appears that the Greeks disapproved *in toto* of any suspension of hostilities during the peace negotiations. They proposed that war should continue and that the negotiations should proceed concurrently, but this idea found no favour with either the Turkish or the Bulgarian delegates.

According to a telegram from Mustafa Pasha a violent cannonade took place last night round Adrianople beginning at 8 p. m. and continuing until 2 a. m., when information of the conclusion of the armistice was received.

(“MANCHESTER GUARDIAN” AND “DAILY CHRONICLE” TELEGRAM.)

Constantinople.

An armistice between Turkey and the Allies will be signed on Tuesday. It was to have been signed to-day, but this final step was postponed at the last moment owing to the official sanction not arriving from Athens, Belgrade, and Cetinje. The formal sanction should arrive to-morrow.

At the time of telegraphing it has been decided to make the armistice cover the duration of the peace *pourparlers*. If these fail, war begins again forty-eight hours later. The armistice covers the entire area of the war.

By the terms of the armistice food supplies are to be admitted daily to Scutari, Adrianople and Janina.

The blockades established by the Turkish and Greek fleets are to be raised during the armistice. The opposing armies are to retain their positions.

The Porte this morning instructed its Ambassadors in the various European capitals to inform the Government to which they are accredited of the conclusion of the armistice. The protocol of the armistice was brought to Constantinople yesterday afternoon by Reshid Pasha, one of the Turkish delegates, and a Council of Ministers, which was held immediately, at once approved the terms for the cessation of hostilities. A Turkish translation of the protocol was then prepared and submitted to the Sultan by his First Secretary. At a late hour an Imperial iradeh was promulgated sanctioning the terms of the agreement, and Reshid Pasha, carrying the iradeh, left this morning by special train for Beghtcheish-Koy.

To-day Nazim Pasha, who was attended by the Staff and the Turkish delegates, entertained General Savoff, the Bulgarian Commander-in-Chief, his Staff, and the coalition representative at a luncheon which was sent out from a Constantinople hotel.

Inquiries in the most reliable and official quarters entirely confirm my previous despatches concerning the degree of unanimity which prevails regarding the final rearrangement of the frontier. The Bulgarian conditions during the last few days have undergone considerable modifications. I have the best authority for stating that the Alliance and Turkey will most likely agree broadly upon the following terms:—

The Bulgarian frontier is to be thrown forward fifteen kilometres (about ten miles) in the north of the vilayet of Adrianople, leaving Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh, the fortifications of which are to be demolished, well within Turkish territory.

The frontier line will then follow, roughly, the Maritsa valley. In return for Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh Bulgaria receives Kavala and Dedeagatch, the new western frontier running from a little beyond Kavala in a north-easterly direction to Bulgaria and the present border.

Turkey also agrees to the autonomy of Macedonia and a large section of Albania.

The Ottoman Government has no objection to ceding to Serbia a strip of the Adriatic littoral adjacent to the Montenegrin coast.

The Greek frontier will be extended to Monastir.

The decision in regard to the enlargement of Montenegro and the question of the Sandjak and Salonica have not been much discussed. Probably, however, the latter place will be annexed to Greece, and Montenegro, in addition to Scutari and a tract adjoining the south-east frontier, will be offered a large portion of the Sandjak, the Serbian frontier being moved forward a little to meet the Montenegrin.

I believe that Turkey and the Allies will add several secret clauses to the *Entente* agreement. One concerns the resistance of the Allies, including Turkey, to any aggressive action or policy towards the new coalition on the part of Austria-Hungary and another Power.

As the armistice is settled active peace negotiations will begin immediately, the delegates working on the foregoing lines. It is anticipated officially here that the wide extent of the agreement and the broad principles of the settlement make for the early conclusion of peace. Strong efforts will be made to reach a final settlement within the time fixed by the armistice.

Constantinople has now returned to its normal state, and the majority of the special correspondents have left for home.

• Nov. 28.

Military preparations continue. Some 80,000 fresh troops have reached the capital, mostly from Syria and Kurdistan, since the retreat to Tchataldja. Large quantities of ammunition, with a considerable but unknown number of field guns, have arrived from Germany. A scheme proposed by Izzet Pasha for the construction of a Decauville railway along and in the rear of the Tchataldja position is under discussion. Work on the second and third positions behind the lines continues. The Bulgarians are entrenching some six miles west of the Turkish positions.

A *Morning Post* correspondent, telegraphing from Dardanelles on November 29 (via Constanza), says:—"A concentration of fresh Turkish troops on a large scale is being carried out with the utmost secrecy, the troops moving only at night-time. The Aleppo division and some battalions of Syrian Arabs will raise the strength of the troops on the spot to two divisions, with a considerable force of field artillery and machine-guns. The lines of Bulair and the heights commanding the western coast-line are strongly occupied and possess heavy artillery. A mine-laying vessel has been prepared, and will if necessary carry out further mining operations which will have the effect of completely closing the straits."

"The Allies, according to reports received here, are not yet in the vicinity of Bulair or the Gulf of Sors, but bands of Komitadjis are committing depredations among the villages beyond Bulair. A massacre of Bulgarians has occurred at Bairamitch, between Keshan and Gallipoli. The Turkish forces should now be ample to prevent any attempt at a landing on the part of the Allies. The troops here are practically free from cholera."

Turkish Military Movements.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Nov. 30.

THERE is no news of any hostile activity near the Dardanelles, where the Turkish forces occupy both the Bulair Lines and the chain of intrenched positions constructed during the Italian war

covering the rear of the forts along the Dardanelles, and several possible landing places along the shores of Xeros Bay. At least half the troops are Nizams and include the 26th Aleppo Division. According to the latest information a brigade of Ashiret (Irregular Kurdish Cavalry) has been sent there, with what object it passes human comprehension to determine, as the Dardanelles peninsula is the worst possible terrain for cavalry.

Turkey's Strong Position.

DR. HANS BARTH, of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, has had an interesting interview with Nuraudughian Effendi, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the latter's office in Taksim Square.

"It seems we are soon going to have an armistice—that is, peace?" was the introductory remark of Dr. Barth. "Well, an armistice is not quite the same thing as peace. If the Balkan States are as moderate as we are we shall soon have peace. Should, however, the negotiations break down, then Turkey is fully prepared to continue the war. The military situation is very favourable to her, and she is fully equipped." "Then Turkey is not yet at the end of her resources?" "Not at all. For Turkey the war has only just begun. You can see for yourself the superb Anatolian troops that are pouring into Constantinople day by day." (Here the interviewer interpolates the remark that the army which is arriving from Asia is really without reproach, and present an appearance totally different from that of the reservists and recruits who have hitherto fought a losing campaign.)

The Minister strongly denied the atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Turks. In reply to a question as to the future of Adrianople, he said: "Adrianople will remain Turkish." "And the province round it?" "Thrace, too, and several other territories will remain Turkish." "And Salonica will remain in our hands." "Turkey, then, is still far from being annihilated? She has still a future?" "Of this there can be no doubt; the Ottoman Empire has at its disposal invincible resources, whereas the power of the Balkan States is nearly exhausted." "But are the Balkan States prepared to make concessions to Turkey?" "The Balkan States know that in the future they will have to live with us. They also know that the military position of Turkey has greatly improved, and that Turkey therefore can continue the war with good prospects of ultimate victory. The negotiations will have to go back to the programme announced by the Balkan States before the war as well as to the declaration of the Powers."

Why the Turks Lost.

THE *Neue Freie Presse* publishes a long and highly instructive article by Field Marshal Von der Goltz on the cause of the Turkish defeats. Though various things, he says, cannot be told yet, the essential point is that the Turks were not yet prepared for a serious and general war on their European frontiers. When Von der Goltz retired from the Turkish service in 1895 the army was more like an army intended for police duties than war troops. The Sultan never tolerated any field-service training or manoeuvres or even shooting exercises by the infantry and artillery.

This state of things continued for thirteen years, and then a new chapter began in 1908. Work at the army was begun with great zeal, and after it had been interrupted by the mutiny of 1909 it was resumed from the beginning with equal industry. "The Turkish army which has gone to war was therefore only three years old. Such a brief period would not have sufficed to prepare an army for the field, even if all had been going on without the least disturbance. In three years only three annual contingents of troops can be trained, a simple fact which all seem to have overlooked who are now covering the defeated army with reproaches and sneers. That the reserves and the Redifs, even the Müstahfiz (garrison reserve), did not even know how to use the weapon which was given to them is due to the fact that they all belong to the Hamidian period."

But Turkey did not even enjoy the peace necessary for the big task of army reorganisation. Over and over again the newly trained men who might have acted as instructors to others had to leave the ranks to go to Yemen and Albania. Younger men had to be put in their places, and the officers had to begin their work afresh. Among the officers, too, owing to a generous pensions law, the ranks were depleted by the retirement of the older men, so that a special corps had to be formed of reserve officers. "It then follows that the Turkish army which was placed in the field against the Balkan States was but an army of recruits, or, if you please, a militia which had still to be trained and made into an army. This is the first and most important

cause of the defeats. Even in the Nizam battalions only one-fifth consisted of trained men. Two-fifths were the but little trained men of the Redifs, and the other two-fifths were new recruits. Nobody could have altered this in a moment. There could have been no question of 'rot,' decay, inertness, and stupidity, with which cheap criticism has charged the unfortunate men.

"But," says Von der Goltz, "even with recruits, as the American Civil War showed, something can be done, and it was in agreement with the special conditions of the Turkish army that a plan of campaign was drawn up. The Turkish army, as an army of recruits, being incapable of an immediate offensive, especially in bad weather, with bad roads, and with slow means of mobilisation, the original idea (of which, of course, Von der Goltz was himself the author) was to collect the troops intended for Thrace behind the upper course of the Ergeneh River, between Serai and Muradi, and station it in an entrenched position. The choice of this position was prompted by its natural strength and by the system of railways running at the rear which would have facilitated concentration and the supply of reinforcements, of provisions, and of ammunition. Further north of this main position there were to be placed only advanced troops to delay at various points the march of the Bulgarians, which, moreover, was to be weakened by the resistance of Adrianople, the latter fortress having been specially prepared for the purpose after the army manoeuvres of 1910 had revealed its weak points. This disposition of troops would have allowed Turkey to assemble and to prepare a great army behind the Ergeneh until it was ready for the offensive. For Macedonia the chief plan was to concentrate in the Ishtib district and there to erect a fortified camp. For reasons unknown to the writer the scheme of an Ishtib camp was not carried out, and the defensive action in Macedonia was taken up much nearer the frontier. But in Thrace, too, an offensive action was initiated with weak forces, in opposition to the original plan.

"What the reasons were for this change of plan, whether an exaggerated opinion of the Turkish forces or a depreciation of the forces of the enemy, or the need and desire for an instantaneous success, or lastly, what is quite possible, diplomatic influence, remains as yet a secret. It would be premature to ascribe the responsibility to individual generals. Apart from Mahmud Shevket Pasha, who was not used at all, the army has at its head its best generals. Others could not have made things better. The fundamental conception, however, of trying to achieve great things with inadequate forces was fatal. It is true that the secret of victory lies in taking the offensive. But the beginning must be regulated by circumstances. The general must be able to bide his time. Young troops require an initial success in defence in order to gain self-confidence for offence. Had the Thracian army remained in its entrenched position at Tchornu, north of the railway, one may surmise that things would have taken place there which are now occurring at the Tchataldja lines, without the defenders having been weakened and demoralised by two previous defeats. The force of the Bulgarian offensive would have reached its highest point in order to come to a dead stop, and the offensive would then have been undertaken by the Turks."

Von der Goltz goes on to indicate briefly the minor causes of the Turkish disaster—the natural political excitement among the officers, which would have required years to allay; the regrading operations in the army, which become necessary in consequence of the Hamidian system of favouritism, but which deprived the army of many able high officers along with such as had no moral claim to their rank; the lack of military education among the lower officers, which prevented them from understanding correctly the dispositions of the General Staff; and also the general desire for rest and peace after so much interior turmoil, which made the Turkish statesmen so accessible to the deceptive assurances of diplomacy. "This," says Von der Goltz with reference to the latter point, "this alone can explain how it came about that three weeks before the outbreak of the war the Turkish Government dismissed from the colours a whole annual contingent of active-service troops, as well as the mobile redif divisions which Mahmud Shevket in his wise foresight had kept under arms on the pretext of wanting them in order to repulse a possible Italian landing." In conclusion Von der Goltz expresses the hope that the painful lesson of the present war will be learnt by the Turks, who by retiring to Asia may yet construct their empire on a narrower but much stronger basis.

The Real Offence of the Young Turks.

ISMAIL HAKKI BABAN-ZADEH, Turkish ex-Minister of Public Instruction, who is now in exile, writes a letter to the *Temps* in his own name and in that of his colleague Djavid Bey to protest against the charges of conspiracy levelled at the Young Turks by the present Government. He strongly denies the charge, and declares

that the only thing which the Young Turks ventured upon in the whole course of the present crisis was to get Mahmud Shevket Pasha appointed in the place of the present Commander-in-Chief. Mahmud Shevket left everything in the best condition when he resigned. "All the soldiers were well armed, well clothed, and well equipped. Everything had been foreseen, including wireless telegraphy, and even telephones to communicate between the armies. The sole thing wanted was the appointment of a capable commander to make use of all these preparations, as the example of Scutari and Adrianople has shown. But this is exactly what did not happen. The provisions were distributed in a most deplorable fashion. At the time when the troops had not a crust of bread for three days thousands of sacks and numerous provisions were rotting under rain, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The supply service was disgraceful, and the train service was still worse.

"The real truth of the matter is that in the few months since the fall of Mahmud Shevket Pasha everything had become disorganised which he had built up with so much labour and sacrifice. Whatever was white to him became black to his successors. The experienced staff in charge of the supply and mobilisation departments was pitilessly dismissed in favour of men who did not know the A B C of their new work. Mahmud Shevket and his staff, who, thanks to their experience, were able two years ago to transport within 48 hours 40,000 men from Konia, in the heart of Asia Minor, to Salonica without even deranging the normal service of the trains, were mercilessly put aside.

"What could have been more natural than to suggest the appointment at the head of the troops of a man who had been the chief reorganiser of the army and was popular with every soldier? The Sultan yielded to this advice, but the 'others' immediately put pressure on the Sultan through the Imperial princes, his sons-in-law, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam to obtain the revocation of the iradeh. They ultimately succeeded in this by the Grand Vizier assuring the Sultan that Turkey would not lose an inch of her territory. This was personally admitted by His Majesty to our delegates in order to calm their anxiety about the fate of European Turkey. It is this action of the Young Turks which has aroused the ire of the present Government and caused all the subsequent persecutions on the ground of conspiracy."

Cholera Horrors.

(*"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND "DAILY CHRONICLE" MESSAGE.*)

Constantinople, Nov. 24 (2)

THE ravages of cholera in the Turkish army continue.

A Turkish officer who returned here to-day wounded from the front told me that the sending off of the cholera-stricken soldiers from the army is a pitiful sight. With the last ounce of their strength the poor, desperate men struggle for places in the rough compartments. Seldom is there anyone to look after them and see that they have room enough and such little comfort as the carriages, none too clean, afford. As a rule they pack themselves by the score into every compartment. Many fall dead in the terrible struggle to board the trains.

The trains are still sent to San Stefano, where a concentration camp has been for some time. The journey is one of only a few miles, but scores of the stricken men never reach their destination alive. To see such a train reach San Stefano—and dozens come daily—is a nightmare.

A train pulls up near the concentration camp. Doors burst open. A crowd, looking as though it were possessed of the Devil, stumbles and rolls from the footboards. The men seek the camp in the vain hope that there may be water and shelter there. Every few yards someone stumbles, moaning and writhing, never to rise again. Others can only crawl painfully along. Water is the only thing they want on Earth. Soon they sink down, knowing that no struggle they are capable of will procure it for them. Then when all who can move have left the train, shapeless bundles are seen being thrown from it. They are the bodies of the dead—rolled down the embankment and left there.

Out of San Stefano a road and a railway run together. On the steep railway embankment beside the lines and at the foot of it dead and dying are to be seen. Here and there are piles of bodies. The faces are black and contorted. Every one has died in frightful pain. Both sides of the railway present worse sights than a battlefield. Amid the hail of bullets death comes with merciful swiftness. But here it does its work by pain and fever of thirst.

A hut on the left of the line is filled with filthy clothing and bodies. Round a well a little farther on dead bodies are also lying, and a few dying men may be seen making a last fruitless effort to get water. Near an archway farther on is a small encampment of Turkish soldiers, 30 or so of them, with an officer. The railway, too,

is guarded, and from the encampment the guards of this frightful field of death are changed. On the other side of the line the dead and dying also lie dotted about, some suffocated in their heavy coats, and others who have half wriggled out of their clothing. Some of the bodies, I believe, are burned, others are buried by the score in shallow pits.

It is in the camp itself that all the horror of the place is concentrated. Every few days a new piece of ground on one side or the other of the railway is ringed off. The dead are buried where they perish till the camp is one vast grave, with the dead often not many inches below the surface. When all the space in the camp has been utilised it is moved to an adjacent spot, where it stays until that too has been filled with cholera victims. There are only about thirty tents. They are, of course, crowded. Those who cannot get into them lie night and day in the open.

The most hopeless thing is that it is absolutely impossible for doctors and nurses to deal with the frightful state of affairs. It is beyond them, and the women of the Red Crescent have been sent away from the spot. The day before yesterday Austrian sailors were landed, and they cleared the streets of San Stefano of the refuse which had accumulated and of the human wreckage which made the town a place of horror. The stricken are left almost entirely without any attendance.

Still to-day one can look over the country between Constantinople and the Tchataldja lines and see another hopeless human stream—the refugees still pouring towards the city. Poverty, terror, wounds, disease—these are represented in those crowds of fleeing people.

And all the horror and tragedy to be seen within a few miles of Constantinople are but the accompaniments of war. The sum of all cannot be set down in words. When one sees even this one cannot help wishing that those from whose lips the word "war" slips lightly could see something of the maddening confusion even on its farthest outskirts.

The Worst Side of War.

(BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Podgoritsa, Nov. 27.

It seems hardly possible that it is but eight weeks since the first gun thundered towards Planinitza and the Balkan war began and the Montenegrin army hurled itself with mad fury at Detelich—Montenegrins and Albanian tribesmen competing wildly as to which should be first to plunge over the strong ramparts. Nor to this day can it be told to whom that honour is due. Both sides claim it jealously.

One frontier fortress after another fell in quick succession. Elate and flushed with victory the conquering army hurried forward, but when once it had left its base it became apparent that though Montenegro had expected and intended war since the spring of 1911, she had organized neither commissariat nor hospitals. The weather broke, too. Such weather as is not remembered for twenty years has raged—storms of icy rain that have poured ceaselessly for five days and nights, and paused only to begin again; rainless days rendered terrible by a wind piercing, shrieking, and whirling with such force that it carried tents, roofs, and all things portable before it, a wind that cut the lungs and cramped the limbs. And the greatcoats were not yet available—and the tents of the Montenegrin army are mere little dog kennels of thin canvas, soaked by the first storm. In the mountains all this rain and wind was snow and frost. Men plunged breast-deep through snow.

Fighting there has been little for some three weeks on this side. Scutari's fortifications cannot be rushed. And "rushing" is the favourite Montenegrin tactic. Siege work is what Montenegro was not prepared for, and bitterly it has cost.

A crowd of foreign Red Crosses, with elaborate equipment, came out after the first great fights were over. But none wish to be encumbered with infectious diseases. Most are half or almost wholly empty. But meanwhile the Montenegrin Red Cross is crowded with miserable victims of disease. Disease is an army's worst enemy. And disease, it appears, was not expected. For no preparation was made for it.

I saw the arrival of a motor-bus full of wretched beings. Some doctors rushed. "Wounded?" They were ready to struggle for them. "Sick? Oh, don't let them come here!"

The patient sat helpless, collapsed, gasping on the doorstep. A Montenegrin doctor inspected. "Sick, not wounded. Send them to the isolation hospital."

This is a barrack built without the town last year when there was a cholera scare. And thither went the miserable little band. "Dysentery—infectious" was the report.

STATE OF THE "ISOLATION" HOSPITAL.

Some days passed, and no more was heard. Then a rumour spread of horrible doings at the "isolation" hospital, and a Serb doctor invited me to go with him to inspect. It was a frightful scene. About fifteen patients were sitting on a wall outside. The misery and horror within had driven them out. They were haggard and wild-eyed, and rushed on us appealing for release and help. They were in quarantine.

Within it was worse. One lay moaning and yowling, covered thick with small-pox pustules. Fully dressed in his ragged uniform, he writhed on a filthy mattress. All the beds were sheetless. Enteric, typhus, small-pox, and—alas!—a number of cases of rheumatism were all boxed up together in this awful den. As they were all supposed to have dysentery they were receiving nothing at all but tea and opiates, and the men who were suffering from cold, rheumatism, and bronchitis were all skin and bone.

Without wasting time over Government rations we hastened at once back to the market, and brought a supply of milk, eggs, cheese, and rakia. A glass all round of the latter at once cheered the poor wretches and made them feel they were not quite abandoned. This was for the sufferers from cold. The next thing was to vaccinate them all. And over this there was a terrible noise. Most consented in the end. All have to be quarantined, however. But other quarters have been found for the (so far) non-infectious cases.

In a house hard by were fourteen typhus cases. And the beds of all were filthy and verminous. Three days of rushing backwards and forwards have, however, obtained from the Montenegrin Red Cross mattress covers, a sheet apiece, and a thin blanket. All the thick ones are used up. And two cartloads of hay this morning served as mattress fillings. A bonfire of the dirty straw that filled the former mattresses followed, and plentiful carbolic powder on the floor made things a bit cleaner.

WOUNDS "VERSUS" DISEASE.

This is the other side of war. Gunshot wounds from modern rifles—unless they strike a vital organ—are no such great horrors; a little hole, clean and partly cicatrised by the rapidity of the bullet. If it be dressed cleanly from the beginning it heals in a fortnight. But to lie and howl and rot and thirst covered with stinking pustules; to writhe and starve with typhus; to cough and choke with blood; to ache and freeze with rheumatism—that is true horror. There is always a certain amount of credit— even fame—attached to a wound. The sick man has none. He has broken down; he has failed. Nobody wants him.

To-day I have been to the sick wards at the barracks. They are as yet not in order, but another day or two should get them all cleared. In the two upper wards every man is the victim of cold and want. And not one has warm clothing or covering. With icecold feet they coil, wretched, in a cotton shirt under one blanket in a great, chill ward. And not even a pair of socks can be bought in the town. Every garment is wanted for the active army. We are told garments will be sent from Cetinje, and hope it is true. The French Red Cross has many hundred spare blankets, but won't give one. It "expects wounded," and won't give to disease.

A gallant Bosnian doctor is struggling with the problem and hopes to get a stove put up in a day or two. He hopes, and so do I, to get the dysentery and typhus ward below cleaned out. At present the stench—but I spare you.

This is the dark side of war. War news we have none. All we know is that if an assault be made on Scutari we may expect 500 or 600 wounded on top of the sick.—*The Manchester Guardian.*

The Atrocities.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Salonica, Nov. 30.

I AM unfortunately obliged to renounce my intention of telegraphing details of massacres as soon as they are authenticated, owing to the plethora of these incidents. Macedonia is being drenched with the blood of innocent victims, and it is lamentable that the responsibility for so many of these atrocities should lie at the door of one of the Christian races. It is notorious that the Bulgarians have largely availed themselves of the services of Komitadjis and, being under the necessity of despatching every available regular to Thrace have consequently left the conquered territory in Macedonia to the tender mercies of these blood-stained auxiliaries. The result of this is apparent in the incidents at Kavala and Seres, which have been already

reported, and in the enormous amount of indiscriminate slaughtering which is going on, notably in the district of Avret Hissar, where scarcely a single Moslem is left alive. Dedeagatch also has been the scene of hideous events.

Muhammadian bands have likewise added their quota to the general destruction, and whole villages are depopulated as the result of their savagery.

The massacres perpetrated by Turks descending towards Yanina seem to have been the work of Niazi Bey and his Albanians. It is also reported that there are Turco-Albanian bands in the regions of Klasona and Selfidje.

The Serbians have a much better record. Apart from the slaughter of a number of Moslem, principally by irregulars, at Uskub, little complaint is made against them. It is obvious also that the authorities have put down massacre and disorder with a firm hand.

I have been unable to trace any massacres by Greeks, though it is stated that their bands are also getting into action. Their army has hitherto been able to control the activities of the auxiliaries, and there is reason to hope that strong action will be taken to nip the new development in the bud.

Further light on the Kavala massacres shows that they were committed by Armenians, who joined the Bulgarian Army as volunteers. The leader in this work was an Armenian whose family were murdered at Adana. There is little doubt, therefore, that the motive was to avenge the Adana massacre. On November 25 bodies were still lying about unburied. Three or four of them bore 20 bayonet wounds, others were horribly mutilated. Since the last report 18 more Turks have been slaughtered.

The seven Jews arrested by Bulgarian irregulars paid £10,000 for ransom. Ibrahim Pasha, who was also arrested, paid a like sum but remains in captivity.

On the whole it is a sordid story, and Christendom will find little to be proud about when the history of the war in Macedonia comes to be written. It must, however, be observed that in no case which has yet come under my notice have regular troops been responsible for these hideous atrocities.

Grave Charges of Massacre.

The Continental press continues to publish harrowing accounts of massacres and outrages committed by the victorious troops of the Allies in different places in Macedonia. The former Salonica correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* Dr. Hans Barth, gives the following extracts from a Consular report intended for the Government of one of the Great Powers, of which he has a copy in his possession:—

"A Bulgarian soldier having met in a narrow street an unarmed Turkish soldier shoots him down without any preliminaries." "A Bulgarian soldier seizes the carriage horse of Dr. L.—(a Frenchman), having threatened the driver with his rifle." "A Greek soldier seizes in the jewellery shop of M. Collegno a snuff-box, and when the proprietor complains he, and not the soldier, gets arrested." "The Jews are everywhere attacked and threatened with death because they sided with the Turks in the war of 1897." "Seven Bulgarian soldiers break into an Italian villa and carry off all its contents." "In a tramcar at Djade some Greek soldiers are searching a Turkish soldier, and inflict upon him several blows with the butt-end of their rifles. As the Turk protests they drive their bayonets through his body." "Greek soldiers break into Jewish houses and instal themselves there." "The Moslem population is being everywhere insulted and maltreated."

These are what the Consular report calls "incidents." The correspondent, however, communicates the following additional facts, which he declares authentic. Irregulars break into the office of the Oriental Railway and empty the cash-box. Old Jews sitting at the front doors are pulled about by Greek soldiers by their beards, spat upon, and generally maltreated. A Turkish merchant, Hasan Ismail, takes refuge with his family in the house of a Jew; the Komitadjis find him, rob him of all his money, and outrage his wife. As Hasan defends himself he is struck several times with the butt-end of the rifle on the head, and is thrown out on the pavement, together with his family of 17 persons. The Turkish soldiers, although according to the Articles of Capitulation not prisoners of war, are absolutely at the mercy of every Greek or Bulgarian soldier, and are searched by them countless times a day and robbed and maltreated without pity. The correspondent describes various revolting scenes of the hanging of Turkish notables, of the wholesale shooting of forty Turkish prisoners, of a howling mob, headed by a priest, leading two young Turkish telegraph clerks accused of having "insulted the Greek flag," and so forth.

The *Socialist Humanist* quotes from a provincial paper a letter written to the editor by one of the Turkish prisoners at Salonica, evidently a friend of his. The writer says: "The Greek and Bulgarian armies emptied their cartridge belts with firing in the streets of the city. It was a continuous fusillade, and only ceased yesterday (November 14) owing to the intervention of the consuls. Delegates from the Moslem population applied to various consulates imploring protection. Only the Austrian Consul received the delegates, and it is certainly thanks to his intervention that the plundering ceased." Referring to the explosion in the powder magazine, the writer says:—"Before the arrival of the enemy the magazine was guarded by 200 Territorials. After the capitulation 1,000 prisoners of the regular Turkish army, including officers, were locked up there, and the whole building was guarded by twelve men. There were in the magazine eight depots. It was the depot of dynamite and of other explosives which had been confiscated from the Serbs before the war that was blown up—and was blown up wilfully, of this there can be no doubt."

The *Berliner Tageblatt* correspondent quoted above utters the same opinion, and ascribes the outrage to the Bulgarian Komitadjis. "The Turkish prisoners were destroyed, and those who escaped were massacred in the streets by the Allies. The official version is that the accident was due to a 'simple misunderstanding.' After the explosion Greek and Bulgarian soldiers began firing in the streets on passers-by, with the result that 200 dead remained on the spot. . . . I should not wish even my worst enemy to see what I have seen—the plundering, the sacking of hospitals, and the outraging of women."

The Diplomatic Situation.

Declaration by the German Imperial Chancellor.

(FROM THE "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

Berlin, Dec. 2.

THE Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, opened this afternoon with a short speech on the Balkan crisis the first reading debate in the Reichstag on the Estimates for 1913. He spoke for only ten minutes, and the crowded House and galleries were disappointed if they expected anything new or sensational from either his speech or the debate. It has been perfectly clear that Germany is both desiring peace and ensuring it, and although the language used to-day is emphatic, there is nothing now in the statement that if one of her allies were attacked Germans would be bound by treaty obligations to support her.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg began by remarking that the Balkan peril, which consisted chiefly in racial differences, had for years past made it necessary to reckon with the possibility of war, and the Great Powers had endeavoured to put the conflict off as long as possible, to prevent it from becoming a war of all against all in the Balkans, and above all to prevent it from leading to complications among the Great Powers. This year the antagonism between Turkey and the Balkan States reached a point which made war inevitable, especially after the formation of the Balkan League. Germany had then used her influence in order to localize the war, and hitherto it had in fact been localized. (Cheers.) Germany was not directly affected by events in the Balkans, and in many points her interest was less than that of other Powers. She was, however, justified in taking a hand in the new arrangements which would be a consequence of the war, especially as she was directly interested to a very considerable extent in the economic conditions which were to take shape in the Balkans in the future. He need only mention the security of the Turkish debt. In the arrangement of many questions, moreover, Germany would have to throw her influence into the scales on behalf of her allies. (Hear, hear.) The belligerents themselves did not dispute the right of the Great Powers to look after their interests in the final settlement of the future frontiers. If differences existed or arose between one or more of the Great Powers and one or more of the belligerents about the measure of such co-operation in the final settlement it would be much easier for the great Powers to give effect to their demands if they acted in common. To this end a lively exchange of views was going on about which he could at present give no details. He could only say that it had been conducted hitherto in a conciliatory spirit and offered every promise of success. The detailed claims of the Powers could not, of course, be determined and made known until they had before them the arrangements arrived at by the belligerents. It would then be seen to what extent these arrangements approached upon the spheres of other Powers.

The Imperial Chancellor continued:—"If—which I hope will not be the case—insoluble difficulties then appear it will be the business of the Powers directly interested in the particular case to give effect to their claims. This applies to our allies. If in giving effect to their interests they, contrary to all expectation, are attacked from a third side, and so find their existence menaced, we, in loyalty to our duty as allies, should have to take our stand firm and determined at their side. (Cheers on the Right and among the National Liberals.) In that case we should fight for the defence of our own position in Europe and for the protection of our own future and security. (Cheers on the Right.) I am convinced that in following such a policy we shall have the whole people behind us."

GERMAN INTERESTS IN TURKEY.

The Imperial Chancellor then returned to the question of German interests in the Near East. "German policy," he said, had for many years aimed at supporting and strengthening Turkey from an economic point of view while maintaining good political and economic relations with the Balkan States. They considered that they had rendered Turkey many services without disturbing their good relations to other Powers. It was to the credit of their policy that during the recent war between their friend Turkey and their ally Italy they had retained the sympathies of both. They would continue to pursue this policy. They hoped that their friendly relations to the Balkan States would receive a new stimulus from the inevitable increase in the strength of the Balkan States, especially in the economic sphere. At the same time they would strive after the conclusion of peace to maintain Turkey as an important economic and political factor. In this desire and effort they were at one not only with their allies, but with other Powers for which it was important to maintain an economically healthy Turkey. These efforts proved the untruth of the allegations in the Press of some of the Great Powers regarding an alleged intention to make use of the present crisis in order to acquire territory at the expense of Turkey. The exchange of views among the Powers would continue—though he could not say in what form—and the favourable results already achieved gave promise of a satisfactory settlement.

M. Poincaré's Review.

Paris, Dec. 5.

M. Poincaré to-day made his promised statement to the Chamber of Deputies Commission on Foreign Affairs. He began by pointing out that, although the situation had greatly changed, it had not reached a phase of permanence. The substance of the conversations which the Powers were conducting could not be divulged without their general consent. He must mainly confine himself to an account of French policy during the last few anxious months. He then recapitulated the different phases of the situation before and after the outbreak of the Balkan war. The whole policy and attitude of France, he said, had been in accordance with those of her friends and allies. Referring to the French proposal which in an amended form was adopted by the Powers last October and which declared that after the war there should be no modification of the *status quo*, he said that in the light of subsequent events those declarations now presented an "archaic" aspect, but they nevertheless had corresponded with the intentions which the Balkan Allies themselves proclaimed at the moment of mobilization and they had expressed the unanimous desire of the Great Powers for peace. After the war broke out the efforts of the Powers had been devoted to its localization.

In recapitulating the events of the Balkan war and enumerating the victories of the Balkan Allies it was noticeable that M. Poincaré made no reference to the occupation of Salonica.

THE DISINTERESTEMENT PROPOSAL.

The Prime Minister next dealt with the French proposal of October 30 for a general declaration of *désintéressement* as a preliminary to an offer of mediation. It was self-evident, he maintained, that that proposal had only contemplated a declaration of territorial disinterestedness and it was very gratifying to France that the Great Powers without exception had since declared that none of them pursued any design of territorial extension. The proposal assuredly did not signify that the Powers had no political or moral interests in the East.

FRENCH INTERESTS.

France herself had most important interests in the territories which were now occupied by the troops of the Balkan Allies and which in whole or in part might be served from the Ottoman Empire. The French were the principal creditors of Turkey and held the bulk of the Ottoman Debt. It was nowadays a recognized principle of the law of nations that a State which annexed a portion of the territories of another State was bound to assume responsibility for financial obligations with which the annexed regions were burdened and to undertake part of the public debt of the dismembered State.

The question had therefore arisen as to how this obligation was to be apportioned among the Balkan States and the Great Powers were giving this question their collective consideration. But besides their preponderating share in the Turkish Debt Frenchmen were interested in the Tobacco Régie, and in a large number of concessions for the public services in Turkey. There were the administration of light-houses, the harbour company of Salonica, the Kassandra and Selyitzza-mines companies, all of which were French enterprises. There were the Société Générale d'Enterprises, the Régie Générale des Chemins de Fer, the Société d'Etudes Topographiques, which were concerned with the construction or repair of State railways and roads. There were a large number of other enterprises for which concession had been obtained. In the case of certain enterprises such as the Ottoman Bank and the Bank of Salonica, their central management would remain in Constantinople but their activities would continue to extend to territories which might be served from Turkey, and changes in their administration would consequently be imperative.

FRENCH MORAL INTERESTS.

He then proceeded to enumerate certain French interests which he described as of still higher character, such as the French schools and educational establishments which had been instituted at great expense in Macedonia and in Thrace, and also the similar institutions of the various Roman Catholic religious orders. He referred in this connexion to the ancient rights of France, "which had been reasserted by the Treaty of Berlin and which enabled her to exercise her Catholic protectorate." He added that there was no intention of sacrificing any of these "means of French influence." The French Government had taken occasion to remind the Balkan States that France had moral and material interests in the territories which they had occupied, and that she counted upon their being respected. In Bulgaria as it existed before the war there was a French protectorate of Catholic institutions and schools which had been recognized in the Franco-Bulgarian treaty concluded in April, 1910, but not yet ratified by the Chamber. The terms of that treaty would now probably have to be altered. Similar convention would have to be concluded with Greece, Servia, and Montenegro.

THE FUTURE.

It would be rash to prophesy, but with regard to the armistice just concluded he "presumed" that Greece would not be long in giving her adhesion to it. He continued—"If fresh questions which have necessarily arisen unexpectedly have caused slight differences within a confederation whose union has hitherto constituted its chief strength, we firmly trust that these misunderstandings will have no consequences, and that the Balkan States will not allow the moral position which they have won in Europe to be compromised by regrettable dissensions."

As regards Turkey, France had maintained the same scrupulous neutrality as in the Turco-Italian war, and it was not her way to turn her back upon misfortune. They hoped that the Ottoman Empire would soon recover its prosperity through the blessings of peace. France would endeavour to maintain her traditional relations with Turkey while continuing "to defend in her dealings with that Empire the great interests over which she has to watch." In particular he hoped that Turkey "would without delay execute the reforms which for several months past France had been demanding on behalf of the populations of the Lebanon."

He concluded by repeating that the aims of France would be (1) the continuity of her foreign policy, and consequently the attentive and persistent exercise (*mise en pratique*) of her alliances and her friendships; (2) sincere and constant endeavours to secure the agreement of Europe and peace; and (3) a firm and calm resolve to make her rights respected and to maintain her national dignity.

Albanian Nationality.

(FROM THE "TIMES" OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Constantinople, Nov. 12.

ALBANIAN opinion of all shades both here and elsewhere is much perturbed by reports that the Servian Government contemplates the annexation of a port on the Adriatic. This catastrophe would put an end to the dreams of Albanian nationalists and leave to the Shkipetar but a little block of mountains wedged in between Greek Epirus and Serb Durazzo. Yet if the Balkan question is to be settled in conformity with ethnological boundaries—and a settlement calculated to ensure the future peace of the Balkans can only be attained on such a basis—an effort must be made, either by the Powers or by the more moderate statesmen of the Balkan kingdoms, to secure something more than a mere huddle of barren mountains for the race which has historically a better right to the greater part of the Western

Balkans than Serb, Greek, or Turk. Failure to satisfy the just claims of the Albanians to govern those districts in which they form a large majority of the population can only result in future troubles of a serious nature. It is most unlikely that Serbs or Montenegrins will be able permanently to hold down the mountain regions of Northern Albania, or that a process of "Serbization" will prove more successful than the experiment, in "Turcification" so unfortunately inaugurated by the Committee of Union and Progress. The annexation of Northern Epirus by the Greeks or of Western Kossovo and the highlands intervening between Djakova and the Adriatic will saddle both kingdoms with unwilling and unabsorbable subjects. It will, moreover, furnish both Austria and Italy, even if both Powers do not immediately intervene to prevent it, to the jeopardizing of European peace, with abundant opportunities of future interference in the internal development of the Balkan peoples.

THE CLAIMS OF THE ALLIES.

Studied impartially the claims of the Serbs of the two kingdoms to the whole of "Old Servia" are singularly weak. They can be based alone on the military occupation of the plain of Kossovo by the Serbs and the seizure of Ipek and certain frontier districts by the Montenegrins. It is perfectly true that the Slavs who overran the Balkan peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries temporarily occupied a large part of what is now called Albania, expelling or conquering the original inhabitants, and at a later date founded kingdoms and principalities at Prisrend, Durazzo, and Scutari in Albania. But with the Turkish conquest the Albanians, who had already regained some of their lost territories with Venetian assistance, began to roll back the Slav population and to absorb, expel, or conquer it in their turn. The process was a long and slow one and was frequently effected by the most barbarous means. The Ghegs were never a highly civilized folk, and their adoption, to a large extent, of Islam embittered their relations with their quondam masters and present serfs. On their side the Serbs were not guiltless. The forcible expulsion of the Albanian population of Southern Servia after the war of 1877, who were driven from their homes and estates without a tithe of compensation, was one of the principal causes of the cruel oppression of the people of the Serb districts of Eastern Kossovo by their Albanian overlords. But the quarrel must not be regarded as a religious one. Religion merely emphasized the racial feud in which the Fanta or Catholic-Albanian clans of Kossovo sided with the Moslem tribes against the hated "Shkiar" (Slav), and the Malissor Catholics of Scutari, till forced into an unnatural alliance with Montenegro by the fusane policy of the Committee of Union and Progress, were ever the best Turkish frontier guards. Whatever the rights and wrongs of a quarrel which began in the dark ages, the fact remains that a large part of the territory now claimed by the Serbs is ethnologically Albanian. The following facts may be noted pending the announcement by the Balkan League of its territorial claims.

A SERB MINORITY.

In the Vilayet of Scutari there is one Slav village—that of Vrnaka, near Scutari. Gninje, now in Montenegrin hands, is inhabited by a majority of Albanians. The balance of its population is composed of Muhammadan Slavs. In the Novi Bazar region, though the Kazas (counties) of Akova (Bielopolje) and Kolashin are mainly Albanian, the majority of the population is Christian Slav with a fair proportion of "Boznaks" (Moslem Serbs). Leaving this important tongue of land, we come to Ipek, now occupied by Montenegrin troops. In the entire Kaza (county) of Ipek there are, according to the best ethnological map of the district—the work, I may remark, of neither Serb nor Albanian, Austrian, or Turk—forty-two villages inhabited exclusively by Serbs, one hundred and twenty-three villages inhabited by Albanians, Moslem and Catholic, forty-four "mixed" villages inhabited by Moslem Albanians, Catholic Albanians, and Serbs, and the "mixed" town of Ipek. Allowing for the proportion of Serbs and Albanians in the "mixed" villages and in Ipek as being equal, and assuming as do Turkish census reports, that a house represents five souls, one finds that the inhabitants of the 13,511 houses of Ipek Kaza at the beginning of the 20th century were 46,015 Moslem and Catholic Albanians, 21,890 Serbs and 150 Gipsies. These results hardly justify Slav ethnological claims to Ipek, the more so as the balance has swung further against the Serbs in the last ten years. In Djakova there are not 5 per cent. of Serbs. In Rozhaj Kaza, north of Ipek, the Albanians have a four to one majority.

"Onamo Onamo! Da Vidju Prizren" is a stirring song enough, and Prisrend was once the seat of Servian Kings. But to-day, according to the best available information, four-fifths of Prisrend Kaza are Albanians. Even further east the Albanians are in a majority. There are less than 150 Serb houses in the Kaza of Katchanik. If Mitrovitza is mainly Servian Vuchitr is Arnaut, and Albanians form the majority of the population of

the Prishtina and Ghilan districts. In Kossovo north of the Shar range, omitting the Kaza of Katchanik but including the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, there were in the first years of the 20th century at least 30,000 Moslem and Catholic Albanians, against 120,000 Christian and perhaps 30,000 Moslem Serbs. These figures scarcely support the contention of Goptchevitch and other writers, ever ready to create "facts" in support of their propaganda that Old Servia is predominantly Slav. Historical claims founded on temporary occupation or on episodes such as the conquests of Stephan Dushan are not too strong. If the Serbs once overran all Albania, the Turks overran Servia and Hungary. As for the theory that the majority of the Moslems of Old Servia are in reality "Albanized and Islamized Serbs," the fact that the present majority of the population of Old Servia differs in language and religion from the Servian minority is surely a sufficient answer.

Servian publicists and statesmen are on surer ground when they assert that Moslem Albanians cannot be trusted to rule Christian Slavs. Recent history favours this conclusion, but it must be remembered that the stern lessons of the recent campaign will remain long in the memories of even the most Slavophobe Ghegs, and that Albanian rule, divorced from Hamidian or Committee promptings, might be more European in spirit than Asiatic.

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Beoparies of Mohallah Khurd	...	196	2 0
Through Gulam Rasul, Esq.	...	65	0 0
Mussalmans of Mundlana	...	10	2 6
Ood Muhammadans	...	38	0 0
Mussalmans of village Mahmudpur	...	27	6 0
Miscellaneous collections	...	30	4 0
	...	12	0 6

Muhammad Shafi-ulla Khan, Esq., Ghazipur	13	11	0	Khorshedi Khanum	2	0	0
Through Haji Ilaqi Bakhsh Sahib, village Varsa				K. A. Ali	2	0	0
Dargah, Dist. Basti—				Kalim-uddin Khan, Esq., Kakori	20	0	0
Mussalmans of the place	44	0	0	Syed Wahid Ali, Esq., Bhufkunadia, District Shahabad	44	15	0
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Muhammad Yusuf Sahib	20	0	0	Fi Sabillila	10	0	0
Messrs. Muhammad Siddiq and Abdul Majid, rupees ten each	20	0	0	Iduzzulha collections	2	12	0
Abdul Jalil, Esq.	20	0	0	Petty collections	1	4	0
Messrs. Abdul Hafiz, Abdulla Amanat-ulla and one (name illegible), rupees five each	15	0	0	Syed Abdul Karim, Esq., Gurgaon	2	0	0
Abdul Ghani, Esq.	9	0	0	Ali Hasan Khan, Esq., Ranchi	5	0	0
Miscellaneous collections	11	0	0	Through Mir Zia ul-Haq, Esq., Hyderabad, Deccan—			
Through Abdul Latif, Esq., Raipur—				Contributions of the Royat of Shorapur Division	200	0	0
Mussalmans of Kanwarda	115	0	0	Syed Masud Husain, Esq., Calcutta	5	0	0
A. B. Napier, Esq., D. C., Raipur	200	0	0	Through Abdul Alim, Esq., Dacca—			
W. C. H. Blackesley, Esq., Political Agent	30	0	0	Muhammadan boarders of Baptist Mission Hostel	50	0	0
R. C. C. M. Thacker, Esq.	10	0	0	Collected by Muhammadan boarders	8	0	0
Nawab Niazuddin Khan Sahib's family	89	0	0	Rev. L. B. Jones	2	0	0
Mussalmans of Raipur	718	9	9	Through Badrul Hasan, Esq., Adhya, Kot	50	0	0
Through Miss K. Amiruddin Tyabji, Bombay—				Ahmad Bakhsh, Esq., Delhi	1	0	0
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Dr. S. Mohamedi	5	0	0	Through Samind-din Ahmad, Esq., Rataul, Dist. Meerut—			
Mrs. S. Mohamedi	5	0	0	Mussalmans of Rataul	537	5	6
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Mr. Fyze	5	0	0	Haji Imam Uddin, Esq.	15	0	0
Mrs. Fyze	5	0	0	M. Abdul Ghani Sahib, Fyzabad	100	0	0
Dr. Fyze	3	0	0	Muhammad Latif Sahib	75	0	0
Master Asif Fyze	2	0	0	Through Abbas Ali Khan, Mussalmans of Ajhori	45	12	0
Master Aslam Fyze	1	0	0	Khan Bahadur Mahommed Baqar Khan Sahib	50	8	0
Mr. Ahmad Kamal	1	0	0	M. Irfan Naji Khan, Esq.	25	0	0
Master Haroon H. Ali	1	0	0	Mirza Mausim Beg, Esq.	9	8	0
Master Mukhlis S. Tyabji	0	4	0	Mussalmans of Hasanpur	152	5	6
Master Kamari C. Tyabji	3	0	0	Raja Sahib, Hasanpur	100	0	0
Master Yakub Abdul Hameed	2	0	0	Through Abbas Khan, Esq., Mussalmans of Firozpur Khurd	20	0	0
Mrs. N. Futehali	10	0	0	M. Bechu Khan Sahib	60	0	0
Mr. Asad N. Futehali	2	0	0	Through Badal Khan, Mussalmans of Bankipur	41	0	0
Mr. Hasan F. A. Ali	2	0	0	Mir Rahat Husain Sahib	8	0	0
Miss Fatima Tyabji	2	0	0	Mussalmans of Tikhanpur, through Hasan Khan, Esq.	14	0	0
Haji Yusuf Haji Ismail Sobani Sahib	5	0	0	Messrs. Nur Muhammad, Shambhu Nath, Safdar Khan, and Elahi Bakhsh Chandhari, rupees 7, each	28	0	0
Mr. B. Tullochchand Master	25	0	0	Messrs. Nazim Ali, Kasim Ali, Farman Ali, M. Mazhar Ali, Ashiq Husain Khan and Rameshar Prasad, rupees two each	12	0	0
Mr. Mustafa	10	0	0	Haji Nabi Bakhsh Sahib	50	0	0
Dr. Parakha	5	0	0	Through Haji Maqda Bakhsh Sahib	148	15	0
Miss Writer	2	0	0	Abdul Bashir, Esq.	10	8	0
Miss S. Shiyandin	4	0	0	Through Khuda Bakhsh, Esq.	11	7	6
A Parsi well-wisher	1	0	0	Sons of Alikam Uddin Sahib	13	8	0
A Sympathiser	1	0	0	Haji Syed Ali Sahib	4	0	0
Parses X X X	1	0	0	Price of cow-skin through Haji Maqda Bakhsh	28	0	0
A Sympathiser	5	0	0	Abdul Qudus, Esq.	1	10	0
A Parsi Sympathiser	1	0	0	Syed Zamir-uddin, Esq.	20	0	0
A Parsi lady	1	0	0	Muhammad Raza, Esq.	25	0	0
A. S. K.	2	0	0	Sale of a toy	2	0	0
A. H.	0	2	0	Sale of two Qurans	5	0	0
Mr. Anandino Ganpatrao	1	0	0	Sale of spices given by a child:—Muhammad Raza	5	0	0
Miss M. Mehta	1	0	0	Minor collections	0	8	0
Mr. Cursetji D. Tantra	1	0	0	Through Nazar Muhammad Khan, Esq., Kekri—			
Mr. Munchershaw C. Tantra	1	0	0	M. Amir Ali, Esq.	5	14	0
E. K. Palia	2	0	0	Gidikhangi Sheikh Sahib	2	8	0
Eduji Palanji	0	4	0	Messrs. Nagur, Khuda Bakhsh, Nazir-uddin and Budan, rupees two each	8	0	0
Sadashiva	0	4	0				
Miss S. Mustakalli Sayed	1	0	0				
Ardeshir P. Kotwal	1	0	0				
S. H. Chhatre	5	0	0				
A. S. Palkhivala	3	0	0				
Nannoo	5	0	0				
Fatima	0	8	0				
Sardar	1	0	0				
Abdul	2	0	0				
Mukbool Ahmed, Esq.	0	4	0				
Hashum, Esq.	0	4	0				
Sardar	1	0	0				
Lalan	4	0	0				
Rasool	0	8	0				
Muhammad	0	4	0				

Sister of Mr. Muhammad ...	3	0	0	Muhammad Hasan, Esq., Rurki ...	0	15	0
Gauhar Ali, Esq. ...	1	8	0	Musammam Najibun-nissa Khatun, Tippera ...	11	13	0
Messrs. Ibrahim, Sultan Waterman, Sultan				Khurshed Hasan Jafari, Esq., Jarori, Farrukhabad ...	30	0	0
Baapari, Hosain Baksh, Ida, Ahmad Jan,				Through Mukhtar Ahmad, Esq., Sandila—			
Muhammad Khan, Abdulla, Hasan Khan,				Mrs. Chiragh Ali ...	6	2	0
Buddo Khan, Ghulam Muhammad, Abdulla				M. Zamin Ali, Esq. ...	4	0	0
Sheikh, and widow of Mohamada, rupee one				Hafiz Nurul Haq, Esq., on behalf of some ladies of			
each ...	14	0	0	Arrah ...	20	4	0
Sultan, Esq. ...	1	2	0	Azimud-din Ahmad, Esq., Amrath, Jaini ...	5	0	0
Miscellaneous collections ...	28	13	0	Azmat-ulla, Esq., Mianganj, Unao ...	10	0	0
Through Ghulam Murtaza, Esq., Allahabad ...	130	0	0	Shamsul Huda, Esq., Bazidpur ...	1	3	0
S. Muhammad Omar, Esq., Aligarh ...	5	0	0	Through Abdul Latif Khan, Esq., Rajpur—			
Through Altaf Hussain, Esq., Etawah—				Mussalmans of Kanwarda State ...	18	12	0
Collected by the Students of I. H. School,				Mussalman students of High School, Raipur ...	11	6	0
Etawah ...	25	0	0	Through T. Ahmad, Esq., Dacca—			
Through Syed Muhammad Hasan, Esq., Hyderabad				Self ...	5	0	0
(Deccan)—				Abdul Ohab Faqir, Esq. ...	0	0	0
Mrs. Khedive Jang ...	42	8	0	Alim-ulla Khan, Esq., Jagmalpur ...	10	7	0
Mazharul Haq, Esq., Patna ...	5	0	0	Through Azimud-din Ahmad, Esq., Amrath, Jaini ...	80	0	0
Abdul Matin, Esq., Sylhet ...	4	0	0	Through A. Ghafur, Esq., President, M.Y.M. Club,			
Syed Shojat Ali, Esq., Chatra ...	5	8	0	Koilwar ...	100	0	0
Through Muhammad Yar, Esq., Bhawalnagar—				Through Dr. Abdul Latif Khan, Dhanbaid—			
Mussalmans of Bhawalnagar ...	190	0	0	Mussalmans of Dhanbaid ...	82	1	3
Mother of Rezaud-din, Esq., Badaun ...	3	0	0	Sale-proceeds of Kurbani hides ...	73	8	0
Through Haji Nazim Ali Khan Sahib, Arrah—				Collected in Idgah ...	40	8	0
Mussalmans of Rani Sagar, District Shahabad ...	227	0	0	Through M. Abdulla, Esq., from the Mussalmans			
Mrs. Muhammad Fidaulla, Delhi ...	5	0	0	of Ladua and Bama Hill Collieries ...	76	4	9
Through Musud Hasan, Esq., Jhajjar ...	15	0	0	Abdul Jabbar Khan and Mussalmans of Jherriah	115	7	0
Nawab Muhammad Hidayet Ali Khan Sahib,				Maimans of Jherriah ...	52	3	0
Sahsawan, District Budaun ...	109	12	0	Through Abdul Majid, Esq., Chapra—			
Through Muhammad Fazle Huq Khan, Esq., Bassi	500	0	0	Moulvi Muhammad Kasim Sahib, Kasman,			
Govindram, Esq., Letpadam ...	1	0	0	Rasulddad, Khan Sahib of Masipore, Balraun			
Through Syed Razzak Mian Sahib Mian Sahib Sirvel,				Khan of Goordhana, Sajjad Husain Sahib			
Kurnool ...	135	0	0	of Paighampur, Natu Muhammad Sahib of			
Through Syed Zamir-ud-din, Esq., Sultanpur—				Bahrampur, A. Hafiz Khan Sahib of Lopa			
Mussalmans of Murdmi ...	21	0	0	and Hashmat Khan Sahib of Doosari ...	300	0	0
Messrs. Ganpat Sahai and Sangam Lal, rupees				Through M. Samiulla, Esq., Lakhimpur—			
four each ...	8	0	0	J. Campbell, Esq. ...	15	0	0
Messrs. Kudrat Khan, Bahadur Khan and Zamir				H. J. Bell, Esq. ...	5	0	0
ud-din, rupees one each ...	3	0	0	Mr. J. Bright ...	5	0	0
M. Minhaj-ud-din, Esq. ...	2	0	0	Mr. Haldane ...	3	0	0
Haji Maula Baksh Sahib ...	20	0	0	Mirza Irfan Ali Beg, Esq. ...	38	0	0
Wali Muhammad, Esq. ...	25	0	0	Syed Wajid Hussain, Esq. ...	15	0	0
Collected by Abdus Sattar, Esq. ...	18	0	0	H. Jogendra Pal Singh, Esq. ...	10	0	0
Sale-proceeds of Kurbani hides ...	71	0	0	Pt. Jiva Nanda Pande, Esq. ...	5	0	0
A Muslim Lady ...	0	2	0	Muhammad Aizal Ali, Esq. ...	32	0	0
Mirza Ghulam Abbas, Esq. ...	10	0	0	H. Gulab Singh, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Messrs. Maqaud Ali, Bushi and Wahab	4	0	0	B. Shiam Lal, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Sale-proceeds of hides ...	1	12	0	Pt. Sooraj Narayan, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Mir Enayat Ali, Esq. ...	10	0	0	B. Saraswati Pershad, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Messrs. Khuda Baksh and Mazhar Hussain,				B. P. Shukla, Esq. ...	2	0	0
rupee one each ...	2	0	0	B. Sita Ram, Esq. ...	15	0	0
Petty collections ...	0	2	0	Pt. Mohan Lal, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Through Syed Jafar Hosain, Esq., Jhajjar	150	0	0	B. Bankey Behari Lal, Esq. ...	2	0	0
M. H. Alavi, Aligarh ...	1	3	0	B. Kedar Nath Saksena, Esq. ...	1	0	0
Through Shaikat Ali, Esq., Ankali, Sultanpur	27	0	0	Anonymous ...	1	0	0
Through Hekmat-ul-Jah Khan, Esq., Kot	50	0	0	Rev. T. Adams ...	0	4	0
Through Zahur Ahmad Khan, Esq., Budaun	38	0	0	Nawab Usmani Begum Sahiba ...	20	0	0
Syed Abdulla, Esq., village Porozepur	5	0	0	Miss R. Martin ...	5	0	0
Sadiq Ali, Esq., Delhi ...	0	1	0	Syed Nazir Husain, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Through Budin Miya, Esq., Jalalpur ...	118	0	0	Muhammad Hanif, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Through Nawab Khan, Esq., Palwal ...	60	0	0	Muhammad Husain, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Through Muhammad Kasim, Esq., Palwal	141	1	6	Seth Sita Ram, Esq. ...	2	0	0
Through Q. Muhammad, Esq., Palwal	15	0	0	M. Nomanul Haque, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Through Mir Mashtat Ali, Esq., Palwal	50	0	0	S. Mujibul Rahman Khan, Esq. ...	10	0	0
Through Ghulam Rasuk Khan, Esq., Kazipur	8	5	0	M. Abdul Raqib Khan, Esq. ...	10	0	0
Through Syed Altaf Hussain, Esq., Etawah—				Sheikh Aulad Hussain Sahib, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Collected by the students of I. H. School	15	0	0	Syed Irshad Hussain Sahib, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Said Hasan, Esq., Badaun ...	10	0	0	Musammam Aziman ...	10	0	0
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Muhammad Ali Khan, Esq., Gandaara	15	12	0	Through M. Saeed-uddin, Esq. ...	9	0	0
Sheikh Matroo, Esq. ...	13	3	0	Price of Kurbani hide, Esq. ...	68	7	0
Ali Bukhsh, Ahmad Bukhsh, Esq. ...	20	12	0	Wife of Hafiz Muhammad Husain Sahib	10	0	0
Nur Muhammad, Esq., Purulia ...	7	0	0	Miscellaneous collections in Id prayara and			
Haji Sharafat Hussain, Esq. ...	6	0	0	after ...	141	9	9
S. Irfan Ali, Esq., Kutubganj ...	2	0	0				
S. Tunai Mian, Mujahidpur ...	2	0	0				
S. Imam Ali, Esq. ...	0	9	6				
Haji Ishrat Ali Khan, Esq. ...	0	9	0				
Rafique-ud-din, Bashir-ud-din ...	0	8	6				
Hakim Shaoor ...	0	4	0				
Some Sympathisers from Shinkriari Hazara	100	0	0				
Nurur Rahman, Esq., Haridoi ...	1	10	0				
Through Farjam Ali, Esq., Dhakdhakabin	41	4	0				

Amount received from the afternoon of 10th Decem-
ber, after deducting 1-3-0 spent by Mr. Nazir
Ahmad Khan of Mujahidpur, Bhagulpur, as M.-O.
Commission to 16th December 1912 ... 17,990 8 9
Amount previously acknowledged ... 1,82,317 5 11

Total, Announced ... 2,00,315 13 8
Total amount received upto 26th December 1912 ... 2,14,962 14 7

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